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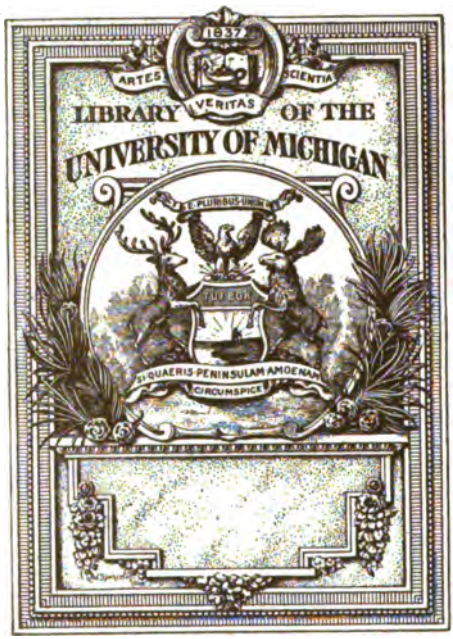
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METHODIST REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1893.

ART. I.—WHITHER?—A STUDY OF TENDENCY.

THE views presented in this article are the result of much reflection and of fair opportunities of observation before I was called to my present work. The wider travel and experience of a quadrennium in the general superintendency of the Methodist Episcopal Church have confirmed them, and made me the more ready to give them expression. Nevertheless, I am not in the least speaking for my colleagues, nor phrasing any consensus of episcopal opinion. I know not if any one of the bishops would agree with me.

It is my belief that all the denominations, imported or original, on American soil, are surely undergoing transformation and assimilation, and that those which are incapable of either have no long or valuable life.

One of the compelling forces is the influence of our free institutions in encouraging and facilitating the business, social, and philanthropic intercourse of believers of diverse faiths. Opportunities are not few when the Roman hierarchy, for instance, must make concessions to the national importance of the representatives of those great Protestant Churches, of which their most kindly description is found in Cardinal Gibbon's designation, "Our separated brethren." Thus at the recent celebration of the opening of the Columbian Exposition one Cardinal and an Archbishop of the Roman obedience spoke, while a bishop of our own Church offered the prayer. Such a fact could hardly be visible in any country possessing a religious establishment.

The absence of privileged classes in our social order is another assimilative force. Families may be old, Churches may be venerable, but before the law all are equal. This fact tends to produce a considerate and broad way of looking at the rights of others hardly possible in a land where exclusive privilege fosters and dignifies social isolation. The temper of mind which can decline public national function through fear of the recognition of the sects, leads a starveling life where religion is free. One can with difficulty lift his imagination to the plane where, in England or on the Continent, it would be possible for the prelates of the National Church to condescend to participate in such a scene as the opening exercises at Chicago.

The high Christian character and manifest presence of the Spirit in all denominations of believers have compelled recognition among those who are unable to reconcile their exclusive theories with the facts. A chance acquaintance of scientific training and candor, himself a communicant of a Church which could not recognize me as a minister, and closely related to one of its bishops, once said to me:

> According to my belief I ought to find more and better developed fruits of the Spirit and larger success in moral leadership in the ministry and laity of my own Church. We claim apostolic authority and real presence. But plainly, I see no more, to say the least, Christliness of life and apostolic devotion in my own Church than in yours. On my theory I cannot account for this. I therefore begin to fear that I have not even a presumably true working hypothesis, much less the real truth on this point. As a scientific man, accustomed to induction from facts, my scientific faith as to the churchly character of all believers outruns my historical limitations.

It is this which, in my mind, more than anything else, accounts for the concessions first proposed by the Lambeth Conference of Anglican Bishops, and adopted and promulgated afterward by the Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church. The Church of England is no longer the exclusive Church of the English people. "Churchmen" are very unwilling to permit a religious census of England to be taken, lest this painful fact should have larger visibility and advertisement. But when the denominational statistics are compared with the political census, the truth appears that one half of England is "sectarian," leaving possibly a lesser "half" to the "Church."

It would require a greater blindness to facts than that which ordinarily limits the Churchly vision, to maintain in such a presence that the notes of a true Church were only to be seen in the Establishment. Nor must the influence of a great group of historians, all, I believe, recently dead, but all very much alive in English religious thought, be underestimated. Stanley, Lightfoot, Hatch, and the living Farrar have injected the ferment of a broader Churchmanship into the English mind; and, apart from the influence of Canon Liddon, who was far more of a preacher than an historian, no recent weighty judgment, other than from some of the cathedras of the great bishoprics, holds the tide of brotherhood in check. While in this country the numerical significance of Anglicanism as expressed by the Protestant Episcopal Church is not great, its social power and historical and actual preeminence in New York city make it, in the line indicated, a worthy object of study. While the old Low Churchman can hardly be found with a microscope out of Virginia or Maryland—while some of the recent legislation of that Church has looked to greater exclusiveness, as notably in the result of the Boggs and Stubbs attack on the younger Tyng—while it has always reflected English tendency a generation late—yet, much to the disgust of the Seymours and Graftons, breadth is surely displacing narrowness. That Phillips Brooks should have been confirmed as a bishop of that Church is ample proof that the confirming authority recognized, unwillingly, it may be, the great strength of the broader fellowship existing in that Church despite the canons, and dared not resist it. It may be that it requires a lifetime in the atmosphere of that Church to comprehend its spirit. But though near enough to it in family relationship to look over the fence which they have built between us, and to recognize the flavor of the food on which it grows, I have never been able to understand how Bishop Potter of New York, whom all men honor for learning, pulpit power, high character, and all the qualities of leadership, could say, as he did, at the consecration of Bishop Brooks, "there is room in the Church for both theories"—that is, for both historical and non-historical apostolic succession. There is small room in nature for contradictions in truth.

Turning now to the Presbyterian Churches, the movement therein is certainly toward breadth. Never having denied the

Christian character of non-Presbyterian believers, it has had little to learn in that direction. So far as it has been exclusive it has been so from a love and reverence for what it believed to be truth. It has been the mission of the Presbyterian Church in every land to uphold the sovereignty of God. From that premise it has deduced all that rockribbed and ironbound theology which has oppressed her conscience and fettered her heart. In every land and under every name she resented the Arminian scheme of doctrine as unworthy the sovereign majesty of the Most High. "God wills it," has been her cry, as it was of the Crusaders. Yet notwithstanding the utter failure of any man to break Calvin's logical chain, the world turns from his creed, first in aversion and then in terror, that so incredible a God could have ever commanded the love or reverence of holy men. No unsophisticated mind, no keen sense of honor, no fine sense of justice, could ever have held a race responsible for what it could not help, or thought it honored God by holding that he elected some to be saved and left others to be damned of his own good will or pleasure, "to show his wrath and make his power known." No one other than one limited by tremendous domestic and ecclesiastical pressure, and utterly without knowledge of devoutness and sincerity among all nations, and blinded to many passages of Scripture, could ever have turned the whole heathen world into hell or believed in the damnation of infants. It is, as the shadows of the years fall on me, one of the most pathetic pictures of my own memory that I can recall my white-haired grandmother weeping silent tears which sorely puzzled my boyish sympathy, and which found explanation only by much entreaty; "I am weeping because I do not know whether my two boy babies who died are saved or not!"

Nowhere, except in the South, where provincial immobility has affected theological thought, can one hear the old Calvinism defended. The controversy in New York is only a part of the evidence of unrest. The revision of the creed has stopped halfway, but only as a temporary halting-place to get breath for further revision. Irrevocably one half our Presbyterian brethren have crossed the boundary which has so long separated them from us, and the next half, knowing they must come, but delay the plunge, it may be, in the interest of peace.

It is the habit of certain New England minds, long secure in

the literary and educational leadership of the country, to hail as new discoveries that which, however old, they themselves perceive for the first time. The present bigotry of the New England mind, if it exists at all, is not the bigotry of persecution, but the bigotry of indifference. This indifference is not felt toward the rationalistic teachers of Germany, nor the scholarship of England, but toward ideas which do not reach them through the prescribed channels of New England information. These must be, first, the German schools, then the English exegetes, then the theological seminaries of Yale and Andover, then the more "advanced" Presbyterian scholars of America. Last of all are they able to recognize the existence of theological truth in what they unite with our Protestant Episcopal brethren in calling the non-historical Churches. Those familiar with German teaching find only an echo of continental learning in the recent publications of the new theologians of the Congregational Church. The echo takes tone from the atmosphere in which it is heard, but the voice which originates it has the German burr. I fear, judging by the utterances of my old acquaintance, President Northrop, of the University of Minnesota, and of Dr. Dale, in the English Congregational Council, that our brethren of that order have reached in another way, and for their own body, that conviction of superiority consoling to all "churchmen," that the Congregational system and atmosphere are not adapted to the common people. They are for the thinkers and the scholarly. I recall but one Congregational writer of eminence who seems to know that statements of doctrine existed in another communion which form the only defensible phrasing of orthodox Protestant Christianity. Professor Phelps, long gone to his reward, did see that the theology of Methodism was the Protestant theological bulwark of the future. Long in close proximity to some of the great literary, educational, and theological centers of the Congregational Church, in frequent attendance upon her councils and installations, possessing some well-beloved friends in her ministry, and meeting in general clerical associations with some of her most eminent teachers, from Horace Bushnell to T. T. Munger and Newman Smythe, nothing has been the source of such perennial surprise as the *éclat* of novelty given to views and methods in these places and by this school which were as old as my memory of life and of my father. I could never under-

stand this until I perceived, the habit of mind noted above. That no good thing can come, theologically or intellectually, out of Methodism, is a semiconscious but dominant axiom. Of the mighty controversies of Toplady and Fletcher, of Wesley and the army which beset him, I have found them mostly uninformed, or, if informed, as one might be of a fact whose significance was of curious rather than important interest. Yet who among us does not know that there is hardly a truth or semitruth advanced in new theology but may be found defined, located, and adjusted a hundred years since by Fletcher, and especially by Wesley. Just as our Protestant Episcopal brethren are ignorant of the fact that Wesley's Prayer Book for the People called Methodists anticipated nearly all their amendments and enrichments; just as his Testament prophecies the Revised Version; just as Dean Stanley, by reason of the churchly atmosphere in which he lived, did not know, until Bishop Simpson proved it in the pulpit of St. Paul's, that the Methodist Episcopal Church more nearly represents the mind of John Wesley as respects church organization than that of the Wesleyans in England, organized as they were under the legal predominance of the Establishment; so our Congregational brethren seem not to know that Methodism avoids the necessity of a second probation and a new theodicy by teaching that it is impossible for God to permit a man to suffer hereafter from an inadequate or unjust probation. Beginning with the premise that the Judge of all the earth must do right—that the only limitations of the Holy One are in the necessities of his own perfection of love and justice—Methodism has believed, sung, and preached the Gospel to all men as the gift of the Father of all men, and in the faith that when the Holy Spirit, given to all men, enabled souls to apprehend the essential Christ, the Just One would not condemn them for providential ignorance of the historical Messiah.

It is evident, however, in several States that the Churches perceive our truth and value its expositors. Few of our ministers in New England who have education and firm position among us have been without opportunity to enter their ministry. A goodly number have accepted calls and are doing well in their new fields. Teaching power depends on certainty. Methodists have always had and still have something definite to teach. The doctrinal steadiness of Methodism is a marvel

to those who do not know its cause. Ascribed to the lack of education in our ministry, it has a widely different source. Men of the broadest opportunities, who do not surrender all distinctively Christian belief and become Unitarians, find it impossible to express their faith in more satisfactory terms than those of our fathers. Their feeling is, that if the supernatural element is to remain, this is the most rational expression of a supernatural and divine redemption in its extent, quality, and effect. To change this is to abandon faith; and as the spirit of our Church is to keep men in close contact with souls, they find the doctrine verified by experience of its power. Hence, with nothing to omit, defend, or explain away, they imperturbably yet sympathetically observe the movement about them. What I wish, however, for the purposes of this paper to emphasize is, that doctrinal unity is near at hand in respect of the Presbyterian, Congregational, and Methodist Churches. Our ministers and people who have gone find themselves at home, because no change of faith is asked for either in pulpit or pew.

With the exception of sacramental grace we are one in doctrine with the Protestant Episcopal Church, however widely separated in clientage and spirit. The divisive line is only, doctrinally, in apostolic succession and its corollaries. Let us interpret "the historical episcopate locally adapted," and there is no barrier of doctrine or practice which need keep us apart a year. All the rest is ritual, within the liberty of the individual church or teaching, not settled or defined by authority. Yet a whole wide world separates us if, by the historical episcopate, that Judaistic survival under another form of bishop and priest in tactual succession from the apostles is meant. Maintaining the ancient office and the ancient orders, the ancient nomenclature and the ancient ritual, we hold out a brother's hand to *The Churchman* and *The Independent* alike. The ancient things are dear and venerable, but not of the essence of faith nor of the primal deposit of truth.

There is less visible sign in America of coming unity with other Christians on the part of the Baptists than of any of the other great religious bodies. Possessing but one *raison d'etre* they must emphasize it, or their candlestick is removed. It is surely an interesting study to inquire as to the closer communion and greater segregation of the Baptist Churches from

other Christians in America than in England. How has it happened that the Strict has stamped his views on American Baptist life more than the Open? Separated from the Congregationalists only by immersion, or, as they prefer to call it, believer's baptism and close communion, they lead a life of isolation only surpassed among Protestants by the Protestant Episcopal Church; yet they have not escaped the wave of fraternal feeling nor the yearning after unity. The departure of several of their more eminent ministers to communions where immersion has less emphasis—their participation in union revival services—their intercourse with other Churches through the societies of Christian Endeavor and the like, are signs that the solvent of denominational fixedness is already at work among them.

Turning now to influences which have affected all Churches, I note as among the most prominent the fact indicated by Providence as beyond doubt, that strong Churches shall grow up not about strong systems but about strong men. Not even the Roman communion can escape this. The irremovable rector has become a power even in a Roman diocese. We see Roman congregations resisting the removal from his altar of a strong and welcome priest even though the power of his diocesan is beyond question. Presbyterianism is strongest in New York around Dr. Hall, Dr. Parkhurst, and Dr. Paxton. It is doubtful if presbyteries, synods, and general assemblies could sever these ties if they tried. So in the Protestant Episcopal Church, apart from Trinity Parish in New York, where the influence of colonial endowments is overwhelming, strong churches grow around strong men, as, for example, the stronger St. Thomas's and St. George's of to-day. While William M. Taylor was himself, the Broadway Tabernacle was a fountain of pure teaching and manly Christianity. Dr. McArthur furnishes a stronghold for the Baptist faith by being himself strong. Dr. Storrs, in the Church of the Pilgrims, Brooklyn, well renews at seventy the strength of his church, though years have left him few of his early lay coadjutors. The unique personality and gifts of Dr. Talmage keep about him a magnetized but not hypnotized multitude. Dr. Abbott, in Plymouth pulpit, gathers his own clientage, but the congregation shows the loss of Mr. Beecher. It is so in every city.

The man, and not the system, is master. Phillips Brooks was greater than his church in Trinity, Boston. Dearly loving and highly honoring our own Methodist Episcopal Church, ought we not to ask, in view of these facts, whether much of our tenuity in the great cities is not due to the rapidly fading remnant of an itineracy of which we have had little, practically, since the abandonment of the old circuit system? Have we not sacrificed the man to the system, and so have we not been fighting against the providence of God?

I note, secondly, the manifest tendency toward a greater participation on the part of the people in the exercise of public worship. Against all protests, fears, and hysterics the ritual in some form has come to stay. In our own, in every non-ritualistic Church, the opportunities of participation in the service have multiplied until we have reached here and there the other extreme, and have made a good, strong sermon almost impossible, except one has a Niagara current of forceful speech. Responsive readings, chants, trisagions, processionals are abundantly known in Methodist and other Churches. There is a distinct tendency toward unity in and around the Anglican prayer book. This tendency, which is observed with delight by all Anglicans, does not mean all they think. If it means more consideration for a liturgy and for liturgical Churches it means also less preeminence for them in liturgical particulars, and less resort to them for release from the crudities of extemporaneous worship. The preacher who reaches the masses must paint pictures. The scenic and the formal have a certain place in public worship. It was our own theologian, Richard Watson, who maintained that the best service is a mixed service, combining freedom and liturgy. Accustomed to a ritual for all the special services of the Church, and having various rituals in many Churches, developed from the fancy and ingenuity of pastors and Sunday school superintendents, often bringing Scripture to interpretations unnatural and strange by inapt and hurried hands, it is no wonder that some, even in our own communion, begin to ask whether liberty shall not be given to churches who prefer it to use the prayer book of the days of Asbury.

Whatever opinion may be held concerning the permanent value of Mr. Moody's work, or of the truth of the pre-millennial theories believed to be the inspiration of his later career, it can-

not be doubted that he has done more to bring the Churches into cooperative and fraternal relations than any other living man. Requiring in his earlier career the help of all ministers, the contributions of all to his tabernacles and choirs, he furnished a common meeting-ground, a highly illustrative example of the value of lay labor, a convincing and fascinating proof of the power of the chorus in song and of the refrain in hymns, and a hymnary and psalmody so catching that it has become a universal liturgy. If I mistake not I have heard Moody and Sankey's hymns during mid-day mission services in Trinity Church, New York! and I have surely heard "Hold the Fort" in Japan, Corea, and China. The value of the refrain and of lay labor and of personal contact with the inquirer were no new revelations to Methodists. We have probably been less benefited by his labors on this account than any other considerable Church. But the fact remains, that the praise services of all denominations spring from this liturgy of his installation, and that greater interdenominational sympathy has resulted.

Again I call attention to the fact that revival methods, long the despised possession of Methodists chiefly, have in various forms penetrated and possessed all communions, even the most sacerdotal. Whether called missions, revival or evangelistic services, the aim is the same—to stir the believer to renewed consecration and the impenitent to penitence and faith. Adapted to the genius of each Church, they are now permanent parts of all ecclesiastical methods. The result has been amazing in several Churches. More than any other has the Protestant Episcopal Church benefited by the change. Not yet commanding in rural districts, she even there shows the true missionary spirit. In the large cities, however, by recognizing the fact that the largest missionary work can no longer be done by one man alone, she has multiplied men and foundations, and is rapidly becoming a leader in the field instead of a regiment in a fort. And this brings me to note that the Churches are coming to understand the larger gospel of benevolent work as an adjunct of the preaching the word, nay, as one form of preaching the word. It is not many years since practical philanthropy, as expressed in mission and hospital foundations, was rare outside the Roman Church. No fear of popery, no dread of undue imitation of Roman methods has prevented

the springing up of forms of benevolence so searching, so varied, and so constant, that few forms of want or suffering are without free and prompt methods of relief. But the most astonishing change is in the setting apart of godly women, by various forms of consecration and in various protective garbs, to the ministry of the body as well as the soul, thus opening to the larger portion of the Church fitting and welcome fields of labor.

I take all these facts to be an expression of Christian unity, and a prophecy of it. When love is born bigotry dies. Rome has had a powerful argument against Protestantism in the coldness of our services and in the relegation of the duties of benevolence to secular authorities. The town poorhouse is chiefly a Protestant creation. The city hospital, in which the brutal and drunken nurse was so long a frequent figure, was never a credit to a nation of Christians. To the growing sentiment that good deeds must crown true faith as the flower crowns the leaf, and to the truth that loving sympathy with the fallen can alone lift them again, is due the Homes for the Friendless, for the Magdalen, for the Aged and Indigent, for Castaways, for all those conditions of sorrowing humanity which seem to multiply as our civilization increasingly complicates itself.

In the presence, then, of these tendencies we may see evolving the Church of the Future. That it will be wholly like any one now existing I cannot believe. Assimilation is evidently God's order. It comes from our freedom of movement, life, and competition. The most assuming must be humbled, the most independent must be organized. This must happen whether they like it or not; plan it or not. Sacerdotalism cannot permanently survive the proofs of priesthood in the individual believer. Social forces and endowments may give it vogue among the few; but the masses will first doubt it, then deny it, then, perceiving that it is the foe of unity, throttle it. The solidarity of the Church must prepare the way for the solidarity of the nations. There is no more chance for the victory of a divine right Church than there is for the universal empire of a divine right king. This last has all he can do to sit quietly on his throne, and even his simulacrum, the constitutional monarch, is yielding his seat to the majesty of the people. A more preposterous hope I know not than that which looks for Christian unity through agencies which survive only through fear of

excommunication. Rome, by erecting an infallible pope, has prepared the agency by which her pretensions will yet be destroyed. I have no hope that she will ever be wholly reformed from without. The process will be this: education, contact with other Christians, the death of superstition by science, the manifest Christian character and work of her "separated brethren," the concessions made by the central authority to national Churches for the maintenance of her visible unity, nay, the Spirit of God himself, not wholly driven away or crushed out by the uninspired additions to doctrine and order, will one day develop a pope who will be the Hildebrand of reform instead of reaction, and he, unhampered by councils, which were dismissed forever by Pius IX for a vastly different reason, will ex-cathedra declare those reforms which will open the way for a reunited Christendom. We may, we must, until then do our work as the several army corps of the Lord's army; some heavily laden and strictly drilled, and others in light marching order; some in compact columns, some as free lancers; some with a rich and inherited commissary, some living on the enemy's resources; some with numerous bands and elaborate drum corps, others with only a bugle and a war cry. It is enough for to-day if we have the same aim, the same commander, and the same spirit. The first two we have already, the last one is not yet with us. A victory over another body of Christians, which is really working for Christ, though in imperfect and halting ways, is no true victory. His day is not coming through pettiness, bigotry, and greater joy over a pervert than a convert. Changes and interchanges will go on. The departure of a dissident may give greater power to those remaining who assent. The vast departure from Rome of Luther's time is stronger to-day than ever. The Protestant nations are clearly the nations of the future. The English tongue has the right of way in the coming centuries. Rome abides only as she abandons the Inquisition, accepts the science which is her lethal draught, allies herself to republics, and ceases to be the moral foundation of kings. How can she maintain the terrors and the powers of her hierarchy when the political institutions which were their inspiration die through the contempt and hate of men? The truth, the beauty, the rightly venerable, the saintly, the Christlike will abide. Her methods of work and worship, when not hindrances to the de-

vout heart, and when helpful to morals, will endure and become part of the universal Christian heritage. That process is going on now. It is visible to all who will look. In some moods Christians will seek exaltation of mind and heart through elaborate ritual, in others their cry will be for solitude, as of the heron in the wilderness. Rome herself is seen at her best in America. She has lost the people in Italy, and the men everywhere, except that when moribund they give comfort to friends by accepting extreme unction. No processions in Columbian celebrations having more of a national than ecclesiastical character and *elan* can blind us to the fact that Rome cannot hold men Roman where religion and education are free. If she holds them it is by ceasing to be Roman and beginning to be Catholic. That beginning will be the beginning of the day of the Lord.

As I look over the field and seek candor and charity at the Master's feet, I rejoice that we have so little to undo, so little to abandon, so little to learn of the truth, while I mourn we are so far beneath our privilege in breadth of view and depth of Christian experience. The Methodist Episcopal Church is dear to me, not alone because she is the Church of my fathers, the Church of my toil, the Church which has honored me with her chief office. In our self-deceptions, from which we shall be free only in the white light of the eternal throne, it may be that my joy in her service and my toil for her growth spring from habit and from the complacency of honorable position. But it does not seem so as I write these words. After opening my heart to God as best I can, I say it is not so; I honor her because she has never had to change her doctrine, to conceal her teachings, or to abandon her methods. She has seen all these victories in other Protestant Churches, and they are yet moving on to conquest. She has never had to learn to give room in God's kingdom, nor sulkily to yield place to others as if unwarranted intruders. She has always had her hand of welcome out to all who love Christ. Her whole governmental fabric, though of the ancient Church in terms and in authority, rests upon Christian expediency, and could be dropped at the Master's bidding if his day could be hastened thereby. Always below her ideal in practice and in learning, she has held the banner of holiness high because the Lord commanded; and beginning her work in a university has

passed her people, converted at her altars, on to her schools, her colleges and universities, and dares to plan to-day at the capital of the nation the most modern and the greatest of American schools of learning. I honor her for her sympathy with all reforms, for the certainty of her place in the crusade against strong drink, for her loyalty to our republic, her insistance that the black man may kneel at her altars and sit in her highest council if he will. I venerate her as the great American tutor in Christ's school of evangelists, I rest in the doctrinal calm of her communion, even while I expect to wear out in her exactions of labor.

But all this shall not blind me to the good and the holy in all communions, nor to the faulty in my own. With all *Te Deums* for Christian progress she can join, and the wail of the *De Profundis* is strengthened by her voice. She needs more learning, breadth, greater moral intensity, greater *esprit de corps*, greater steadiness and fullness of religious life, greater care in the selection of her ministry, greater provision and activity in missionary work, greater consecration of her wealth to the service of man for Christ's sake, greater willingness among her ministers to endure hardship as good soldiers. But she is brave, strong, true, and loving. God is with her, and her tendency is toward him.

There is a majestic calm in her onward march. She does not stop to plead with the stragglers from her fold, but replaces them with her revival forces without lessening her pace. She is weak only in the number of her authors, and timid in the discussion of great matters in the periodicals. Yet in Dr. Bowne of Boston she has the most eminent of living American philosophers; in Professor Winchester, the greatest American master of English literature; and in Professor Moore of Chicago, but just from Evanston, the most brilliant American mathematician. She has place, work, and honor for her loyal sons. In the Church of the future she will be a mighty factor.

Dan'l A. Goodsell

Art. II.—THE GOSPEL IN NATURE.

"And God saw everything that he had made, and, behold, it was very good." Such is the judgment passed by the Scripture upon the work of God's hands when completed. Not only was each thing good in itself, but the relations the different departments of nature sustained to each other were also "very good." Man, created in the moral likeness and image of his Maker, stood at the head of earthly creatures, and constituted the crowning glory of nature.

The world of matter displayed its phenomena in the physical forces and laws of the universe; the vital world, in the manifold kinds and forms of plants and animals; and the intellectual, spiritual, and moral departments of nature appeared in man. His free agency, and consequently his moral responsibility, is clearly manifest in the fact that he was placed under a law having precepts and penalties. The conspicuous and overshadowing element of man's being was his moral accountability to the supreme Governor of the world for his conduct, even for his thoughts and purposes. Not only in man's being was incorporated the moral and spiritual part of the constitution and laws of nature, but this was so related to other parts that creation as a whole formed a unit, and a disturbance in any one of the three departments affected disastrously the whole.

The expression, "very good," means finished, full, complete. Earth was, then, intended to be to man not only a place of abode and a school for intellectual development, but a sanctuary of worship. It was designed to afford not only food for his body, but a realm of ideas for his mind, and inspiration to obedience and devotion to his Maker. God was to be seen not by physical vision, but by an intellectual and moral perception of his being and attributes as manifested in the marvelous works of his hands. This is the order of nature. What could we know of the honeybee were it not for the mathematical and mechanical skill it manifests in the nectar stored in the comb it builds to receive it; or of the beaver, except we examine its subterranean chambers and the dam it builds to obstruct the flow of streams; or of a spider, were it not for the web it spins and weaves into a palace suited to its accommodation?

In these facts we see a principle and a divine arrangement which pervades all nature. It is, in fact, the Creator's method of procedure in the relation he sustains to his intelligent creatures. The works of nature, as a whole, are eminently a manifestation of infinite power and wisdom; and such intelligences as were capable of reading and interpreting them, whether angels or men, would need no other revelation. We hold that such was the clearness of man's spiritual vision when created that he could as quickly and devoutly apprehend his Creator in his works as, after the incarnation, he could see him in Christ, or as a mechanic can see his brother mechanic in the structure of an engine. The place the tree of life occupied in the ritual of the original temple of nature we may not fully comprehend, but we know it was central and effective in the primitive form of worship. It is probable that Solomon's temple on the day of its dedication, and Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost, did not lend a mightier inspiration to duty and worship than did nature by such elements as were within and without men, when first "the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy." The difference between the religion of nature as it existed then and exists now is not so much because of changes in the physical and vital worlds as in its spiritual and moral department as a result of man's transgression. If nature, when constructed, were fitted up to be God's first temple of worship, as well as a dwelling-place for man, it must still be rich in its primitive facts, laws, wisdom, and moral elements, unless with the fall of man all nature at the same time fell back into unintelligible chaos. This calamity we know did not befall it, for in the material and vital departments individuality, unity, and law still hold undisputed sway.

We should constantly bear in mind that the universe consists of the Creator and created beings and things; of the supernatural and the natural; and that man constitutes now, as in the beginning, the mental and spiritual part of nature. A class of phenomena may be regarded as secondary products—products of the natural or of the supernatural. The honeycomb and the acorn are products of the supernatural; the watch and the engine of the natural. We see in these facts that both the natural and supernatural are still productive, and that their works are manifold; yet even down to the tiniest work, as the

spinning of a hair, the distinction between them is preserved. The conspicuous fact must ever be kept before us as a headlight that man, as a part of nature, not only constitutes its moral department, but sustains important relations to other departments. Our conception of the universe is, God on the one side and all things else on the other.

It may be accepted as a truism that fullness, unity, completeness, and harmony must pervade the work of an almighty and infinitely wise Creator. The absence of these elements of perfection, in either the Bible or nature, would be sufficient to vitiate any claim it might set up to be of divine origin. It must also be true that if both the system of nature and the scheme of Christianity have come from God, the latest one in point of time must be, in its teachings, a second edition of the first. The things created will forever present to the intelligent observer a thought side, which must proclaim the wisdom and purpose of the Creator. The world is not merely an aggregation of different kinds of matter into masses, subject to the accidents of motion and change, but rather on every atom, as on a tablet of stone, is written law, order, and purpose, as subjects of human study and interpretation.

Nature and Christianity have been unwisely pitted against each other, as if they were irreconcilable antagonists. What St. Paul says of the natural man, as the opposite of the spiritual man, has mistakenly been applied to all mundane things. In a real or professional vindication of nature and its claims to excellency philosophers have intensified this supposed conflict into a profitless warfare. Both skeptics and Christians have talked and written as if it were a conceded fact that science and religion were naturally destructive of each other, giving employment to a third class, who have attempted a reconciliation. If the depraved nature of man is regarded as a part of nature there is a conflict, and there ought to be. But the fact is, sin is a perversion of nature, and no part of the original constitution of things. No fact of human history is more undeniable than that man, as we know him, is degenerate; that the degrees of his deterioration take in a wide range; but that his ruin can be arrested and the fallen creature started upward on a career of moral improvement. Hence we should not be surprised if a being whose spiritual nature has been eradicated and replaced

by sin and a beclouded mind should be at variance with his environments in a world that is "very good." A gambler is in harmony with the card table, a drunkard with the saloon, and we ought to expect that such instances of depravity will find this a world of wretchedness. It ought so to be; such a condition of things is becoming, and indicates that the world is ruled by a righteous Governor. If honor, power, wisdom, and felicity adorned the character of profligate and morally worthless persons, the fact would strike the intelligent observer as something monstrous in the extreme. It is better, more suitable to what our notions of government should be, for us to see moral degradation attended by misery. It is the spiritual, the intelligent, and the morally elevated character that breathes in this world the air of serenity and wears the crown of glory.

When God pronounced this world "very good," man existed, but he had not then defiled himself with sin. The spiritual element, as the controlling power of the life he lived, adjusted his relation to his Creator, to his environments, and to other created intelligences. Such was the clearness of his spiritual vision, undimmed at the time by sin, that first of all in the world around him he apprehended a God revealed. "For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead." Thus Paul clearly teaches that what may be known of God was manifest to them, for God had showed it unto them. The works of creation should be regarded as a revelation of the Creator himself to beings endowed with such spiritual discernment as enabled them properly to read and interpret their meaning. It was in this spirit that David sang, "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth his handiwork. Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night showeth knowledge." Though they have no speech nor language, without these their voice is heard. Their direction (to holy living) has "gone out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world."

The entrance of sin into the world, with its attendant train of evils, moral and physical, was a breach of the constitution and laws of nature as established by the Creator in the beginning. The possibility of sin was a necessity. Sin and evil could have gained an entrance into the world in but one way—the volun-

tary transgression of some intelligence left free to do either right or wrong, and choosing the wrong. Such *must* have been the origin of moral evil, for it could have had no other. Man, a sovereign, with a limited dominion and under a supreme sovereign, broke the law of allegiance to this higher power, and, as a consequence, plunged into sin; the results were spiritual blindness and death. We affirm that the possibility of sin was a necessity, for an act of virtue implies the possibility of the opposite. An upright life, if forced, could not possess the quality of virtue; and in creation God intended man should be a being who by determining to do right might be virtuous. As the story of paradise philosophically explains the entrance of sin into this world, it, or some other like it, *must* be true.

The great event of the world's history since the creation of man was the coming of Christ. The relation Christ sustained to nature is by St. Paul expressed as follows: "For by him were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers: all things were created by him, and for him." When the "Word was made flesh," he came as the "repairer of the breach" sin had made in nature, and to this end he took the "government" of the wrecked and ruined world "upon his shoulders." He commenced his mission by giving proof of independence of nature and of his power over it. The ground, the trees, the fish in the sea, winds, waves, life and death were alike subject to his command. But in importance above everything else he had power to forgive sins. "In him" was the spiritual "life" man had lost, and when restored to him it was his "light." Thus it became apparent that he who came to be the "repairer of the breach" in the constitution of nature was abundantly adequate to the task he had undertaken. If nature felt the shock of man's transgression, it felt also the inspiration of the Messiah's coming. He took, in the original constitution of things, for the purpose of repairing it, the place which man, in consequence of sin, had vacated.

But in a preeminent degree was Christ invested with the vital, spiritual, and moral elements of the original constitution of things. In this respect nature had suffered most, and to "repair this breach," and along this line to "restore the old paths" he travailed "in the greatness of his strength."

Christ's life and works in their relation to man must be forever of supreme importance, but to understand them fully man's relation to other departments of nature must also be considered. He was not made to exist isolated and alone; he is but an item in a vast universe, yet he stands most securely when supported by inspiring environments. Man's place in nature, as a part of it, is at the head. His intellectual and moral endowments give him this high distinction. He can hold his post of honor only by filling out the full measure of his vast responsibilities. This place, which he had forfeited by disobedience, is now held by Christ in his behalf, and every man is made to feel more or less the drawing of the Redeemer's power, the uplift of his mighty character, divine and human.

Man's environments and associations have much to do in the development of both body and mind. The island of Terra del Fuego could never give the world a Socrates, a Shakespeare, or a Gladstone. Between such an inhospitable earth and sky humanity can scarcely maintain an existence. If we would make man better we must improve the world he lives in. The weights that crush mind and body must be removed, and their place supplied with whatever gives nourishment and strength to the one, and love, hope, and activity to the other. Could the Fuegians, the Eskimo, and other tribes be persuaded to leave the ice and snows of their wretched lands, their removal to some hospitable climate would be commendable missionary work. By caring for their bodies their souls might in time be reached. As a rule, the conditions of the individual, of society, and of nations have a mighty influence upon character.

It is important, then, that we see Christ not only in the sanctuary and in his relations to us personally, but as occupying in nature the place we have forfeited by transgression. When he shall be recognized as the "Good Shepherd," as the "True Vine," as "the Rose of Sharon," and as "the Lily of the Valley" nature will reappear in its primitive beauty. In Isaiah xxxv we see not only the bold flights of an inspired prophet but a candid expression of human experience, resulting from a spiritual apprehension of Christ in nature. Christian people in all ages, especially new-born souls, have often, in hours of spiritual elevation, experienced the presence of Christ in material and vital nature as herein described.

If, then, nature is the product of divine thought in its intellectual and moral aspects, its teachings should blend with Christianity, and be duplicated wherever they occupy the same ground. As the first or original system was "very good," if the second came from the same source it must be a reproduction of it, or a second edition, only in another form. As the first was adapted to the condition of sinless beings the second is suited to the wants of the fallen and spiritually dead. The object of both is the perfection of man and the completeness of created nature. Though man is but one element in the system, yet the place assigned him is so vast that his lapse has disturbed the whole.

If, then, we shall still be able to read on the broken tablets of nature the fundamental elements of Christianity, the conclusion will be irresistible that if the one is of divine origin so the other must also be. In that case no standing ground whatever can be found for any form of infidelity. If nature is Christian man must be Christian also, or he is a perversion of nature; and do not the facts of experience and observation demonstrate that the nearer man approximates the character of his high yet humble Exemplar the more perfectly he fills his place in the scheme and order of nature? Nature and Christianity, with equal emphasis, teach that virtue is the keystone of the arch of the constitution of the universe, and that with its removal civil, social, and political anarchy and wretchedness will prevail.

It will be well to examine this subject in the light shed upon it by the great Teacher. During his ministry Christ made but little use of the Old Testament Scriptures—barely enough to give to them the sanction of his authority. He recognized the teachings of Moses, the prophets, and the Psalms, as the word of the Lord to the people; but some of their sayings he abrogated and others greatly modified. The most important quotations referred to himself, and these were used to convince the Jews that he was the long-expected Messiah. In no case does he draw from them the basal element of the kingdom he came to establish. He taught as one having authority—as having original knowledge of the whole empire of truth.

But if Christ gave scant attention to the sacred writings of the Jews he never lost sight of the truth contained in the realm of nature. To primitive nature he manifested the utmost

respect, and expressed indignation only at sin. He used clay as an ointment for the opening of the eyes of the blind, and pointed to the lily of the field as an instance of glory surpassing all that in which Solomon was arrayed. As an illustration of the ever watchful eye of Providence he refers to the care and fidelity with which the fowls of the air are fed; "They sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; yet your heavenly Father feedeth them." As an illustration of the unity of the human family, and of the brotherly kindness that should prevail among them, he refers to the goodness of the heavenly Father, who "maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust." In discriminating between the good and the bad, he points to the good tree that bringeth forth good fruit, and to the bad tree that bringeth forth evil fruit.

On one occasion it seems that Christ's disciples referred to an approaching harvest; at the same moment Christ saw something deeper and more important. Looking out over the interested crowd of people before him he said: "Say not ye, There are yet four months, and then cometh harvest? behold, I say unto you, lift up your eyes, and look on the fields; for they are white already to harvest." How vastly keener and deeper was Christ's spiritual vision than that of his disciples! When they saw only the earthly, he, in the one broad field of nature, saw the spiritual and the heavenly, and he would fix attention upon the more important fact. Another parallel case, that of the vine and its branches, still further elaborates this point. With this as his text Christ delivered a discourse of great beauty and of the most practical utility. He saw in the constitution and course of nature, man being included therein, the elements of the kingdom he came to establish. He labored to fix the attention upon the coming of his kingdom as follows: "He answered and said unto them, When it is evening, ye say, It will be fair weather: for the sky is red. And in the morning, It will be foul weather to-day: for the sky is red and lowering. O ye hypocrites, ye can discern the face of the sky; but can ye not discern the signs of the times?"

The miracle of the loaves and fishes Christ utilizes in teaching the people the spiritual nature of man and his eternal destiny. He charges them with the folly of appreciating more

highly the luxury of having eaten of the loaves and fishes than of considering the miracle which had been wrought before their eyes, and then says, "Labor not for the meat which perisheth, but for that meat which endureth unto everlasting life." Then they call for a sign such as Moses gave when manna came down from heaven. "Yes," said Christ, "your fathers did eat manna in the wilderness, *and are dead.*" What a commentary on this manna! Then he adds, "I am the living bread which came down from heaven: if any man eat of this bread, he shall live forever." Christ, the source and nourisher of spiritual and everlasting life, is to the soul as the bread made of flour or meal to the body. Vegetable, animal, mental, and spiritual life compose the vital world, and each is sustained by a method peculiar to itself. Vegetation feeds upon minerals, animals upon organic matter, intellect upon knowledge, and the spiritual element of the mind upon Christ. Whenever these forms of life are found to exist, each as a harmonious whole and properly related to each other, then nature is "very good"—full, complete. As the original man was spiritual, created in God's image, he does not cease to be a part of nature when spiritual life is restored to him under the dispensation of the Gospel. The breach which sin had made in the constitution and order of nature by this work of grace is repaired, and possibly the original has been improved. Christ lays one hand upon the uninjured part of creation, the other upon man, and brings them into harmony again.

"Whereunto shall I liken the kingdom of God?" is a question often propounded by Christ in his preaching, and nowhere does he find a parallel except in some department of nature. The kingdom of heaven is like unto a grain of mustard-seed, the smallest of all seeds, but, grown, the greatest of all herbs. The workings of the Holy Spirit in the human mind and in the world accord with the development of the life of this small seed—apparently insignificant in the beginning, but grand in the final outcome. The laws *per se* of vegetable and spiritual life have nothing in common, yet because of the unity of nature they move in parallel lines and observe the same order in their development. Hence the mustard seed in its development illustrates truthfully the nature of the kingdom of heaven. In the process of making bread, the relation the

yeast sustains to the meal furnishes Christ the truth which lies at the base of his kingdom. Having the truth provided at his hand he has no occasion to originate it. As the living yeast permeates the entire lump and prepares it for the oven, so the Gospel serves as the power of God unto the salvation of every one that believeth. The different departments of nature move in parallel lines without ever crossing, each observing the same order in its development. Matter observes physical law, life knows no law but its own nature, and in mind and spirituality we rise to a higher plane of being, but in no case do we leave the order which is essential to the unity of nature.

Christ interwove religion with the ordinary affairs of life, that these might be more closely associated with the Church he came into the world to establish. He would bring back to them the charm which departed with the ingress of sin into the world. Apparently his disciples called his attention to a shepherd who sits on the ground caring for his flock, which is quietly feeding upon the hillside. They simply saw the man with his crook in hand and dog lying at his feet. They may have glanced at the flock, and perhaps thought of its utility in providing food and clothing for the family; but this identical scene presented to Christ the elements of the kingdom he came into the world to establish. "I am the good shepherd," he says, and as such he gives a most tender and touching picture of the relation he sustains to believers. Gently he lifts them up and places them on the high plane of moral worth and spiritual blessedness. The great principles of his kingdom which he thus elaborates existed from the beginning, but on a low plane, in the relation the shepherd sustained to his flock. When supplemented by the fullness of the elements of Christianity, with the salvation of man as its objective, the "breach" in nature caused by sin is "repaired," and it appears to be "very good," because complete. When we grasp this great subject as a whole, the parts become more distinct and impressive. As nature is, Christian men must be, or be at war with it.

In many instances Christ says the kingdom of heaven is like unto this or that, and in every instance he draws from nature facts and principles which he incorporates in Christianity as fundamental elements. Whosoever hath improved, it matters not what, shall have more abundance, but whosoever possesses

anything and does not improve it, the thing itself will be taken away from him. This deep and most important practical truth is set forth in the parable of the talents. The elements of the parable are well-known business principles, and Christ simply transfers them to the Gospel.

In the parable of the sower and his seed the tillers of the soil must at a glance understand that the preaching of the Gospel to men embodies the same principles as agriculture, only on a higher plane. In the one case it is the living seed that is sown, and in the other the living Gospel; the first acting in the realm of life and the second in the world of mind. At base the substances are different, and each has laws of growth of its own, but in their development both observe the same order. The different departments of the Creator's work reflect light upon each other, and practically they should be held in the closest relations. The more fully man feels that he exists in a religious world, and that he is a part of it, the more vigorous and active will be his religious life. The profound lessons of the judgment day are all brought out in the clearest light in the parable of the tares and the wheat. The barren fig tree is used to show that the patience and long-suffering of God in behalf of an incorrigible sinner may not endure forever. In the parable of the marriage of the king's son we are taught that righteousness is an essential prerequisite to final acceptance; and in the parable of the ten virgins who went forth to meet the bridegroom the lesson of prudence in preparing for future contingencies is enforced. These truths existed in nature; Christ simply draws them out and incorporates them in practical Christianity. In other words, the book of nature is translated into the vernacular of the people. Christ is not so much an originator of truth as its revealer, which in the beginning was incorporated in the constitution and course of nature.

Nature teaches that a faithful shepherd will leave the ninety and nine of his flock and brave the dangers of the wilderness in search of one that has gone astray; that one who has lost a piece of silver will turn away from any sum, however large, which is secure in his strong box, and search for that which is missing; and that a kind father will welcome to his heart and home a repentant returning prodigal: and Christ, when censured because he held sympathetic intercourse with publicans and sin-

ners, availed himself of the principles herein involved to make clear to captious observers the ground on which the Gospel was preached even to the chief of sinners. Along this line Christ had no occasion to enunciate a new doctrine, for nature had already taught the world what it needed to understand; he simply reminded the fault-finders of what they approved, and made an application of it to his treatment of sinners.

The value of nature as an instructor cannot be overestimated. The ant teaches us lessons of industry, and even Solomon was not ashamed to learn of this insect; from the structure of the mouth of a worm a mechanic learned to make the best auger now in use; and mariners learned to fashion the prow of their ships from the study of the breast of a duck. All mechanical structures which are useful and enduring are but the utilization of nature's modes and operations. Art approaches perfection only when it imitates nature. The poetic genius which can touch the springs of nature is sure of immortality.

But nature's properties, forces, and laws are never seen in their highest development except in the realm of mind and morals. The birds are a standing lesson of trust in Providence. The relation of husband and wife, of parent and child, of brother to brother, of man to man and man to God, home, and country, is not based upon a written command addressed to reason, but upon the clearly apparent natural relation the parties sustain to each other. The Scriptures simply recognize and enforce nature's lessons.

The Positive Philosophy has done all that probably can ever be done to divorce the Creator from his works. Its teachers, notably Huxley and Tyndale, would banish from the mind of man the idea of recognizing the supernatural in the present constitution of things. They refuse to see in nature any evidence of wisdom, purpose, or design. They would fix upon the visible universe the stamp of either idiocy or atheism. To rescue nature from this thralldom, its moral department must be allowed to speak and to preach the Gospel in the language of the people. Christianity is one witness, the constitution and course of nature another, and never more than now does society need the united testimony of both.

H. H. Moore.

Art. III.—A COMPARATIVE VIEW OF THE ETHNIC RELIGIONS AND CHRISTIANITY.

Cicero has said, "It is possible to find nations without cities, without arts and sciences, without governments and laws, but not without religion," the great philosopher thus discerning in the universality of religion the fact that man is endowed with religious instincts which lead him to look up to and worship a superior being upon whom he feels himself to be dependent. It is a legitimate and logically necessary deduction that universal instincts are not deceptive, but grounded in the real nature and needs of the being or creature possessing them. This is manifest in nature's lower departments. Wherever there is to be found a universal instinct it is matched by conditions in harmony with it. It is never disappointed. The Author of nature has implanted no need for which he has not provided an ample supply. And most certainly this is so in the highest realm of finite existence—the moral and spiritual realm.

Again, all history bears attestation to the fact that man is a religious being. Wherever we find him in the ages of the past, and study the remains of his workmanship, the fact that he had his altars, temples, and shrines stands out most prominently. Wherever we meet him at present the same tokens of his zeal in religion are to be seen. As Paul, standing in the midst of the statues and altars of Athenian divinities, said, "I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious"—that is, unwisely religious—so the student of human history can say with reference to the race at large. Those who do not worship are far in the minority when we consider the whole race of man.

Another fact as universal as man's religiousness is the fact of his consciousness of sin. He is out of harmony with the "somewhat" within him that "makes for righteousness." His religious services are propitiatory in their purpose and character, and this at times in spite of his theology. As man is sinful it necessarily follows that his religion will bear the marks of his moral imperfection. However correct his religious system may have been at first, if left to himself for any considerable time he would pervert it. The subsequent development of the ethnic religions undoubtedly sprang from this source of perversion.

This last conclusion, therefore, confirms the belief that the ethnic religions did not primarily originate with the arch deceiver of our race, but rather from traditions of a primitive true religion. That man had truth in religion in the beginning must be accepted by all who believe in the unity of the race. The great ethnic religions indicate the fact that their errors are exaggerations or distortions of principles of truth, or, more properly, human philosophy perverting certain great truths. Thus, for example, Parseeism deified the powers of evil that existed as a fact. Ahriman is Satan lifted to the throne of Deity. The problem of evil seemed to have no other solution for the Zoroastrian philosopher. So also the Brahmanistic incarnations are a philosophic perversion of God's original promise to our first parents and the expectation of a divine deliverer. The Brahmanistic philosophers were not content with one incarnation yet to come, but conceived of many in past cycles of time, and of others in the myriad ages of the future. The illimitable past and future must be disposed of in their philosophy. Even polytheism had its origin in one of two sources: in the diversified manifestations in nature of the divine power and presence, as sun, moon, stars, lightnings, and tempests; or in the deifying of symbols of divine worship in primitive times, as the cherubim, the garden of Eden, the tree of life, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil. Even the serpent, through which our first mother was tempted to sin, with a strange universality has been exalted to be an object of worship.

In comparing the great ethnic religions we are impressed with the unity of certain fundamental ideas to be found in them as we go back to their primitive source, or fountain-head. To do this we must dig away an immense mass of superincumbent rubbish of human speculations. When we have thus done, however, we find the fundamental truths of monotheism, divine providence, divine government, a future of rewards and punishments, human sinfulness met by atonement and expiatory sacrifice. We by no means say that they stand out with the clearness of the Bible revelation; but they are there, to be read by the discerning student of the religious history of our race and to attest the divinity of the Christian doctrine.

The great ethnic religions with which we wish to compare the Christian religion are the living religions of Brahmanism,

Buddhism, Confucianism, and Tauism. These are the systems that to-day confront on the great continent of Asia the Christian religion, and with which it contends for empire. We have not mentioned Mohammedanism, for it is manifestly a perversion of Judaism and Christianity, and sprang from them entirely. While a competitor of Christianity, yet all its morality or religious truth is derived from Christianity. The great ethnic religions mentioned above had a different source. Brahmanism, or Vedantism, is the religion that had its origin in the ancient Vedas. The number of its religious books, and their conflicting ideas, make it a task more than herculean to evolve out of these a self-consistent system of religious belief and practice. This accounts for there being such a wide diversity of opinion among Oriental scholars as to what is the true doctrine of Brahmanism. James Freeman Clarke says as to its origin: "There is no personality about it. . . . But what a system! How large, how difficult to understand, so vast, so complicated, so full of contradictions, so various and changeable, that its very immensity is our refuge." The fact is, the unity of the divine personality that inheres in the Christian religion places it in most emphatic contrast with the inconsistent system of Brahmanism. That is a heterogeneous system of human philosophies which have grown out of the religious beliefs of an ancient race. As well try to incorporate in ancient Judaism more recent Pharisaism, Sadduceeism, Romanism, Protestantism, and Mohammedanism.

Brahmanism has its three distinctive periods—the Vedic age, the Brahmanic age, and the age of the Purânas. The ancient Vedas, lying nearer the fountain-head of primitive revelation, present more of monotheistic truth, but less of philosophical perversion. In the most ancient period, when the first of the Vedic hymns were produced, there were five deities to whom were ascribed supreme honor. The manner in which this was done leads to the belief that Indra, Varuna, Agni, Savitri, and Soma were but different manifestations of the supreme God, somewhat after the manner of the Scriptures, where God is variously entitled El, Elohim, Jehovah, Adonai, Shaddai. One Vedic hymn declares that these various names represent but one God.

The Brahmanic age was the one in which was developed the

system of caste, that has for ages bound with most grievous fetters the people of India. It was the age of priestcraft, when the simpler beliefs and practices of the Vedic age were perverted into a system of cumbrous fasts, purifications, pilgrimages, and the like. It was this age and its religious perversions that gave birth to Buddhism, as a protest against priestly oppressions and religious absurdities, just as middle-age monasticism and asceticism were an ultra protest against worldliness. And yet Brahmanism was but an abnormal development of a great truth in religion, namely, the mystical or inner life. Man, in his efforts at correction of errors or pursuit after truth, always passes the golden mean. The Brahmanic caste is the ripe fruit of the self-righteousness of Hindoo mysticism.

The age of the Purânas is the later age of the religion of the Brahmans. It is the system as it has been affected and modified by Buddhism, Parseeism, Mohammedanism, Christianity. More or less of the influence of all these may be seen upon it; for example, the incarnation and sacrificial life of Krishna was evidently borrowed from the Christian religion, and is of quite modern date. Those who have thought to find in it an older presentation of the doctrines of incarnation and atonement than the scriptural have made a serious blunder. At best the story of Krishna's incarnation of Vishnu is not fifteen hundred years old. In this hurried review we believe we have made manifest the fact that this oldest of the ethnic religions, in its fundamental truths, bears testimony to the divinity of the chief doctrines of our holy religion. These primary doctrines are either grounded in the human religious consciousness or on a primitive revelation to all men. Either proposition supports the divinity of the Christian system.

Buddhism, which had its origin in India about six hundred years before Christ, has been styled "the Protestantism of India." The primary purpose of its founder, Sakyamuni, was to free his countrymen from the fetters that corrupted Vedantism had woven about them. Buddhism was, at first, but a system of morality that recognized the equal rights of man and the moral obligations of all. In its conflict with Brahmanism it was finally driven out of the country of its origin. But it took deep root in Thibet, China, Japan, the Burman Empire, and is to-day the religion of three hundred and fifty millions of people. It has

developed into a religion of forms, rites, ceremonies, many of which bear a striking resemblance to those of the Roman Church. These, no doubt, are subsequent additions, as is the cumbrous ritual system of Rome to the simplicity of primitive Christianity. Buddhism, like Brahmanism, is, as to its real doctrines, a subject of much dispute among Oriental scholars, most of whom affirm that it is essentially atheistic. Yet it has a system of idol worship. Images of Buddha, shrines and relics are the objects of worship. It vies with all other religions in the number and splendor of its temples and sacred shrines. Its monasteries and nunneries, and its mendicant priesthood, are as numerous as those of Rome.

With Buddhism there is no such thing as sin in a Christian sense. There is evil to be eliminated, and what we recognize as sin is to be avoided by the seeker after *nirvana* because of its hurtful consequences, as we would get rid of foul or noxious vapors or poisons. Its heaven is the annihilation of all consciousness, all feeling, all hope or fear, though some, with great reason, contend that *nirvana* does not imply total absorption of all personality, or annihilation. The fact is, that it is a system of philosophical speculation which leaves out of consideration an intelligent First Cause, and yet accepts the doctrine of a conscious existence after death—a hell of direst evil consequences for what we call sin, a heaven of blissful self-contemplation and elimination of all desire to those who by mystic meditation and avoidance of evil produce in themselves a character free from it.

The ripest fruit of Brahmanism and Buddhism, on minds that have enjoyed a Christian culture and yet in their self-sufficiency have sought by speculation to evolve for themselves a system of religion with the supernatural eliminated, is theosophy, so-called. For profound impenetrable obscurity it is fully worthy of its Hindoo origin. Wisdom concerning God will never be derived from that source. It is an attempt to supplant the magnificent brilliancy of the electric arc with a rush light.

Confucianism, strictly speaking, is not a religious system. Its author, who for two thousand four hundred years has been the teacher of China, did not aim at establishing a religion. His moral precepts were designed for the government of the individual in his present social relations and as a citizen or servant of the State. His teachings have had the effect of stereo-

typing China for two thousand years. The greater part of the stupendously voluminous literature of China is devoted to comments upon man's interpretation of his moral system. There is but little doubt that the extreme casuistry of his moral teachings has resulted in bringing about the immobility and conservatism of China. It has been disputed whether Confucius believed at all in the existence of God or immortality. Dr. Legge offers indubitable proof, however, to show that he recognized a divine power above man, and that he believed in immortality. But this question sustains the fact before asserted, that Confucianism is not primarily a religion. The only worship that belongs to it at present is ancestral worship. The intelligent Confucianist may, and in fact generally does, participate in the worship of other systems.

Confucius, as a teacher, has been frequently compared with Christ, especially in some of his moral maxims. His negative form of the Golden Rule has been held up as proof that as a teacher he was morally in advance of Christ and Christianity. Let us look at the Confucian rule: "What you do not want done to yourself, do not to others." This is a very insignificant part of the law of unselfish love as laid down by Christ. It aims to keep men from injuring others, and the motive is selfishness. It asks nothing but abstinence from malice and revenge. Christ's rule requires for its fulfillment positive benevolence. A merely accidental, partial coincidence has been made too much of by even Christian scholars. What did Confucius intend? Did he intend to lay down a law of benevolence for the government of heart and life toward all humanity? We think not. Hear him again say, "Recompense injury with justice, and kindness with kindness." And again, "He who recompenses injury with kindness is a man who is careful of his person." There is no doubt that the law of retaliation which to-day prevails with such fearful effect in China is due to the teaching of this same Confucius. There is no real comparison between him and Christ as moral teachers. Blessed will China be when Confucian power and influence are replaced by those of Christianity.

Tauism, the most ancient religious system of China, is exceedingly difficult to define, because of the fact that its forms of belief are diverse and seemingly contradictory. First, there

is the philosophy of Lao-tse, which is essentially materialistic. Out of this springs a utilitarian morality which has no higher motive than selfishness. To these have been added a system of magic, and, what is peculiarly strange, a system of spiritism. No people upon the globe live in more constant dread of evil spirits than do the Chinese. Such spirits grin at them from every dark corner and mysterious grotto. They are the prolific source of all evils and misfortunes; they are to be constantly deceived, exorcised, or placated, as prudent reference to personal safety may seem to dictate. The religion of China may be defined as an irreconcilable mixture of Buddhism, Confucianism, Tauism, with all the degrading attendants of idolatry.

These great ethnic religions are the best examples furnished in human history of the religious impulse in man seeking to satisfy itself through its own speculations. They are a degeneration from primitive purer belief and larger knowledge—a proof of the truth of the apostle's declaration that "when they knew God they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful; but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, and changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and fourfooted beasts, and creeping things."

In comparison with them the Christian religion stands out alone—incomparable in its unity, consistency, and the sublimest philosophy, containing every excellency of ethnic religions without exaggeration or admixture of error. The Christian religion had an entirely different development from these. It was an unfolding plan, an upward evolution, each stage of which is marked in the history of the nation that divine Providence made its conservator by clear and unmistakable historical data. Who can tell when Vedantism began? Who can definitely fix the date of any of its sacred books? So with Buddhism and Tauism. Whatever of historical development they had was a retrogression; but the historical development of Christianity was an evolution of increasing holy light upon great central truths until full-orbed day appeared in the incarnation of the Son of God. This, God inspired and preserved; the others, whatever may have been their primitive excellence, in their development were essentially human. And

it is an insult to the intelligence of the nineteenth century to place them in the same category with Christianity as being at all the production of a divine inspiration.

In the very nature of the case there can be but one authoritative revelation. Two or more conflicting revelations could not emanate from divine truth. If, then, the Christian Scriptures are a revelation from God of a plan of salvation, consummated in the incarnation, sacrificial death, and gifts of the Lord Jesus Christ, *a fortiori* it is inspired of God and stands alone in its divine authenticity; and it is a logical absurdity to attribute inspiration to any other system of religious belief. Either the word inspiration presents an intelligible concept, or the supernatural must be eliminated from the Christian religion. That God might make use of a Zardusht, a Gautama, or a Confucius and their systems to bless the people by whom these were the best systems of religion possessed, is not questioned, and the devotees of these systems, because of their faith in the supreme good as they understood it, might find eternal life; yet it does not necessarily follow that God inspired any of these teachers any more than he inspires anyone who seeks now, or has sought in the ages past, to realize the highest possible righteousness in himself or his fellow-man.

There is much loose talk about inspiration, and that is the most vague and unreasonable which assumes to find it in the vast, complex, heterogeneous, and irreconcilable systems of Asiatic religions. Divine inspiration in the ages of human history has had but one sole purpose—the giving to man a revelation of a plan of salvation that concenters in the Christ of the gospels; and when we use the term inspiration with reference to anything else it is as a mere figure of speech, very much as we speak of the divine afflatus in gifted poets.

Whatever view of inspiration, therefore, the Christian thinker holds, it must be such as makes the Bible as a revelation preeminently and singularly the production of the divine mind and purpose. The Christian system cannot admit any other system on the same plane of divine authority with itself.

T. M°K. Stuart

Art. IV.—JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER.

In as beautiful an autumn time as poets ever saw the angels came for Whittier, the sweetest singer of the New World, and for Tennyson, the sweetest singer of the Old; and they laid down the lyre with one hand and took up the harp with the other. Whittier came into the world about a year and a half before Tennyson, and left it less than a month in advance of him, the one going away September 7, the other October 6, 1892. Each was the natural offspring of his native soil; the one singularly English, the other peculiarly American. Each was a powerful factor in the better life of the century. Both had such a vision of infinite beauty, such faith in God and love for their fellow-men, that they sang the truth which they found in the outer world and inner heart with a spirit, a charm, which made their own nation and the world listen to them.

Macaulay, in an essay, gives Milton credit for having achieved success in the midst of a brilliant literary age, claiming that the greatest poets appear in the young and crude period of a nation's history. His theory has an illustration in Homer, who appeared so many centuries before Christ that only the dimmest outlines of himself appear, but whose voice is so strong and true and magical that it stirs the mind of the ages with his visions and heroes. Macaulay's theory has a poor illustration in the history of the literature of this country. It was two hundred years after the landing at Plymouth before a single American poet worthy of the name appeared. In this New World, with its beautiful gardens and fruitful fields, its magnificent mountains, sequestered vales and wide-spreading prairies, its majestic rivers and mighty seas, with its sweet home life, the divinest ideal of liberty, and the firm faith in the Everlasting, there was not a son born with enough genius fittingly to sing of its beauty or glory. There were statesmen, and generals, and orators, and one or two prose writers, whose fame belongs to the centuries, but there was not a single poet. Our literature illustrates another theory, that poetry thrives best in the period of a nation's maturity and opulence; that a nation must get something to eat and to wear, and a little for a rainy day, before it feels in a humor to sing much. About

all there is of American poetry is confined to the present century. Bryant had his birth the last end of the last century, but his pen began its work in this. Emerson, Longfellow, Whittier, Holmes, and Lowell came next, with births dating from 1803 to 1819. By common consent Longfellow and Whittier stand at the head of the list of American poets in popularity and influence. They were both born in the same year, the former on February 27, the latter on December 17, 1807.

Whittier was born on a farm near Haverhill, Mass. The house was an old-fashioned frame building, which was over a hundred years old at the time of the poet's birth. Most of the leading poets of this century have been city raised and college bred men. Emerson and Lowell were born in Boston, and Holmes at Cambridge, near by. All three were graduates of Harvard. Longfellow was born in Portland, Me., was graduated at Bowdoin, but was soon made professor of modern languages at Harvard, to which chair Lowell was afterward elected. These sons of wealth and social culture and highest learning form a striking contrast to Whittier, the barefooted country boy who hoed in the field, drove the cow, fed the horse, and chopped the wood. In some respects they had the advantage of him, in others he had the advantage of them. Harvard might have smoothed the art of the country boy, sharpened his wit, broadened his view, but the farm at Haverhill was necessary to make him a Whittier. The flowers, the woods, the hills, the streams, the white snow, the blue clay, the yellow stars, all sank into his being and became a part of the fiber of his soul. He was a simple child of nature, and the verses he sang had an inexpressible charm.

The farmhouse was a Quaker home, composed of father, mother, brothers, sisters, uncle on the father's side, and aunt on the mother's. They had the dress, the manner, the faith of the Quakers. The poet was true to the religion of the farmhouse till the day of his death. In his will he made this request:

> It is my wish that my funeral may be conducted in the plain and quiet way of the Society of Friends, with which I am connected, not only by birthright but also by a settled conviction of the truth of the principles and the importance of its testimonies.

It might seem that Quaker stock was rather poor stuff out of which to make a poet. The Friends did not like music; did

not believe in it. They frowned upon many amusements and enjoyments that other good people considered innocent. Most of the forms of beauty were distasteful to them. They toned down color, cut off fringes and plumes, silenced merriment, hushed melody, and determined to be plain and serious. How can a singer come out from such? But they had simplicity, indomitable industry, incorruptible integrity, domestic fidelity, personal purity, faith in God and his revealed word, brotherly love; and these are the materials that do make a poet, and they had their incarnation in Whittier. The poet's love for the old farmhouse and those that made it home is one of the most beautiful pictures in the history of his life. At the death of his father the support of the family fell upon him, and some years afterward he moved to Amesbury, giving as one of the reasons his mother's desire to be nearer the church. His love for his mother, who died in 1857, and for his sister Elizabeth, who died in 1864, was little short of idolatry. Because he had the care of a family, or was so satisfied in the bosom of it, he either did not see his way clear or did not care to marry. There is no evidence that, like Irving, he remained single because of any disappointment in love. In his "Snow Bound" how fondly does he turn to the old-fashioned farmhouse and to the loved ones within, and then says:

> Ah, brother! only I and thou
> Are left of all that circle now—
> The dear home faces whereupon
> That fitful firelight paled and shone.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Yet love will dream, and faith will trust
> (Since He who knows our need is just),
> That somehow, somewhere, meet we must.

At the age of seven Whittier was sent to the village school, and, like other country boys of that time, he attended the session a few weeks each year, for a few years, and then graduated into the field a full hand behind the horses or scythe. He mentions two books that were great factors in the development of his intellectual life. One was the Bible. Every Sabbath afternoon his mother read and expounded the family volume to him, so that the book became not only the foundation of good character but also the basis of literary merit and fame. There is a little

volume printed which contains between three and four hundred of Whittier's verses, with the texts of Scripture that suggested them. Like Tennyson, and many other distinguished poets, he fairly devoured the Scriptures. The other book was a volume of Burns. A Scotch tramp that visited his father's house after having been fed in the kitchen sang some of the songs of Burns—"Highland Mary," "Bonny Doon," and "Auld Lang Syne." The boy was wild with delight. This appreciation was evidence that he possessed the poetic instincts, for Britain since the days of Elizabeth had heard few such songs as those of Burns. When Whittier was fourteen his first school teacher, Joshua Coffin, while on a visit to his house, read some selections from a volume of Burns's poems. The boy was so pleased with them that he asked the teacher to lend him the volume, which he did. Whittier, in a leaflet, says:

> This was about the first poetry I had ever read, with the exception of that of the Bible (of which I had been a close student), and it had a lasting influence upon me.

The soul of the boy at this time was in such a receptive condition that any true poet coming to him would have excited his admiration and imitation; but it was peculiarly fortunate that Burns came to him at the start. This poor Scotch gardener, with scanty wages, living in a poor man's house, struggling against all kinds of misfortune and weakness, with genius enough to be the poet-laureate of the realm, but hired by the government to a menial task at fifty pounds a year, and yet discovering the richest truth in the most unlikely places, the purest gold in the roughest rocks, the costliest pearls in the homeliest shells, finding the splendors of a palace under the roof of straw, the beauties of paradise amid the humblest earthly scenes, the divinest instincts in the breast of the lowliest and most forgotten, with a heart of sympathy for everything God has made, even the little mice in the nest upturned by the plow, pouring the wealth of his affection without stint upon the hearts of his fellow-men; this is the poet whose verses fell like a fresh revelation on the heart of the poor son of a poor farmer at Haverhill. What a pity that the Scottish bard should have had a will so weak and appetites so strong, and that his rising sun, which promised such a glorious day, should

have gone down at noon! But he wrote some things that will last as long as the English language is spoken. What Burns was to Scotland Whittier has been to America. Whittier had many of the virtues of Burns with none of his vices, and from first to last made the poetry of the Bard of Ayr his model. His masterpiece, "Snow Bound," is in imitation of Burns's "Cotter's Saturday Night," but is in every way superior to it, and is likely to live as long as the nation endures.

With his native valley, his Quaker home, his Bible, and Burns as material, Whittier began writing verse. After three or four years of experimenting at odd times spared from his farm work, he concluded he would like to have others hear his song. A good country newspaper came to his father's house every week and was eagerly devoured by him. In the paper was a poets' corner, and he wondered whether he could not get into it, and so he tried. He wrote a poem on the "Deity," and sent it to the paper with some fear that it might be refused. He was making fences one day, when the postman, riding by, threw the paper over the fence to him in the field. It contained his poem, and he was so excited about it he could hardly get back to his work. Afterward he wrote that it was the proudest moment of his life. One day he was hoeing in the field, when he was called to the house and told that a man had come to see John Greenleaf Whittier. He wondered who could want to see him. He was barefooted and in his shirt-sleeves, and crept into the house by the back door. After putting on his shoes and vest and coat, and smoothing his hair, he entered the room, painfully embarrassed. The visitor said:

> My name is William Lloyd Garrison. I am the editor of the *Free Press*. I printed your poem on the "Deity," and I was so pleased with it I thought I would come and see what the author looked like. I see you are young. You ought to go to some academy or college and fit yourself for a literary life, to which you are adapted.

When the visitor had gone Whittier talked the matter over with his parents; they told him they had no money for tuition; that they could hardly spare him from the farm if they had the means, and that poetry would not make bread. But the visitor had put in the young man's heart a seed that was to produce a wonderful harvest. He got a farm hand, who understood the

shoemaker's trade, to teach him how to make ladies' slippers out of soft leather, and he made enough out of his wares in one season to buy a suit of clothes and pay his tuition and board for half a year. He went to Haverhill Academy, and this meant good-bye to a little spot in one county; it meant hail to the wide world and to service for a race. It was the breaking of the shell from which a bird of sweetest song was to be released. He attended the academy six months, and then, teaching school in the neighborhood for a season, earned money enough for another six months at the academy. When his school days ended he entered life for himself a young man of twenty-one, tall, thin, erect, handsome, bashful, graceful, genial, witty, brilliant in mind, pure in heart—a model Christian gentleman.

Having journalism in view, Garrison secured him a place on the *American Manufacturer*, printed in Boston. The pay was small, and his knowledge of the subject of protection to American industry being as meager, he went back to the farm. He edited his own county paper for a few months, when, in the summer of 1830, he was elected editor of the *New England Weekly Review*, published at Hartford, Conn., succeeding George D. Prentice, a brilliant editor and charming poet, who went West to help make Mr. Clay president. He successfully filled the position at Hartford for a year and a half, when his health gave way, and he was compelled to return to the farm. During his editorship in Hartford, though only twenty-four years old, and though he had been out in the wide world only three years, he had made such a literary reputation from his compositions of prose and of poetry that his company issued a volume of his writings, *New England Legends, in Prose and Verse.* He remained on the farm five years, working off a mortgage on the place, and serving two terms in the State Legislature. He served his constituency with credit, but he was no orator, and gave no especial promise of proficiency in statesmanship, though Wendell Phillips said he was one of the most winning and successful electioneerers he had ever known. He always took a lively interest in politics even to the last; and in the crowd at the old home precinct on election day could be seen the form of the patriarch enjoying the privilege and performing the duty of casting his ballot; and there was a look of awe on the faces of the people, as though a prophet of God stood in their

midst with a message from heaven. He was editor of the *Haverhill Gazette* for nearly a year. In 1837 he went to Philadelphia and took a place on the staff of the *Pennsylvania Freeman*, of which in a very short time he became chief editor, which position he had held but two months when the office was burned out. The paper continued its publication, and Whittier remained at the head of it a year, when he went back to the farm. Moving to Amesbury, in 1840, he spent the rest of his life in purely literary work, not returning to the journalistic field, except for a period of six months as editor of the *Middlesex Standard*, in Lowell. In 1857 he was one of a number who started the *Atlantic Monthly*. He had no money to put in the enterprise, but he gave it his good will and his pen. Though an able writer he was not, like Bryant, a successful journalist. If he had possessed as much journalistic as literary ability he might have founded a great newspaper which would have been a source of power and wealth, and he would not have been compelled to run, every now and then, from the sanctum to the farm to get something to eat. But then the great poet would likely have been lost in the successful journalist.

The country newspaper, with its editor, proved to be as potential a factor in the destiny of Whittier as the volume of Burns. Whittier attained his majority at a time when the slavery question was being hotly discussed. Garrison, the editor of the village newspaper, was a rabid abolitionist, with a deep laid determination to spend his life in a warfare against slavery. When he visited the farmer boy to compliment him on his poem and to encourage a higher education, he no doubt had his eye on the brilliant young man as a helper in his conflict. Whittier entered into hearty sympathy with him in his plans, and said in after life that it was through the personal persistent solicitation of Garrison that he took the active part he did in the antislavery movement. The step required sacrifice. It meant poverty, literary obscurity, social ostracism, hatred by friends, prosecution by the rabble, danger to life; but his Quaker doctrine and his conscience told him it was right, and that was enough for him. He could get but little pay for his literary productions. Few publications dared print an article or poem with his name. He was twice mobbed, in one instance escaping barely with his life. While editor of the antislavery

paper in Philadelphia the large hall and his paper in it were burned by the mob. Not an issue was suspended. The next one after the fire contained an editorial from the pen of Whittier, from which we quote:

> Woe unto us if we falter through the fear of man! Citizens of Pennsylvania, think not the intimidation will drive us from our post. We feel that God has called us to this work, and if it should be his purpose to finish what we have begun he can preserve us, though it be as in the lions' den or the sevenfold heated furnace.

Losing life, he found it; found a comfortable support, literary fame, the praise of the people, the shouts of the rabble, the gratitude of mankind. Whittier became so warmed up on the subject at the start that at the age of twenty-four he published a volume against slavery at his own expense, saving the money out of his scanty earnings on the farm; and from that time on he wrote incessantly in prose and poetry in opposition to slavery. Many of the poems written between 1833 and 1848 were collected into a volume called "Voices of Freedom." These poems were terrific, provoking the South, inflaming the North. That an apostle of brotherly love could sing such bitter things only illustrates the fact that there is no hate so hot as that of incensed love. There were many great characters in the early abolition movement, among them Sumner, Phillips, Whittier, Beecher, Mrs. Stowe, and scores of others who could be named; but Garrison was the ringleader of them all. He nagged the South, he nagged the North, he fretted and fumed, and more than any other one man stirred the mind and the conscience of the nation into the tempest that swept away disunion and slavery. In 1863 Garrison has this to say of Whittier:

> There are few living who have done so much to operate upon the public mind and conscience and heart of our country, for the abolition of slavery, as John Greenleaf Whittier.

Napoleon laid great stress upon the value of music in the efficiency of his army. In our war the bugle, the cornet, the fife and drum were found to be as necessary as ammunition wagons. In the conflict between liberty and oppression, in almost every land and time, the poet has been called to stand by the ruler and warrior for the support of the right, to inflame the heart, to nerve the hand, and inspire the hope of the people. The

voice of God that called for Cromwell called for Milton too. The voice of God that called for Lincoln from the forest called Whittier, Bryant, Lowell, and Longfellow. The spiritual kinship between the Puritan and Quaker singer of freedom is expressed in lines referred to by Sir Edwin Arnold, while visiting the poet at Oak Knoll three years ago. Mr. Arnold said:

I wish you could come across the Atlantic to see under the memorial window to Milton, in St. Margaret's Church at Westminster, your own admirable verse:

> The New World honors thee, whose lofty plea
> For England's freedom made her own more sure
> Thy page, immortal as its theme, shall be,
> Their common freehold while the worlds endure.

When the war came Whittier found himself in a predicament. He had spent thirty years conscientiously stirring up a war which his religion would not let him indorse; for the Quakers were as much opposed to war as to slavery. He had been active in the organization of the political parties out of which the Republican party was evolved, and in that party itself, working and voting for Lincoln; and now, at the beginning of his administration, the poet's Quakerism compelled him to deprecate a resort to arms. He stopped at once, declining to write a line in favor of war. In obedience to a conscience which he always served he stopped at the edge of the war, but the momentum carried his services and personality into it, and became a powerful factor in its issue. The question of slavery was woven into every uniform of blue and hammered into every musket of steel, and no one could separate them. Whittier's verses were sung at recruiting stations and on the field. After the defeat of Bull Run the Hutchinson family inspired the Army of the Potomac with songs. For singing Whittier's "Ein Feste Burg" the officer expelled them from the lines, sharing the opinion of many good people that the war would not be of long duration, and that it would be imprudent to say or sing unfriendly things about slavery. The singers went to President Lincoln with the matter. He asked Secretary Chase to read the whole poem in open cabinet meeting. Lincoln said: "It is just the kind of a song I want the soldiers to hear," and by a unanimous vote of the cabinet the family was sent back into the lines to sing Whittier's song.

Whittier was a good while learning to make his best verse. Bryant wrote his "Thanatopsis" while he was in his teens. Whittier's earlier poems were most of them crude, containing, however, the prophecy of what he was to be. He wisely suppressed from his published volumes many of his earlier poems. He did not come up rapidly, like the tree that cannot last half a generation, but slowly, like the elm that intends to live for centuries. His poetry got better and better, his vigor of mind and warmth of heart being preserved to the last. His poems at fourscore are like the fruit hanging in the orchard, rosy and sweet, after the frost has scattered the leaves. The lines to Holmes, in August last, are like an apple, beautiful and luscious, plucked from a bough on which the snow has fallen. Here they are:

> The hour draws near, howe'er delayed and late,
> When at the Eternal Gate,
> We leave the words and works we call our own,
> And lift void hands alone
> For love to fill. Our nakedness of soul
> Brings to that Gate no toll:
> Giftless we come to Him who all things gives,
> And live because he lives.

How kindly nature has dealt with Bryant, Longfellow, and Whittier, who loved her so! After having led them under spring blossoms and through yellow wheat she gave them an Indian summer before the winter came.

Whittier was not an original poet. He created no new world of thought, peopling it with creatures of his imagination, and hence cannot be ranked among the greatest poets of the world, such as Dante and Milton. This country has produced as yet no such original mind, and it is a wonder, for the material ought to be in the blood and the environment. This hero-poet will appear not in our time, but in the generations or centuries to come. If Whittier did not create any new world he did that which was of as much practical advantage to our time, he found a world already made full of people just at hand, worthy of his affection and study. His characteristic was what Carlyle calls the chief element in the true poet—sincerity. He pictured things and thoughts just as he saw them, adding nothing to, taking nothing from them. He was a true painter of the outer form of nature. His poems of nature are exquisite, and

remind us very much of Bryant. Among the best are "Hampton Beach," "A Dream of Summer," and the "Last Walk in Autumn," in which we find:

> Along the river's summer walk,
> The withered tufts of asters nod;
> And trembles on its arid stalk
> The hoar plume of the golden-rod.
> And on a ground of somber fir,
> And azure-studded juniper,
> The silver birch its buds of purple shows,
> And scarlet berries tell where bloomed the sweet wild rose.

Without money or travel, college or library, nothing was left for Whittier but to take up the things nearest to him at home. Burns did the same thing, and both made the kinds of poets the people like to read. The poet of Haverhill did not busy himself with Niagara, or the Alps, or flowers of exquisite hues in some fair south land, or with beautiful women and great men in some country a thousand miles away. The streams and hills and flowers and people around his house were good enough for him. He spent his life with them, learned all about them, told his fellows of them, and became the New England, the American, poet. His characters were not kings and conquerors, but mostly plain people that he knew. His songs of labor have been an inspiration to many sons of toil.

Whittier was not only a faithful painter of the outer forms of nature, but he was a true interpreter of their hidden meaning. He was a seer—a see-er into nature. As sand turns to window pane, through which the flower garden can be seen, so the clay covering over nature by a divine alchemy turned to crystal, and he saw through it a world of inexpressible beauty, the very garden where God lived and loved. Scott and Burns sketched the outer forms of beauty with an artist's hand, but Wordsworth and Whittier saw deeper and found infinite beauty. It was in obedience to his Quaker teaching and instinct that Whittier found the Spirit in silence, and behind the forms.

In his writings the poet has pictured himself—not the outer features seen in a mirror, the black eyes, the high forehead, the benign face—but the man within, enwrapped in the robes of flesh. He did not busy himself with finespun theories nor differences of philosophy, but spent much of his time studying himself. What he thought, what he felt, what he knew, he wrote,

and he wrote it because he knew it to be true. He infused his personality into his lines. As pictures of landscape are sometimes made so that by a little study they resemble some person we know, so Whittier's pictures of nature and of life resemble him. In describing truly the inner life of a true man the poet of Amesbury describes the heart of humanity, and this is why he became the object of the nation's pride and love.

As behind the clay forms that covered nature he saw infinite beauty, so in the inmost center of man's inner world he found God. Back of the intellect he found infinite wisdom back of human affection infinite love. We have come now to that which most characterized him as a man and poet—his religion. He was eminently a religious poet. In his words and works he was a living commentary on the Scriptures. The Latin *vates* meant prophet as well as poet. If any man deserved to bear that title it was Whittier. He was a prophet, a finder of the mystery of God in nature, in humanity, in the Book, and a faithful revealer of that mystery to the children of men. He felt that his words were from the divine promptings, that his acts were performed in obedience to the divine command. Now he stands on Sinai to cry out against the sins of the people and voice God's anger against them, and now he stands at the cross of his Saviour in tears, singing of love and of life. The world loves to hear him sing because his voice and lyre are tuned to the melodies of heaven. Longfellow beautifully refers to his spirituality, in lines written on Whittier's seventieth birthday:

> O thou, whose daily life anticipates
> The life to come, and in whose thought and word
> The spiritual world predominates,
> Hermit of Amesbury! thou, too, hast heard
> Voices and melodies from beyond the gates,
> And speakest only when thy soul is stirred!

Take them as a class there never lived a people more brilliant in intellect, correct in morals, and pure in spirituality than the people of New England at the time Whittier came upon the stage. They had such literal faith in God, in prayer, in providence, in the Bible, in the atonement, in immortality, that life was a terribly solemn thing, and duty was the undisputed sovereign of thought and of act. They never thought of any-

thing but making religion the chief end, the all of life. With all their faults their civilization will not be surpassed, if matched, by any for a hundred years to come. Whittier was the religious exponent of his time. He was a Quaker, but, as some one has said, the Quaker was only a Puritan dressed in drab. Excepting Milton, Whittier was the greatest poet of Puritanism that ever lived. He believed the cardinal doctrines of Christianity as taught by most of the Churches of his time and most of the Churches of our time. His faith in the atonement is expressed in the "Crucifixion," which closes as follows:

And shall the sinful heart alone,
  Behold unmoved the atoning hour,
When nature trembles on her throne,
  And death resigns his iron power?
O, shall the heart, whose sinfulness
  Gave keenness to his sore distress,
And added to his tears of blood,
  Refuse its trembling gratitude?

His trust in divine Providence is voiced in a poem which contains this verse:

And thou, O Lord, by whom are seen
  Thy creatures as they be,
Forgive me if too close I lean
  My human heart on thee.

His intense love for Christ is breathed in "Our Master," which will live as long as "Snow Bound." We copy two stanzas that contain a whole volume of essential truth:

Apart from thee all gain is loss,
  All labor vainly done;
The solemn shadow of thy cross
  Is better than the sun.

Alone, O Love ineffable!
  Thy saving name is given;
To turn aside from thee is hell,
  To walk with thee is heaven.

The warmth of brotherly love, which was a part of his love for God, can be felt in almost everything he has written.

In the literary history of nations men of genius have often been so reckless in their morals that the world half looked for social weaknesses where the poetic instinct was discovered. Whittier, and the cluster of great men contemporary with him

that made American poetry what it is, have shown that temperance, social purity, and religious vigor are most becoming to the poet. That Whittier, a man who never touched wine in its mildest form; who had the courage to propose the health of the shoemakers in a glass of cold water; who was so religious that he performed every act with reference to the last day; who was so consecrated that Christ's image was in his character and Christ's spirit in his life; who closed almost every poem with an exhortation to be good, to love God and man—that such a man should be about the best-loved poet the country has ever produced is an evidence of the encouraging condition of the public conscience.

Whittier will live. The people of this country have placed upon his brow a wreath of laurel leaves more enduring than the crown that rests on the kingly head. Homer, not the kings of antiquity, rules the past; Shakespeare, not the kings whose greatness went down with the platforms on which they stood, rules England. Whittier rules an empire broader than Victoria's—the mind and heart of this great nation.

According to the fable Orpheus struck his lyre with such skill that trees and rocks began to move and keep step to his music, and wild beasts, charmed by his strains, came from the forest and gathered about him. The fable becomes fact. Whittier struck his lyre with such magical force that iron fetters fell apart, and greater than trees and rocks set themselves in motion. Immortal beings, stirred by his lyre, marched out to the mightiest tragedy the world has seen. And when the tumult was over, millions were charmed by his songs of peace and of love. The lyre of Orpheus, as it floated down the Hebrus, continued to sound forth the same strains as when touched by its master's fingers. Whittier's lyre, as it floats down the stream of years, will continue to send forth its sweet strains, and coming generations will be charmed with its music of love and of heaven.

Ferdinand C. Iglehart.

ART. V.—SOME RECENT EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS.

THERE are many problems in educational matters whose solution will be fully disclosed only by time. But we may often anticipate the future if we can take accurate measurements in even a small segment of the recent past. The interest and value of educational statistics lie in this: they enable us to ascertain the trend of events, and to see whither the slow processes of change are tending which affect the institutions of higher education, as well as all other organisms of society.

In the February number of the *Educational Review*, 1892, Professor A. M. Comey, of Tufts College, presents some statistics which have attracted much attention, showing the attendance at the colleges of the United States at decennial periods since 1850. In order to obtain a fair basis of comparison only male students in college classes are enumerated, all female students and students in preparatory and professional schools being omitted. Professor Comey uses these statistics to prove only the hitherto unknown and gratifying fact that the rate of increase in the number of college students in the United States is much greater than the rate of increase in population; but as the statistics are given in detail for each school it is possible to use them in drawing other deductions.

Omitting the Southern States, as we shall do in all the statistics of this article, and considering only the decade 1880–1890, the increase in the population of the United States was 26.7 per cent. During the same decade the increase in students in college classes in all schools of the United States was 53.1 per cent, while during the same time the increase in students in Methodist schools was 52.3 per cent. Our Methodist colleges are, therefore, holding their own in the general rapid advance of higher education in this country.

We see, also, that the increase in attendance is a differential increase. The line of advance is not an even one. Certain groups of schools are pushing forward swiftly, others are progressing slowly but steadily, while still others have fallen behind and are passing to the rear. The State universities, for example, have grown during the last decade at the rate of 93.6 per cent. This is far above the average, but some allowance

should be made for the fact that these schools, with the exception of the University of Vermont, are situated in the West, where the increase in population has been most rapid, and where the competition with strong denominational schools is least.

On the whole, the larger schools of the country are growing much faster than the smaller ones. In New England, for instance, more than one half of the male college students are at Cambridge and New Haven, while the remainder are distributed among thirteen other colleges; and while the increase in these thirteen colleges was 26.2 per cent, the increase in Harvard and Yale was 64.2 per cent. The same law obtains among the schools of Methodism. The rate of increase of our seven larger schools was 84.4 per cent, although, as we have seen, the rate of increase of all our schools was but 52.3 per cent. The differential increase in favor of the larger schools is especially marked in those States in which we yet have several competing colleges. The increase of the Ohio Wesleyan University was 94.8 per cent; that of the four other Methodist colleges in Ohio 18.6 per cent: the increase in the Northwestern University was 103 per cent; the decrease in the four other Methodist colleges in Illinois 24.5 per cent: the increase in Cornell College was 146.9 per cent; the increase in the three other Methodist colleges in Iowa 45.3 per cent. The cumulative effect of this law of increase is exhibited in the statistics of collegiate attendance, male and female, at our Methodist colleges, as given in their catalogues for 1892. Omitting schools for women only, in seven colleges the number of students in the four college classes ranges from two hundred and forty-four to five hundred and thirty-one, an average of three hundred and thirty college students to each school; in seven it ranges from one hundred to one hundred and eighty, an average of one hundred and thirty-four to each school; in twenty-eight the collegiate attendance is less than one hundred, and averages thirty-eight to each school.

The centralization of patronage thus exhibited is partly the cause and partly the result of an equally noticeable concentration of financial support. The educational benefactions of the Church have not been uniformly distributed, but have been massed upon certain schools. This is clearly shown by statistics of annual income, perhaps the most reliable measure of financial

strength. The carefully prepared and valuable tables published in the *Report of the Board of Education of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, January, 1892, give the annual income of some five institutions of higher education as above $50,000. The average income of these schools is $102,633. The income of five is from $20,000 to $50,000, their average income being $35,849. The income of seven is from $10,000 to $20,000, their average income being $12,918. An annual income of less than $10,000 is reported from twenty colleges and universities, their average being $5,765. There are reported the incomes also of twenty academies and seminaries. The average income of these secondary schools is $12,034. There are five colleges and universities and eight secondary schools whose incomes are not reported. A considerable number of the twenty-five institutions of higher education whose income is below $10,000, or is not reported, are situated west of the Missouri River, and we may well anticipate for them a growth equal to the growth of their young and vigorous States; but the chief distinction between many of the twenty-five colleges and universities on the one hand, and the twenty academies and seminaries on the other, is probably a geographical one—a difference of nomenclature between the East and the West.

There can be no doubt that the rate of increase in wealth, and in all that wealth supplies, has been much greater in the larger than in the smaller schools, and that the gap between them in financial resources is widening even faster than the gap in attendance. The productive endowment, less indebtedness, of our ten colleges and universities whose income is over $20,000 (and is it possible to maintain a college with less?) aggregates $4,886,079—an average of $488,608. The productive endowment, less indebtedness, of our thirty-two colleges and universities whose income is less than $20,000, or is not reported, is $698,635—an average of $21,832; while the productive endowment, less indebtedness, of the twenty-five colleges and universities whose income is less than $10,000 is $171,438—an average endowment for the support of each school of $6,857.

In the above statistics we have evidence of a profound and rapid change whose import we cannot fail to recognize. In number of students, in rate of growth, in financial resources, and in all that depends upon financial resources, our schools are

differentiating into two classes, and the interval between them is constantly widening. It is a natural process, unforced and unchecked by artificial means; it is the readjustment of our educational system to the changing conditions of society. The centralization now in progress in the institutions of higher education resembles the centralization in population, by which the large cities of the United States are growing so much more rapidly than are the smaller cities and towns and the rural districts, and its causes are not entirely dissimilar.

The pioneer colleges of the country were not merely planted with the wise prodigality of nature, which scatters a hundred acorns for each oak that is to be; but in numbers as well as in equipment they corresponded with the needs of the time rather than with the hopes for the future. They were numerous because means of communication were imperfect. Their patronizing territories were described by the radius of the stage line. When the railway took the place of the stage line the circles of patronage surrounding each school widened and overlapped. A struggle for existence was begun. It became impossible to protect a school by its isolation or by any official cordon.

Most of the students in the early colleges were in the preparatory schools, and the requisites for admission were so low, and conditions so freely made, that a large number of their college students would be classed as sub-collegiate under the standards of the better institutions. Such schools found strong competitors in high schools and seminaries, which not only prepared students for college, but also paralleled a good deal of the college course. The rise of the high school and seminary is one of the causes of the decline, relative or absolute, of the small college. But the chief reason for its decline is the change that has taken place in educational standards. No epoch in the history of education is more critical than that through which we are now passing, which sees the disappearance in the United States of the old education and the triumph of the new. The old education had many merits—the merits mainly of the monastic ideal. Austerity, self-denial, the bearing of the yoke, were the characteristics of this noble discipline. From its dark and silent cloisters, into which little entered less abstruse than mathematics or more modern than the extinct languages, the student emerged into a world of intense and multifarious activi-

ties—an alien world, in which the knowledge he had gained was accounted useless, and the motives under which he had gained it were unknown. Whatever the faults of the new education may be, it at least remedies this, which I conceive to be the great fault in the old—it articulates the school and the world. It does not ignore discipline, but it disciplines the mind by imparting knowledge, interest, and control in those subjects which are of value after graduation, as well as before it, and in which the future intellectual life of the student must be led. Its aims are lasting ones—the enrichment of life, the acquisition of knowledge, the search for truth. The college is, therefore, no longer a cloister remote from life, and from which its sights and sounds are excluded. It is rather an eminence from which the plain of life can be viewed in all its fields, and mapped and comprehended before the student descends into it.

The modern ideal of a liberal education is therefore as broad and as complex as is the scientific view of life which constitutes and defines it. It embraces a knowledge of history, the history of races and nations, of institutions and ideas. As the body of man is said to traverse the same stages in the few months of its prenatal existence which was accomplished by the organic life of the planet in the countless ages of its development, so the mind, in the brief formative period of its education, must review the same stages which our ancestors passed over in the long history of the evolution of civilization. A liberal education includes a knowledge of literature, the record of the inner experiences, the aspirations and the ideals of humanity. To a student speaking the English language it is primarily a knowledge of the noblest, fullest, and richest of literatures—the literature of his own tongue. It has been said by President Gilman that "a liberal education absolutely requires that every English-speaking person should have a knowledge of French and German also;" and certainly a reading knowledge of these languages is essential to advanced work in almost any kind of research. We need only mention the long-established claims to a place in college courses of the languages of the chief intellectual races of antiquity, the Hellenic and the Roman. No man can be called liberally educated to-day who has not acquired the conceptions of the worlds of matter and life, their origin and goings on, which science gives,

and for this, as for so many other uses, mathematics is indispensable. One of the duties of any system of education which can be called liberal is to fit the student for citizenship, and it therefore includes economics and sociology, and the customs of international comity. If a liberal education is to prepare for a life fulfilling the comprehensive words of Goethe, *Im Ganzen, Guten, Shoenen, Resolut zu leben*, it must devote a larger place to art than is allotted at the present time. No education can be called liberal which does not teach fully the phenomena of mind as given in consciousness and by experiment; which does not include ethics and the history of ethical theories; and which does not allot a prominent place to the history of religion and to those complexes of truth which constitute the evidences of theism and Christianity.

Whatever difference of opinion there may be as to the comparative value of different studies in the new education, there is little as to methods and aims. The student must be taught the methods of research. He is led into the laboratory and the observatory; he uses the microscope, the balance, the blowpipe, and the scalpel. He consults original documents; he reads authors rather than critics; he learns how to investigate and judge for himself; and, above all, he has everywhere the guidance of men whose entire lives and interests are bound up in the subject of their instruction; who are not mere teachers of texts, but who, by virtue of their own investigations and scholarship are linguists and mathematicians, biologists, geologists, astronomers, physicists, chemists, historians, metaphysicians, and *littérateurs*. Otherwise the knowledge the student gains is without body, substance, or life. It is unreal and shadowy—the dead, dry, and scattered bones in the valley of a dream.

We have set forth the ideals of a liberal education at greater length than any novelty in their presentation will warrant; but our purpose is attained if these statements, however trite, serve in any way to emphasize how complex must be the modern college, whose function it is to provide an education so broad and comprehensive and thorough; how numerous must be its teachers, how costly its equipment, how extensive its libraries and apparatus and collections. Nor can we see any signs of a return toward older and simpler conditions. It is true that there is at present a strong trend toward more complete special-

ization, toward narrower courses of study pursued to greater length. The comparative value of this special training we will not discuss; it is sufficient to notice it and the vogue it is obtaining, and the still heavier burdens which it lays upon the colleges, since their own specialization is out of the question. I am speaking, I hardly need say, not of the university, constituted of graduate and professional schools, but only of undergraduate instruction—only of the college of liberal arts, whatever its associate schools may be.

With so complete a change of educational ideals a readjustment in the institutions of higher education was inevitable. A few schools have been endowed—only a few could be—and the remainder of the early colleges, so readily planted and once so easily maintained, are withering away because they have not much root. It is not strange that these schools, with a few underpaid and overworked teachers, often set down in country villages, without books, apparatus, society, or the inspiration of numbers, isolated from the currents of thought, and afflicted with intellectual and material poverty, should be able to gather in only a few students from adjoining counties, and have never really outgrown the status of the preparatory school.

To use again the schools of the Methodist Episcopal Church to illustrate what is true of the schools of all denominations: in our own colleges and universities whose income is less than ten thousand dollars or is not reported, only one seventh of the entire enrollment is in college classes—an average of forty college students to each college. The good that colleges of the early type have done is incalculable. They trained the leaders of the nation in every department of life. Their teachers were noble and self-sacrificing men, often of great skill in instruction and sometimes of profound erudition. Together with the Christian ministry they have done much to uphold in American society the ideals of plain living and high thinking. But the relative or absolute decline of the survivors of this type of college is due to the fact that for want of means they cannot teach what men want taught, or cannot teach it as men want it taught. The parable of President Garfield, who described the ideal college as consisting of Mark Hopkins and his log, is often used to set forth the advantages of the schools without equipment; but does it not exaggerate? There is no question, indeed, as to the universal presence

of the log, with all the barrenness which it represents; but how few who ever took their seats on one end of it found a Mark Hopkins on the other! Whatever the actual advantages of weak colleges may be, the popular verdict is against them. And from States where they are most numerous there is a yearly exodus of the brightest young men and women to better equipped colleges in other States. The residents of Ohio, says President Eaton, who are attending college elsewhere, are two hundred and one more in number than the residents of other States attending college in Ohio.

There has been put upon the weaker colleges of the country a stress in the struggle for existence, a strain in the futile effort to do the work of better equipped competing schools, which has brought about a certain slight deterioration in manners if not in morals. My illustrations here will be drawn impartially from the schools of all denominations. Everybody who is widely read in the literature of college catalogues has noticed an innocent exultation that finds its ground in various things. In one instance which I recall, the position of the university was the cause of boasting. It was central in the State, central in the Mississippi valley, central in the United States of America. This university had about one hundred students all told. The number of college sites which, on account of the enrapturing beauty of the scenery, are among the finest in America must be reckoned by dozens, and the number of college buildings which have been pronounced by competent judges to be among the best in the country, by scores. Sometimes these superlatives are bestowed upon the museum or the society halls or the athletic fields. In a current catalogue it is the president's residence which compares favorably with that of any other residence in the country, and in a few instances the personal appearance of the president warrants the insertion of his portrait, perhaps accompanied with those of his worthy colleagues in the faculty.

It is the same pressure from competition which leads to the introduction into college catalogues of paragraphs which must be classified as fictitious literature. Such are reports of endowments long since consumed by current needs, pictures of college buildings as yet castles in Spain, lists of elective studies from which the entire class must choose, and statements of requisites for admission that remain unenforced. How much better the

delightful frankness of the western university as to its requisites for admission, which states that "entrance examinations are not conducted here after the rack and torture methods that obtain in some institutions. New students are classified on their own representations of work done; and their ability to master work assigned determines permanent classification."

The weighty name of university, imposed by its unforeseeing founders, has often required fictitious bolstering. In order to validate the title I have known a "university" with three or four professors to segregate itself into eight or ten departments, the last, but really not least, of which was the Sunday School Normal Department!

If we add to the temptations arising from competition an *entourage* largely without culture and often unable to distinguish between the sham and the real in education, and especially susceptible to outward show, we have the conditions under which buildings and grounds and all that appeals to the eye and can be used for pictorial advertisement have been made to outweigh men and books and educational apparatus, which constitute a college. One of our oldest and wealthiest universities deserves all praise because it has erected no new building for twenty years, but has applied its large donations to higher needs. The value of buildings and grounds of the twenty-five Methodist colleges and universities whose income is less than ten thousand dollars, or is not reported, is to their productive endowment, less debts, as twenty-six to one, while in our six wealthiest schools the ratio is less than three fourths to one.

The graduate school, so essential a part of the university, is imitated with fatal facility. It can be set going without adding a teacher to the faculty or a book to the library. The only expense is printer's ink. Courses of graduate study leading to high degrees are therefore very popular—to be pursued, of course, *in absentia*, as the university has not the slightest equipment for graduate instruction in residence. I recall such a course leading to the degree of Ph.D., advertised in the catalogue of an institution in whose classical course Virgil is read in the first term of the junior year, and Anabasis in the third term of the sophomore, and whose faculty contains four professors. Now that the degree of Ph.D. is no longer conferred *pro honore*, no college should offer it unless prepared to provide the

necessary facilities and instruction for study in residence, and such study should be absolutely requisite for the degree.

After all, it is only in self-protection, and by the same instinct of protective mimicry which clothes the weak species well-nigh extinct with the color or semblance of stronger and successful rivals, that many of the weaker colleges of the country have assumed the titles or outward appearance of larger institutions. And sorry as are these mimetic adaptations, they have probably been successful in a measure. Among communities of a certain degree of culture a "university" may succeed in obtaining pupils when it might fail if it frankly called itself a seminary. At least it is the contention of some who understand the surroundings of these schools, that to change their names to correspond with facts is to slaughter them. But the assistance gotten from these devices is at best transitory. There is a growing class of people whom they do not deceive; and as culture and knowledge in educational matters increase the time is coming—is it not here already?—when every advantage is with the school whose work and name correspond frankly with its means. The need for good fitting schools is becoming more and more urgent. The number of young men unable to complete the lengthened college courses is increasing. We believe that the place of safety in the struggle for existence for our weaker colleges lies here, the place of success also in attendance and in quality of work. The only difficulty is that, as a rule, their means are insufficient for good seminary work, as we have seen.

The action of the General Conference of 1892, recommending a classification of Methodist schools, will be useful, even if we are to regard it as advisory rather than imperative. It will assist the natural tendency and process which it has been the purpose of this paper to set forth and explain—the progressive centralization of our educational interests. It discourages the foundation of new and unneeded institutions. However heartily we may wish that all our colleges might be adequately endowed, I suppose there is no one who understands the financial requirements of the modern college who considers it within the limits of possibility. How few of our colleges are already adequately endowed can be seen at a glance from the statistics already given. Indeed, is any college of the Methodist Episco-

pal Church in the United States adequately endowed, estimating simply by the endowment of other institutions? Is there a single Methodist school which ranks in income with competing schools in its own district? According to the last report of the Commissioner of Education, 1888–1889, in New England, Wesleyan ranks eighth in income and Boston third; in New York, Syracuse ranks fifth; in Pennsylvania, Dickinson ranks seventh; in Ohio, Ohio Wesleyan ranks fourth; in Michigan, Albion ranks second; in Indiana, it is a close race between the University of Indiana and De Pauw;* in Wisconsin, there are four schools with a larger income than Lawrence, and in Illinois two, if we include the new University of Chicago, with a larger income than the Northwestern; in Minnesota and Iowa, Hamline and Cornell each rank third. On every educational field east of the Missouri, unless it is in Indiana, we are beaten by heavier batteries. The most that the Church can do is to wisely strengthen those schools whose success has demonstrated the eminent fitness of their locations to be the future educational centers of Methodism. The endowment of each of these schools should be read in the millions. Less than this means loss of prestige and influence, an inferior rank and inferior work, whose results will not be confined to the colleges, but will permeate the entire Church. Certainly we must provide our Methodist young people with at least as good facilities in our own colleges as are offered elsewhere; their education must be as thorough and broad as that of any other body of youth.

But our responsibility is a wider one. In common with our sister Churches we have undertaken to educate the youth of the United States. The responsibility for the scholarship and culture of a nation is upon us—a responsibility whose only measure is the value to a great people of knowledge and science and all that pertains to the intellectual life; for the college is as indispensable to the intellectual life of the nation as the Church is indispensable to its Christian morality. This is not gainsaid by the fact that there are educated men outside colleges and moral men outside churches. Mediocre colleges infect an entire people with intellectual mediocrity. The distribution of ability in the United States coincides with the geographical distribution of the best institutions of learning.

* Income not stated.

The educational responsibilities which rest upon the Methodist Episcopal Church cannot be delegated or abandoned. We can ask no other Church to do our work, and still less can the Churches relegate their educational interests to the State. The State is now doing but a fraction of the work of higher education. Only 13.5 per cent of the college students of the United States are in State universities. Nor has the State proven itself so generous a patron that we may hope that it ever will assume the entire burden of which it is now carrying so small a share. There are other objections to State schools, but the chief reason for the continuance of the colleges of the Christian Churches, as for their existence in the past, is the religious spirit that pervades them. To love God is in the deepest sense a liberal education. The abnegation of the selfish instinct, the consecration of life to its noblest ends, the alignment of the individual with the religious life of the race, the experimental knowledge of the vital truths of God and the soul—these are results in education which have been definitely set before the schools of Methodism, and largely attained through the divine blessing. And these results more than outweigh anything that may have been lacking in the education of the mind.

Is there, then, any escape for the Church from these weighty responsibilities, so little realized, so inadequately met, and so rapidly increasing? Not until the time comes when our educational foundations achieve complete independence—an independence, like that of the adult son, prepared and rejoiced in by the parent, an independence which will leave untouched every tie of affection and common interest and religious belief. Such an ultimate differentiation of function in society is very probable, by which the institutions of higher education in the United States will become, as some have already become, completely individualized and separated from all other organizations, ecclesiastical and secular.

The only escape for the Church from the burden of her colleges lies in making them financially independent, the only escape from our educational duties lies in doing them.

Wm H. Norton.

Art. VI.—THE THEOLOGY OF MILTON.

A train toils for hours across the plains away from the foothills of the Rockies, yet at nightfall two or three peaks still stand out bold and gloomy. For two hundred years the Anglo-Saxons have been receding from the English civil war; thirty thousand to fifty thousand manuscripts, the details of its history, are crumbling in the British Museum alone; the forms of Milton and Cromwell alone tower rugged and familiar. The rubbish flung upon Cromwell—ideal Puritan and forefather of liberty—has about decayed; we see him for the first at full size.

In English speech there has been but one master of "a great and perfect style"—John Milton. Our critics agree in this, and agree that we have no hope of another. Milton thought himself born an age too late to write a great poem; Macaulay sanctions and emphasizes this. We can see as a people no more the glowing visions of childhood. Spenser saw them as the child itself sees; Shakespeare saw them with the wild, undisciplined delight of riotous youth; Milton saw them with the steady head of mature life and the chaste eyes of a deep faith; but he saw them vanishing—the day of scientific research, practical, cold, critical, was at hand.

Within a generation Milton has ceased to be a popular author and has become a classic only. Macaulay could repeat "Paradise Lost;" Canon Farrar could finish, in his boyhood, the poem from any given verse; John Bright knew but two models for his manly eloquence—Milton and the Bible. A few years since the great poem adorned the center table of every intelligent religious family. To-day the schoolboy knows Milton only from a few pages in a text-book of literature. The weird and grotesque genius of Doré prolongs a decaying popularity in the household. Only scholars read, and they seldom quote. Milton will receive reverence and critical study; but the popular favor is gone. His style was modeled on the classics in the day when it was almost worship for a studious man to open a Greek tragedy or Latin oration. This homage has ceased. The causes that led to it are no longer in operation. The devout reverence for the ancient classics can no more belong to our day than fauns and satyrs can invade our forests.

But, aside from style and smaller matters that turn the popular mind away, is the great fact that the theology of Milton is not for us. It belongs to a yesterday—passed but very near. It was buried as Henry VIII was buried; with profound admiration for strength and great services, but with no tears. Milton was not a theologian in his first thought. The day when the Westminster Catechism was given birth was a time of doctrinal peace—a Roman peace, perhaps—but there was little critical or speculative thought on doctrines. The volcano that buried the English throne burst forth from religious fires, but they were kindled by questions of church government, not of doctrine. Bishop, pope, presbyter, league and covenant, were the watchwords, while the theology of Geneva ruled with little question over both parties. Our hard questions were unasked—almost unheard of then. In the ponderous prose volumes of Milton one searches in vain for argument on the existence of God, divinity of Christ, inspiration of Scripture, or immortality. His theological system was a stern and colossal structure, a mediæval castle built on bare, overjutting rocks—built for storms and siege and victory. The massive foundation stones are Hebraic; the general plan is Roman; every ponderous archway, every tower, hall, or chamber bears the impress of St. Augustine. The material is Anglo-Saxon, coarse and firm; the decoration, rich and chaste, is Greek. The Latin essay on Christian doctrine, found in 1823 among state papers, shows views somewhat heterodox—the eternity of matter and a rather Arian notion of Christ; his liberal Sabbath and divorce views were well known. Our wonder is that a scholar so wide in range, a man so ready to abandon precedent and heap scorn upon throne, altar, and cathedral, so haughty and lonely a mind, accepted implicitly theology as he found it. We would expect one so self-centered and mighty as the author of *Areopagitica*, whose only church was his own chamber, whose only choir was his own voice and organ, whose only worship was his own meditation and prayer, whose only liturgy was his Hebrew Bible, to anticipate the theological movements of a century, as Coleridge did; but he did not.

Milton's God is a monarch seated always upon a throne in unapproachable majesty. The throne is iron; no poetic splendors can gild it. His decrees go forth like the laws of Draco;

he is cold, just, jealous, and terrible. The czar in his arsenal-palace, hurling to Siberian gloom his wayward subjects, is as attractive to our hearts as the One who, "in the pure empyrean sits high-throned above all height," in Milton's "Paradise." "Father," the word of unspeakable meaning to Christian hearts —full of hope and comfort, inviting the weak, the weary, the sinful, to look up to his face, to return to his arms—this name is not known to the angels who shout in the high-domed halls from which every murmurer has been hurled by thunder-bolts of wrath. About the old Jove there was a certain grim humor and benevolent smile that made him at times approachable—even lovable—to men. The Hebrew prophet never forgot the mercy that endureth forever as an attribute of Jehovah. In this noblest majesty of English speech, sublime as the deep roll of the sea, the throne is radiant in pure light; but as we behold it we shiver. The very light is cold as white marble; the dreadful caricature of God is the corner stone of a theology that frowns like the tower of London or the old French bastile.

Milton's Christ is an official Saviour. His mission begins in a Roman court of justice; his incarnate life is perfunctory. The Jesus of Nazareth who was the friend and brother of fishermen, who went into the houses of men to win their personal love, who wept at Bethany, was a man of sorrows as well as of joy, who forgives at Calvary in words more tender than any mother's voice—this Jesus, who is every day winning his way deeper into the hearts of men in these last years, is a far different person from the calm, dignified, resigned prince of "Paradise Lost" or "Paradise Regained." None of the hymns that form the choral parts of the great poem could give way to "Jesus, lover of my soul." The harps of these warrior angels could not be tuned to such melody. Whoever doubts progress in theology let him read Milton, then the conception of Christ drawn from living writers; and be thankful that the stately figure who in the former comes from heaven to earth to live and die is not the Christ of our intellects or the Christ of our hearts.

Satan is the strong character—easily the hero of "Paradise Lost"—our hearts follow him as such. But if this scornful and wayward outcast solve the problem of evil as finding a fulcrum outside God's government on which evil may rest

its lever, the success is only poetical. Milton's Satan is the boldest figure clothed in black ever propelled from the human brain. He rises in awful majesty between the grotesque, rollicking devil of the middle ages and the mysterious force called evil by the science of to-day. Over all devils, from Persian Ahriman to Mephistopheles, Milton's Satan sits chief as easily as ever:

> Millions of spirits for his fault amerced
> Of heaven, and from eternal splendors flung
> . . . . .
> He above the rest
> In shape and gesture proudly eminent,
> Stood like a tower.

Theology now does not embody its evil in this form with the same confidence; rather, it does not dogmatize. It does not shrink from the fact, but reverently declares that "All mysteries run into one; the mystery of mysteries is evil." Milton's Satan leads us not a step out of the labyrinth.

Artists, struggle as they may, can paint no face of Christ that has not the outlines of that face into which Raphael emptied his genius. Nor can we give, by any flight of imagination, to Mary the mother of Jesus a face that does not resemble the Italian Madonnas. So long have these faces been gazed upon reverently that they have authority over us. They seem to have history behind them—to be portraits; they bind us against our reason. In the same way the hell, the Satan, the angels of Milton fettered the imagination till it seemed dangerous to refuse entire belief in them. "Paradise Lost" was accepted so long as an appendix to the Bible, a new apocalypse, that it became a part of English belief. The creation over which science and religion battled was more of Milton than of Genesis. The hell of the Edwardian preaching drew its horrors far more from Milton than from the sublime warnings in Matthew. As the orthodoxy of Milton was not questioned in his day, save on divorce—as his genius rose to companionship with Homer and Dante—his gorgeous pageantry of heaven, and his entire scenic unfolding of that

> Dismal situation, waste and wild;
> A dungeon horrible! On all sides round,
> As one great furnace, flamed
> A fiery deluge, fed
> With everburning sulphur unconsumed—

set forth with such authority were accepted as true. The desire for knowledge of the things beyond was never met half so grandly. Few stopped to ask upon what meager text of Scripture he seized for corner stone for this coarse materialism, these dungeons of inquisitorial torture and palaces of tedious delight.

Theology has little direct interest in Milton now; his iron hand is relaxed; it clutches no longer; its impress can never disappear, but only the historian will know it. He is a landmark, not a guidepost; a monument, not a light-house.

The keynote of this great oratorio is *will*. God is to be forever adored because he alone is able to enforce his will. He is supremely happy because he alone of all beings is able to have his own way. Christ sinks to a subordinate, almost uninteresting character in the poem, because he sinks his own will in the Father's. No adoring epithets as the poem proceeds can supply this deficiency, so strong has Milton made it. Between the lines we read that his conduct is noble, but hardly godlike. Satan is consistent with this first law of Milton's heaven:

> What though the field be lost?
> All is not lost; the unconquerable will,
> And study of revenge, immortal hate,
> And courage never to submit or yield,
> And what is else not to be overcome.

There is at first no desire for dark things, no refusal of holiness; he simply wants to rule. This is the music of a great oratorio, but air, chorus, recitative are all played on the one key, *will*. Minor strains are often introduced, righteousness, justice, love, but they are kept sternly subordinate; over them all the naked will rises as first attribute of Deity. On every page is seen the hand of the haughty Englishman. This is the man who brings his wife to his feet, not to his heart; who chides his daughters in his dying words; who storms at all opposition, in Church or State, with words that strike like the broadswords and pikes of the Ironside Legion. It is a Norse giant who has laid his hand on the Gospel. We may believe Carlyle, that this day was the last appearance of the heroic in England.

Franklin McElfresh

Art. VII.—HEZEKIAH, SARGON, AND SENNACHERIB—A CHRONOLOGICAL STUDY.

It is the purpose of the following discussion to show the substantial agreement and accuracy of the biblical and Assyrian accounts for a period covering part of the reign of Hezekiah, Sargon, and Sennacherib, thereby affording a justification of the biblical date of Sennacherib's first invasion of Judea as in the fourteenth year of the reign of Hezekiah, and supplying a chronological arrangement of the related events of that period.

In 2 Kings xviii, 13, and Isa. xxxvi, 1, etc., the first attack of Sennacherib upon the kingdom of Judah is dated in Hezekiah's fourteenth year. In the chronicler's account (2 Chron. xxxii, 1) no date is given. That date, by some set down as a copyist's blunder, by others as having crept in from the margin, has been a source of perplexity, since it is said to be unusual to make such a note of time in these books. Thus Canon Rawlinson, in Note B, on 2 Kings xviii, 13, writes: "Notice of the regnal years of an ordinary invasion is not in the manner of the writer of Kings. He dates the last attack on Samaria and its capture, the last attack on Jerusalem and its capture. But he does not date the invasion of Shishak, or Ben-hadad, or Hazael, or Pul, or Tiglath-pileser, or the first attack of Shalmaneser, or the invasion of Necho, or the first or second attack of Nebuchadnezzar. What should induce him to date this attack, which, if it were distinct from the Libnah and Lachish expedition of chapter xix, 8–36, was of no special importance? But if he did not date it, a scribe, noticing the dates in verses 9 and 10, may have wished to supply what seemed to him an omission. Taking the first words of chapter xx ('in those days') strictly, and confounding together two expeditions of Sennacherib, he may have thought to obtain the correct date from 2 Chron. xx, 6." What "two expeditions" he might have "confounded together" are not named, and would seem difficult, if not impossible, to be identified. But if it was not customary with the writer whose work he was copying to note the "regnal years," the scribe would most certainly know this as well as any later critic; and one may well wonder how this could seem "to him an omission," and what could "induce" the scribe to wish "to supply"

what his author was not accustomed to insert; and more especially is the scribe's action matter of astonishment on that theory if one cannot see "what should induce" the author to insert a date. If this expedition were of no special importance it can hardly be supposed that the copyist would interpolate, in this solitary instance, and against his author's custom, a date for which, on this hypothesis, he had no foundation save a mere guess, and that founded upon historic ignorance or confusion. And this necessarily assumes that there was but one copy or copyist, or that all scribes who copied the original were seized with the same desire to supply the omission, and, unlike our modern "redactors," all agreed upon the same date—a most remarkable case of agreement, if the date be not the true one, and written upon positive knowledge. At another time this hypothesis would seem to fail utterly, as it seems impossible thereby to account for the appearance of the date in Isaiah.

Is it not much more likely that this variation from the writer's usual custom indicates that the date was given for some other purpose than merely for the fixing of the date for all the succeeding narrative? May it not suggest that the date given is of the nature of an epoch, as the date of the first hostile movement of the Assyrians against the Jewish kingdom and of the first appearance of Sennacherib in Judea might well be; it being, doubtless, in the same or following year as that to which Isaiah had reference, when Sargon sent Tartan to Ashdod (xx, 1), and when Isaiah had the vision which foretold the victory which three years afterward the Assyrians would gain over the Egyptian and Ethiopian allies of the Jews? May it not be understood as the date of that expedition resulting in the capture of the fenced cities and the second taking of Ashdod by the Sargonidæ? and the fickleness and revolts of which resulted in desolating invasions of southern Palestine?

Taking for our guide the inscriptions of Sargon,* it is found that in "the second year" of Sargon's reign (720 or 719) Ilubid of Hamath had "established himself in the town of Qarqar, and excited against" Sargon "the towns Arpad, Simyra, Damas, and Samaria." This confederacy Sargon seems to have overcome, and then, marching southward, he met the Egyptians under So, or Sebech, at Raphia, and completely

**Records of the Past*, vol. vii, p. 29, etc.

routed them. He then besieged Gaza, seized Hanun, its king, demolished his cities, "burning them by fire." The plunder, with nine thousand and thirty-three captives, he carried to Assyria. The unfortunate loss of forty lines of the inscription describing this expedition leaves us without other information as to its results; but for reasons which may below appear, it may be assumed that, as with the army he traversed, both in his advance and his victorious return, the plain bordering on the Mediterranean, the cities therein, among which were Ashdod, Gimzo, and Askelon, were either forcibly taken or submitted to his arms and became tributary vassals. This seems to follow from the fact that at that time he extended his conquests as far as the island of Cyprus, which in his thirteenth year he charges with having "refused their contributions," * which, through the fear inspired by his (Sargon's) victory over Merodach-baladan, they then began again to pay. It is absurd to suppose that he would undertake the conquest of an island in the sea until he had brought under his power the people on the mainland, from whose ports his soldiers must have embarked, and where he must have kept open the way for his and their return.

From subsequent notices it would seem that "Azuri, King of Ashdod," had "made up his mind not to be obedient to Asshur, and not to supply any more his tributes. He sent to the kings, his neighbors, hostile messages to Assyria. Then I (Sargon) meditated vengeance, and I replaced him" (that is, put him out and put another in his place), "in the domination of his lands. I elevated to his place his brother, Akhimit, to the royalty. But the people of Syria inclined to revolt, and were tired of the government of Akhimit, and elevated Iaman, who, like him, was not the legitimate master of the throne." † Furious with rage, Sargon marched against Iaman and Ashdod, and took it and Gimt-ashdodim, which he gave up to plunder. From all this it seems plain that Ashdod had been made tributary, with Azuri as king, in Sargon's Raphia campaign (720–719); that in a short time Azuri, forming alliances with neighboring kings, had revolted. He was then deposed and his brother Akhimit made ruler. He in turn was dethroned by

* *Records of the Past*, p. 51. Compare with p. 26, where this is put in connection with the battle of Raphia, the seizing of Hanun, King of Gaza, which occurred in his second year.

† *Ibid.*, p. 40.

the populace, and Iaman made ruler in his stead. We may now determine when Azuri was deposed and Akhimit was enthroned.

In the latter part of his seventh year Sargon is known to have been in the west, and "while the rulers near Palestine were anxious to gain his friendship" * there is no evidence that he was at that time in the Jewish territory or in southwest Palestine. But there are not wanting indications that he had sent at that very time a considerable force into the immediate neighborhood of that territory. It is, indeed, stated in his annals that he sent that year from Arabia into Samaria the captives whom he had "pulled out of their dwellings," and that "Pharaoh of Egypt, Samsie the Queen of Arabia, Itamar the Sabean, kings of the far seaside, sent (him) tributes," among other things "horses and camels," † all which indicates the successful presence of a large force inspiring these nations with fear—a force such as that which the leaders, who (we suggest) were the Tartan and (or) Sennacherib, must have commanded in their convoy. ‡ There is, in fact, no other expedition mentioned in Sargon's history which at all accounts for Isa. xx, 1. It is further significant of the presence of this force that in the Khorsabad inscriptions he states that he imposed (that is, it was done by his authority) this tribute upon Pharaoh, Samsie, and Itamar. It is, perhaps, due to the fact that Sargon did not command in person that the conquest of Ashdod is not named in the annals of his seventh or eighth year, but a previous expedition in which that conquest had been effected is indicated in the annals of his eleventh year (711–710), where, as in part above quoted, the following record is found:

> Azuri, King of Ashdod, made up his mind not to be obedient to Asshur, and not to supply any more his tributes. He sent to the kings, his neighbors, hostile messages to Assyria. Then I meditated vengeance, and I replaced him in the domination of his lands. I elevated in his place his brother Akhimit to the royalty. But the people of Syria inclined to revolt, and were tired of the government of Akhimit and elevated Iaman, who, like him, was not the legitimate master of the throne. In the wrath of my heart *I did not divide my army, and I did not diminish the ranks, but I marched against Ashdod with my warriors, who did not separate themselves from the traces of my sandals.* §

* Smith's *Assyria*, p. 104.

† *Records of the Past*, vol. vii, p. 34.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. ix, p. 5.

§ *Ibid.*, vol. vii, p. 40.

The expression italicized can scarcely be otherwise interpreted than as indicating that he had formerly divided his forces in a similar case and separated them from "traces of his sandals" (his footsteps), and that the meditated vengeance had been consummated, Azuri deposed, and Akhimit enthroned by that part of his forces which had been detached from the main army and had followed another leader. This division of his forces in the case of Azuri agrees with Isaiah's statement that he sent the Tartan to Ashdod,* and fully accounts for the submission of the "far seaside"† and the tribute above named.

Now this 7th-8th of Sargon falls in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, and the presence of Sennacherib and his taking of the fenced cities would account for this overthrow of Azuri and the making of Akhimit, King of Ashdod, in his stead. This also would agree, as above suggested, with the epochal statement of Isaiah: "In the year that Tartan came unto Ashdod (when Sargon, the King of Assyria, sent him) and fought against Ashdod and took it." From the context in Isaiah the fair inference is that this sending was three years before the expedition of Sargon, which broke up the confederacy formed by the Ashdodites under the popular usurper, Iaman, with Moab and Edom, assisted by help and encouraged by large promises from Egypt.‡

Putting all this together, we have an order of events which completely reconciles the two accounts, the one, indeed, supplementing the other. It indicates a first conquest of Ashdod by Sargon in person after his victory over the Egyptians at Raphia (720–719), at which time Azuri of Ashdod was confirmed in his kingdom. The revolt of Azuri and his confederates, which brought against him a detachment of Sargon's army under a Tartan, or commander (in all probability Sennacherib, "his great royal son"), resulted in a second or reconquest of Ashdod, and in the placing of Akhimit as a ruler on the throne of the deposed Azuri in 714–713, and in the conquest of the "fenced cities" of Hezekiah in his fourteenth year. This was followed by another revolt of southwest Palestine, with Ashdod, under Iaman, as instigator, comprising in the league Judea, Edom, Moab, and a force of Egyptians and Ethiopians.§ In his eleventh year (711–710) Sargon crushed out this confederacy, recaptured

* Isa. xx, 1.

† *Records of the Past*, vol. vii, p. 34.

‡ Smith's *Eponym Canon*, pp. 129–131.

§ *Ibid.*

Ashdod, and took Gimt-ashdodim and the plunder of the cities. This, as may be seen, was just three years after the assumed reconquest of Ashdod by the Tartan and (or) Sennacherib.*

This suppression of the revolt by Sargon demonstrated the groundlessness of any hope of substantial help to Judea from Egypt and Ethiopia. In referring to this alliance Sargon says:

> The people (of the confederacy) and their evil chiefs to fight against me, unto Pharaoh, King of Egypt, a monarch who could not save them, their presents carried and besought his alliance.†

When the confederacy collapsed Iaman fled to Egypt, and thence continued his flight to Meroe, or Ethiopia, from whence he was afterward surrendered to Sargon, thus confirming the statement that in the defeated army were both Egyptians and Ethiopians hotly pursued by Sargon's troops, their loss in the flight being very great. The vivid picture drawn by Isaiah ‡ is thereby shown not to be an exaggeration.

Thus the insertion of this date, the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, like the similar and contemporaneous mention of Sargon by Isaiah, serves to bring out and explain the reference to this revolt in the southwest, and is in perfect harmony with the Assyrian inscriptions. It is difficult to see why the date three years later may not be taken as the year when the expedition referred to by Isaiah, which, as we learn from the monuments, had for its chief objects Ashdod, Egypt, and Ethiopia, was entered upon, and which evidently resulted in the reconquering of many cities then subject to the Jewish king, some of which are expressly named—a result which, indeed, must have occurred in every invasion. Whatever may have been accomplished against the Judean territory in this expedition, and whatever may have been Sargon's ultimate purpose as to its capital, he does not appear at that time to have done more than threaten Jerusalem, which accords well with the idea that his chief objects of attack were Ashdod, Egypt, and Ethiopia.

If our conjecture is right, the real purpose underlying the expedition colonizing Samaria was, first, that revealed by Isaiah as against Ashdod; Sennacherib and (or) Tartan having dis-

* Compare Isaiah's three years walking barefoot, beginning with the sending of Tartan to Ashdod, at the end of which time Assyria was to conquer Egypt and Ethiopia. Isa. xx, 1–5.

† Smith's *Ep. Can.*, p. 130, I, 35–39. ‡ Isa. xx. § Chap. x, 24–34.

posed of the captives in Samaria, passed down, as purposed by Sargon, to the southwest, capturing the cities in the march, subjugating the Shephelah, and, having taken rebellious Ashdod and its ungrateful ruler, Azuri, set up his brother, Akhimit, as vassal king. In the disabilities in which the Jewish king was found the less important "fenced cities," though well fortified, without a leader, and most likely taken by surprise, would fall an easy prey to the Assyrian forces, flushed as they were with their recent brilliant successes elsewhere. But a stronger army and greater preparation, as well as a longer time, would certainly be necessary to take the capital city, held to be almost impregnable both by its natural advantage of situation and the strength added by the fortifications erected for its defense.

The expedition of Sargon in his eleventh year, while, as we have seen, it broke up the confederacy, like that of the Tartan (Sennacherib) above, seems, as before stated, not to have reached Jerusalem. There is no claim that he either subjugated it or even made an attack upon it, or upon what had previously been left under the dominion of Hezekiah. His effort in that campaign seems to have been directed simply to regain what had been lost in the revolt and to restore his prestige and authority. That he would have omitted to record so notable a conquest as the taking of a strong and important city like Jerusalem is utterly incredible when contrasted with his boastfulness over lesser exploits. There is no indication that a later expedition was made by Sargon, and he seems never afterward to have been in the west, either in northern or southern Palestine. As he did not personally appear in the matters which immediately affected the kingdom of Judah in the expedition made three years earlier under the Tartan (Sennacherib), and as the results were only the punishment of Azuri and the restoration of what he had previously in person subjugated, results which, however important to Hezekiah, yet added little more to his (Sargon's) glory—the possibility of the revolt and its actual recurrence rather detracting therefrom—but redounded to the credit of the Tartan (his son), no specific mention is made of them in his annals;* so also his name is omitted in

* The expedition under the Tartan may have taken two years, and this may account for the putting of the date "ninth year" to what made necessary the expedition in the "eleventh year."—*Ep. Can.*, pp. 129, 174.

this condensed biblical history, that of Sennacherib alone appearing, he probably being "co-rex," with his father, as he is called in Tablet K, 2169, "the Rabshakeh," and the "great royal son of Sargon, King of Assyria," a title assumed by Assurbanipal when associated with his father on the throne.*

As further showing that neither the writer of Second Kings nor of Second Chronicles in this matter gave the events in the order of their dates, the account of Hezekiah's sickness may be adduced. This, in Kings,† follows the account of the destruction of the host; and yet the promise to add to the life of the king fifteen years, thus extending his reign to its actual term of twenty-nine years, proves the sickness to have occurred in his fourteenth regnal. So, also, it is evident that the embassy of Merodach-baladan was received not later than the year after, perhaps in that very year, since the pretexts were, according to Isaiah,‡ his late sickness and remarkable recovery. This view receives further support from the charge made by Sargon§ in Hezekiah's eighteenth year, that Merodach was striving to raise against him all the nomad tribes, evidently making all the alliances that he could to overturn the Assyrian power. Still, additional indication of the date suggested is the showing to the ambassadors the great riches and resources, which certainly he could not have had after the immense tribute had been paid to the Assyrian king.

The account in Second Chronicles‖ seems also to add support to this hypothesis. It gives no date, but following the account of Hezekiah's reform, says: "After these things, and the establishment thereof, Sennacherib, King of Assyria, came and entered into Judah, and encamped against the fenced cities, and thought to win them to himself"—an expression which seems to indicate that his "winning them" was only a temporary achievement, and did not permanently attach them to him, exactly corresponding with what, if our supposition be right, appears from their being reported in revolt in a year or two afterward. The chronicler then proceeds to give an account of Hezekiah's preparations to resist the expected attack, and concludes with the statement that, after hearing Hezekiah's exhortation and assurances that "with him" (the Assyrian) "is an

* *Ep. Can.*, p. 173. † 2 Kings xx, 1–12. ‡ Chap. xx, 12, etc.
§ *Records of the Past*, vol. ix, p. 14. ‖ Chap. xxxii, 1–8.

arm of flesh, but with us is the Lord our God to help us, and to fight our battles," the "people rested themselves upon the words of Hezekiah, King of Judah." All this seems to indicate that at this time, as before said, Sennacherib did not attack Jerusalem but turned aside, and after taking Ashdod and the fenced cities put over them governors well affected toward Assyria, as was the custom of Sargon; for example, such as Padi, King of Ekron, and then returned to Nineveh. It seems at this time that Hezekiah maintained his independence, and was neither asked nor volunteered to pay tribute. If this was but a detachment from the main army it possibly was not strong enough to undertake the siege of the capital city. The indications are that both after this departure of Sennacherib and the subsequent recapture of Ashdod by Sargon, Hezekiah took advantage of their absence and repossessed himself of that part of his dominions which had been thus temporarily wrested from him, the people, in all likelihood, gladly returning to their allegiance to him. The chronicler, but still regardless of dates, next proceeds with the information that, "After this did Sennacherib, King of Assyria, send his servants to Jerusalem," but himself and his principal force "laid siege against Lachish." This, we suggest, refers to an expedition at a later date; and referring to Sennacherib's own account of his campaigns we find the history of an invasion of Palestine which is fixed in his fourth year, the twenty-seventh year of Hezekiah's reign, B. C. 701. In this expedition, after subjugating Phœnicia and most of Philistia, he marched against Ekron (or, as some read, Migron), to assist which a force under the King of Egypt came up. The two armies met near Altaqu, or Eltekah. The battle resulted in the defeat of the Africans and the subsequent capture of Ekron and Altaqu.

It was at this time that Hezekiah, losing confidence at the approach of so powerful an enemy in the flush of victory, yielded to the demands for the release of Padi, the imprisoned King of Ekron, and at the same time made the overture to pay whatever tribute might be put upon him, and which, being paid, seems for a time to have satisfied the wily and rapacious Assyrian. To the account given by Sennacherib of this expedition the Bible adds the siege and capture of Lachish and the encampment at Libnah. Comparing the royal and

biblical accounts it is readily seen that the real objective point of Sennacherib in this expedition was Egypt, and that the siege of Lachish and the effort to secure the control of Hezekiah and Jerusalem were undertaken with a view to clearing his way, and securing himself from any attack in the rear. The biblical account omits some of the matters which the annals give, but supplies in part the account of the siege of Lachish, and the subsequent encampment at Libnah, thus accounting for the existence of an exhumed bas-relief which depicts this siege, and exhibits Sennacherib on his throne before Lachish, the only Assyrian intimation so far discovered of this adventure. This siege of Lachish must have continued for a considerable time, and it is probable that the events which the king describes in his annals may have taken place during its progress. Lachish and Libnah were doubtless numbered with the forty-six cities which the annals tell us were at this time taken in Judea; and this was perhaps considered sufficient. The successes claimed, especially the battle with the Egyptians and their allies at Altaqu, may well explain, as before suggested, why Hezekiah consented to pay the tribute as represented in both the annals and the biblical account, which substantially agree in this matter. The annals represent the battle as having been fought before the tribute was paid, and if Sennacherib intended to push his forces into Egypt it is possible that while endeavoring to subdue Lachish, so as not to leave that stronghold in the hands of an enemy, he may also have seen that it was not safe to leave so powerful a tributary as the Jewish king, known to be an unwilling vassal, in a position to endanger his line of communication and retreat, or to cut off his supplies; and this desire to have the rear of his army secure from attack and his way kept open, may have been the incentive to the demand for the immediate and unconditional surrender of Jerusalem to him. We thus account for what otherwise seems strange, that so soon after the voluntary offer of vassalage and the payment of an immense tribute by Hezekiah, a force, evidently from Lachish, should have been dispatched against him and his capital, imperatively demanding its surrender, the great king meantime continuing to besiege Lachish.

For some unexplained reason, but perhaps to be nearer to Jerusalem, and yet at the same time to be near enough to

easily keep open and under his own immediate surveillance the road to Egypt, and to complete his arrangements for its invasion, Lachish having doubtless been taken, as seems to be clearly intimated by the bas-relief, the king had moved with his army to Libnah, where Rabshakeh hastened to report his ill success with the Jews. While there a rumor reached the great king that another force from the south, under the command of Tirhakah,* the Ethiopian, was advancing northward against him, and while the king made preparations to meet the approaching foe, messengers with a letter were sent in haste to urge with greater importunity and violence the immediate surrender of the Jewish capital, the messengers, the more effectively to accomplish their purpose, appealing directly to the populace, and hurling defiance and blasphemy against their Jehovah. From the Egyptian accounts we gather the indication that an Assyrian force, perhaps an outpost or reconnoitering detachment, had been sent southward, and had reached as far as Pelusium. It was there face to face with the approaching Africans. Meantime the demands and insults of the Assyrians were received with profoundly sad and solemn silence at Jerusalem. They soon met a most fearful response and retribution; for that very night, before Tirhakah had come up with the main army or encampment of the Assyrians, "the angel of the Lord went forth and smote in the camp of the Assyrian a hundred and fourscore and five thousand, and when they" (the survivors) "arose early in the morning, behold, they" (the one hundred and fourscore and five thousand) "were all dead corpses."† The Egyptians claim that the loss was sustained as the armies faced each other near Pelusium, while Josephus places it in the camp at Jerusalem, the Bible saying "the camp of the Assyrians" without designating where. But may not the truth be that the angel of destruction fell upon the camp at Libnah, where the main army was, and also at Jerusalem, distributing the fatality in each of the separate divisions of what formed one great encampment, so that each division was rendered incapable of effective aggression or resistance, and was thoroughly demoralized, thus agreeing with the Egyptian accounts as given by Herodotus, and that of Josephus, as to the loss at Jerusalem, as well as with the biblical narrative, which simply says, "in the

* 2 Kings xix, 6. † *Ibid.*, xix, 35.

camp of the Assyrians"—that is, where the Assyrians were, without closer definition as to location.

We may now give a further consideration to the biblical narrative. It has already been suggested that the statement in 2 Kings xviii, 13, relative to the fourteenth of Hezekiah, was not intended to give a date for the subsequent events in the sense that they immediately followed, but that it referred only to the campaign when the fenced cities were taken; that this, indeed, was of the nature of an epoch, as being the first appearance of Sennacherib in Judea. It has also seemed probable that Sennacherib, who was also called Rabshakeh, was himself Sargon's Tartan, or as co-rex accompanied the Tartan in the expedition to Ashdod to which Isaiah (xx, 1) refers, and that the fenced cities were then taken, and a purpose shown to take Jerusalem.

Turning now to the text (2 Kings xviii, 13), there can be no question but that the preterite or perfect tense of the verb used will allow the translation,* "Now in the fourteenth year of King Hezekiah, Sennacherib, King of Assyria, had come up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and had taken them." It was, therefore, after that had been accomplished, that Hezekiah offered and paid tribute. How long afterward is nowhere stated in the biblical accounts. That the tribute was, however, paid to Sennacherib during his own sole reign, after his father's death, seems fairly evident from the Assyrian records.

With this interpretation of the passage in Kings the account in 2 Chron. xxxii, 1–9, perfectly coincides. It is there stated that when Sennacherib encamped against the fenced cities and showed a purpose to fight against Jerusalem, Hezekiah made vigorous preparations for the defense of his capital; and neither he nor his people manifested any disposition to yield to the "kings of Assyria," but rather trusted themselves and their defense to Jehovah and their own preparations. To this follows the indefinite statement: "After this did Sennacherib, King of Assyria, send his servants to Jerusalem (but he himself laid siege against Lachish, and all his power with him), unto Hezekiah, King of Judah, and unto all Judah that were at Jerusalem." How long it was after Hezekiah had fortified the city, and encouraged his people to hold out against the Assyrian, that Sennacherib laid siege to Lachish is not stated, and we are

* Driver's *Hebrew Tenses*, p. 26.

not, therefore, shut up to the conclusion, nor is it probable that this siege of Lachish was contemporaneous with the taking of the fenced cities in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah; but it is positively stated that the siege was in progress during his last attempt upon Jerusalem. To establish this we have the concurrent testimony of Kings and Chronicles and Isaiah, with the collateral evidence of the bas-relief above mentioned.

The question may, however, be asked, If the fenced cities were taken during Sargon's reign, why does the Bible attribute that exploit to Sennacherib, and why is he there called King of Assyria? To the first question an answer has already been suggested, namely, because he was the most conspicuous actor, and we may now add the best known and most dreaded actor, in the siege and capture of these cities. Two reasons may be given for his being designated King of Assyria. It is clearly evident that the biblical record was written some time after these events had taken place, and at a time when Sennacherib had reigned, or was then reigning, as sole King of Assyria. There is, therefore, nothing unnatural in his using a title which he afterward possessed in his sole right, and which in all probability he bore when the writing was made. But there is not wanting that which goes far to confirm the suggestion above made, that he was at the time of the capture of the Judean cities co-rex, associate king, that in fact the Assyrian kingdom had at that time two kings, the father and the "great royal son." Such a dual executive was not at all unusual in the ancient Oriental monarchies, nor is this the only instance in the Assyrian history. This, perhaps, occasioned, or at least may account for and explain, the peculiar expression found in 2 Chron. xxxii, 4, where the people whom Hezekiah had mustered "to stop the waters of the fountains which were without the city," are reported as saying, "For why should the kings of Assyria come and find much water?" If it was, as we have supposed, a detachment of the Assyrian forces under the son-king that was then operating in the Jewish territory against the lesser cities, and was purposing "to fight against Jerusalem" also—then, as such a detachment might be supposed insufficient to carry out the purposed capture of the capital city, nothing is more likely than that they should expect that there would be a concentration of the entire forces by the father-king joining the son in the siege and assault upon

their city; and their preparations were made to resist, not the king at the head of his detachment, but the two kings with their concentrated military power. Such a concentration of forces would have been greatly helped by finding "much water," and without it could hardly have succeeded in reducing the city.

It may be necessary to guard against the mistaken opinion that the taking of the "forty-six of his (Hezekiah's) cities," which Sennacherib claims in his account of his last disastrous campaign in Judea, was identical with the taking of the cities referred to in the Bible. This taking of the cities has either not been recorded by the Assyrian king, or the inscription has perished in the mutilations which so largely occur in Sargon's voluminous remains, unless it is to this he refers in the inscription found on the Kouyunjik Cylinder, as "in his ninth year"—a statement which may indicate that the operations in southwest Palestine (which could not have been carried on by Sargon himself in person, since he was at the time elsewhere),* covered a period of at least two years, and were ended only by the campaign which is noted as in his eleventh year, and which he conducted in person.

It had been the thought of the writer hereof that the terribly disastrous ending of his last Judean campaign had caused Sennacherib to yield to the temptation to cover it up, and to turn defeat into victory by crediting to that expedition the exploits and successes in the invasion which he had made in the time of Sargon, his father. But on further and later consideration it seems mere wantonness to charge a crime where other more satisfactory and honorable explanations are as likely to be true. There is nothing incredible in the statement that in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, by Sargon's orders, his son as Tartan and co-rex, or with the Tartan, invaded Judea and took the fenced cities. And certainly there can be no possible reason for doubting that up to the night before the avenging interposition of Jehovah the Judean cities and territories were in possession of the Assyrians, so that in themselves neither statement is incredible, the one as referring to the earlier, the other to the last invasion by Sennacherib. It is to be set to the credit of Sennacherib that the actual record of even this most unfortunate invasion, as far as it goes, tells

* In Media and Armenia, during his seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth year.—*Records of the Past*, vol. vii, pp. 32–39.

nothing incredible or certainly untrue, but is for the most part either directly or incidentally confirmed to the letter by what is learned from other sources. He simply follows the Oriental custom in his day of giving so much of his story as is creditable to him, and leaving out any account of defeats or disasters.

It ought not, perhaps, to be overlooked that up to the exhumation of the Assyrian ruins, which brought to light the cuneiform inscriptions and their subsequent interpretation, the period which it was therein found had been covered by the reign of Sargon was, so far as its history was known, included in the years allotted to the reign of Sennacherib. By some unexplained mischance this king, whose reign was one of the most glorious of Assyrian monarchs, was wholly lost to profane history, and until these later years we were indebted solely for his very name to that "crux" of the commentator, Isa. xx, 1. That with this solitary exception it should wholly disappear, and his regnal years be counted to his son's less splendid and successful career, is perhaps unaccountable, but is not, therefore, necessarily the fault either of his son or his successors. The preservation of his name by Isaiah ought, however, to accredit the biblical writers as historians who wrote from actual knowledge, and should cause credence in other statements which may not as yet have been verified. In all apparently doubtful cases the presumption ought always to be in their favor, and not against them.

The obscuration of the Ninevite records, the hiding of these inscriptions in the dust of ages, seems providential. Their recovery could not have happened more opportunely than in this age of educated faith and yet of persistent doubt. If in comparing the biblical with these narratives disagreements should seem to appear, it were better to make sure that there can be no other way of disposing of these differences than by pronouncing one or other of the records to be erroneous. Possibly the error may be in our deduction and application—a misunderstanding of the record rather than an error in the record itself. It is certainly unwise in the biblicist needlessly to discredit these records of the past, written authoritatively by those who certainly had better opportunities of knowing what occurred in their day, or the period nearer to them, than are likely to be afforded to any who lived in a later age; and until further evidence of untrustworthiness in these "witnesses from the dust"

is found, it will be well not to discredit them, but rather to assume their substantial verity. And what we say of these we affirm with still greater confidence of Holy Scripture, which has so often been pronounced untrustworthy in matters historical and afterward found to be remarkably accurate when the material for verification had come "out of darkness into light."

With a chronological conspectus this paper now concludes:

B. C.	Year of Reign.	JUDEA.	Year of Reign.	ASSYRIA.
719	8th	Hezekiah.	2d	Sargon suppresses the revolt of Ilubid, King of Hamuth;[1] defeats the Egyptians at Raphia; takes Cyprus, etc.;[2] makes Azuri, King of Ashdod, tributary. Azuri revolts.[3]
715–714	13th		7th	Sargon colonizes Samaria.[4] Imposes tribute on Pharaoh, Samsie, and Itamar.[5]
714–713	14th	Hezekiah strengthens Jerusalem, incloses and stops water courses and fountains. Sickness and recovery. Joins Iaman's league; receives Merodach's embassy.	8th	Sargon's Tartan (Sennacherib) takes Ashdod;[6] deposes Azuri and enthrones Akhimit;[7] takes the Judean fenced cities;[8] purposes to fight against Jerusalem;[9] the populace dethrone Akhimit and crown Iaman, who leagues with Judea, Edom, Moab, Egypt, and Ethiopia, and revolts against Sargon.[10]
711–710	17th	Sargon's baggage at Michmas. Halts at Nob; threatens Jerusalem; presses on to Ashdod. Isa. xx, 24–34.	11th	Sargon, for the last time, invades Palestine, threatens, but does not delay, to besiege Jerusalem; hastens to Ashdod, takes it, crushes out Iaman's league, places governors over Ashdod and other cities.[11]
710–709	18th		12th	Defeats Merodach-baladan in the East.[12]
705–704	23d		1st	Sennacherib (co-rex-Tartan?) succeeds Sargon, his father, as sole king. Revolt in Palestine.
701–700	27th	Releases Padi, the imprisoned king of Ekron. Pays tribute to Sennacherib; refuses to surrender Jerusalem. Haste and insufficient force prevent its immediate siege. Hezekiah promised divine aid. Isaiah and Nahum predict disaster to the Assyrians. Isa. xxvii, 6, 7. Nahum i, 11–14. Assyrian camps broken up by Jehovah's Angel. Sennacherib flees to Nineveh.	4th	In his third campaign invades Palestine; defeats the rebels and their Egyptian and Ethiopian allies at Altaqu;[13] takes Ekron; restores Padi, its king;[14] besieges Lachish; there receives Hezekiah's embassy and promise of tribute;[15] sends Rabshakeh, *et al.*, to demand surrender of Jerusalem;[16] plunders Lachish;[17] wars against Libnah;[18] there Rabshakeh reports the stubborn resistance of Hezekiah;[19] at Libnah rumors of the advance of Tirhakah reach him; messengers sent to urge immediate surrender of Jerusalem;[20] a force sent toward Pelusium to intercept Tirhakah;[21] the Jews refuse to surrender;[22] an angel destroys 185,000 in the Assyrian camp;[23] returns to Nineveh with the remnant of his broken force.
700–699	28th		5th	His 4th campaign was to Bit-Yakin.[24]
699–698	29th	Hezekiah's last year.	6th	" 5th " " Nepur Mountains.[25]
698–697	1st	Manasseh succeeds Hezekiah.	7th	" 6th " " Elam.[26]
697–696	2d	Manasseh.	8th	" 7th " " Elam.[27]
696–695	3d	"	9th	" 8th " " Babylon.[28]

[1] *Records of the Past*, vol. vii, p. 20; ix, p. 6. [2] *Ibid.*, vol. vii, pp. 26, 51. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 40; vol. ix, p. 11. [4] *Ibid.*, vol. vii, p. 34. [5] *Ibid.*, vol. ix, p. 5. [6] Isa. xx, 1. [7] *Records of the Past*, vol. vii, p. 40; ix, p. 11. [8] 2 Kings xviii, 13; Isa. xx, 1; *Records of the Past*, vol. vii, p. 62. [9] 2 Chron. xxxii. 1. [10] *Eponym Canon*, pp. 129, 131. [11] *Ibid.* [12] *Records of the Past*, vol. vii, pp. 40–42. [13] *Eponym Canon*, p. 131, etc. [14] *Ibid.* [15] 2 Kings xviii, 14; Smith's *Assyria*, p. 121. [16] 2 Kings xviii, 17. [17] *Records of the Past*, vol. i, pp. 35, 36; Smith's *Assyria*, p. 131. [18] 2 Kings xix, 8. [19] *Ibid.*, 6–8. [20] *Ibid.*, ver. 9. [21] Smith's *Assyria*, p. 121. [22] 2 Kings xix, 21, etc. [23] *Ibid.*, 35. [24] *Ibid.*, ver. 36. See *Records of the Past*, vol. vii, p, 63. [25] *Ibid.* [26] *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 44. [27] *Ibid.* [28] *Ibid.*, p. 48.

Joseph Horner

Art. VIII.—THE ÆSTHETIC IN RELIGION.

The Greeks used the term æsthetics to denote everything relating to sensuous perception. In his *Transcendental Æsthetics* Kant retains this meaning. Many German writers limit its meaning to fine arts and a limited class of perceptions and sensations arising out of the beautiful. So Baumgarten tells us, that as truth is the end of pure knowledge, and good the end of the will, so beauty must be the aim of all sensuous knowledge.

The Question Stated Philosophically.

We may approach this study by two methods. The one is the metaphysical, the other, the scientific. The first, reasons from cause to effect, and speculation centers about the object admired. The second, inquires rather in what the beautiful consists, and whether it is objective, subjective, or both. Is beauty inherent in material forms, or is it above matter, and if so, how is it revealed to the beholder? What principle beautifies matter? Leveque holds that it is vivified by some force. Plato says, beauty grows from self-existent forms superinduced upon matter. Reid holds that divine energy invests matter with beautiful aspects. Leveque is apparently pantheistic; Plato and Hegel materialistic; and Reid more nearly theistic, along with Ruskin and Shaftesbury.

We are admonished to keep in mind two aspects of art. First, art as a reproduction of nature. Second, art as the conscious product of æsthetic intuition. The absolute reveals itself to human intelligence by an appeal to our sense of the beautiful, while in art the mind seeks to imitate the beautiful in nature, and thus gropes after the thoughts of the absolute. Thus do we find a basis for the metaphysical in æsthetics.

Scientifically speaking, the subject and object in human cognition stand over against each other antithetically. The essence of beauty ceases to interest now, and its unity is disputed. Is it objective, or subjective? Burke, Aristotle, and Hogarth say it is objective; Alison says it is subjective; and Stuart, Bain, and Spencer say it is both. We incline to this last, though Herbert Spencer may not agree that if beauty in an object

is not a result of mere reason, or cold intellectuality, it may be emotional also, and awaken awe and reverence. There may be a basis of truth in the apparently fanciful notions of Ruskin; this Mill grants. Socrates regarded the beautiful as related to the good, every object being beautiful if it served some rational end. Plato makes love aspire to the pure idea of beauty; only the absolute deserves the name beautiful; all other beauty is the beauty of *things*, not the beautiful itself. Aristotle is scientific rather than metaphysical. He ignores absolute beauty; distinguishes the beautiful from the good, since motionless things may have beauty, but the good is ever active. Plotinus, the mystic of Alexandria, has three degrees of the beautiful—the beauty of human reason, the beauty of the soul, and the beauty of real objects. Baumgarten says, logical knowledge deals with truth and æsthetical knowledge with beauty. The one is conceptive, the other is sensuous. In the apprehension of beauty sensuous knowledge is perfected, while the ugly struggles ever against the perfect. He but partially accounts for the emotional, which is the blood and soul of æsthetic sensation. Kant follows. He divides knowledge into, 1) the critique of pure reason; 2) the critique of practical reason; 3) the critique of judgment. He defines beauty by the four categories of quantity, quality, relation, and modality. In *quantity* we see the universality of the pleasure. In *quality*, the pleasure does not depend on the *existence* of the object. In *relation* we see adaptation, though no end is perceived. In *modality* we see the beautiful is a satisfaction; not by a universal rule, but by a kind of, or agreement of, taste. The loftiest meaning of beauty is to symbolize the good. Schelling gives us a threefold philosophy: 1) theoretic, dealing with perception; 2) practical, dealing with the will and freedom; 3) artistic, dealing with beauty. There must be concord between subject and object: concord lies between perception and volition, and is best seen in artistic perception. Nature produces objects unconsciously; art consciously reproduces them: art is above nature, therefore. We dissent.

Hegel insists on the philosophy of the absolute, or pure reason; the philosophy of nature, or thought broken up into the external and particular; and the philosophy of the spirit, in which thought is no longer self-alienated but self-cognizant,

and is free from the mere ideality of cognition, and perceives the absolute idea. This has three stages: 1) Art presents the absolute to sensuous perception; 2) religion embodies certainty of the idea; 3) philosophy, in which art and religion find unity. However, matter is supreme in Oriental art, as if thought were struggling on in pain after the ideal, which is realized only in Christian art.

We might continue, with Vischer, Lessing, Goethe, Schiller, Taine, Batteaux, Cudworth, McCosh, and our own Bowne, of Boston. The field is enchanting. Rills break out about us and go purling on to the sea; the flowery mead invites us with beckoning banners of crimson and gold; but we forbear, and enter on part second of this study.

Religion, and How Related to Æsthetics.

In its broader sense the term religion means any form of worship. In a limited sense it means the worship of the one and only true God—the God of the Bible. In natural religion revelation is unimportant; in revealed religion nature takes second place, though many of us incline to nature-worship and pantheism in theological definition. The purposes of this paper will be best served if by religion we assume to mean Christianity. Religion makes its appeal to man's moral and spiritual nature, as logic does to the intellectual, and heat to the physical. Man worships; he ought to have the best form. Three great ethical religions contend for the possession of the soul—Buddhism, Islamism, and Christianity—and each is fitted for conquest because ethical. The chief hinderance to the first, is a one-sidedness caused by its Aryan origin; in the second, Semitic race tendencies hamper it; in the third, the element of universality is large, rendering it immeasurably higher than the others. The religion of the future must do substantial justice to dependence and liberty. Here the first and second break down, and the third fuses dependence and liberty, the divine and the human, religion and ethics, into an harmonious and symmetrical whole. There was an ancient faith before the fall; in every religion we see an effort to restore that primitive faith: Christianity restores it fully, subject to limitations of the flesh; evangelical Christianity is the highest embodiment of apostolic faith, and Methodism is the best type of evangelical life and thought.

With us religion is a life divine, implanted within us by divine agencies. Now, whatsoever will cultivate our spirit-nature is desirable. Religion, refinement, culture and love of music, poetry, and painting, appeal to the best that is in us. The sense of sight reveals a world of light and beauty; soft tints and shades from the prism interplay, and reveal to a lofty sense that color-world which is apprehended solely by beings soul-endowed. To its rich splendors the animal kingdom is blind. If this sense-perception of the beautiful fails to stir the spirit-nature of the beholder that nature is dead or dwarfed within him.

In like manner we enter the realm of tone by the sense of hearing. Musical appreciation grows out of such an arrangement of tones as produces in us pleasant sensations. Nature is musical; she appeals to the æsthetic taste; there are but few jarring discords and jagged sounds; the harmonies of a universe break in a perpetual oratorio upon the ear of the Infinite. But our ear-sense is dull, and much sublime minstrelsy is lost to us, though with deaf Beethoven we say, "I shall hear in heaven!"

In Aryan art, music, and poetry we see the religious spirit and the æsthetic taste joined. It is so in the song of the Vedic shepherds in the Himalayan region; and their poetry finds an echo in the sublime imagination of the Greeks: and as the notes die amidst the Indo-Germanic tribes of the far east, Chaucer renews the strains; then Goethe, Wordsworth, Scott, Bryant, Longfellow, Whittier, and Tennyson sing for us. So sings the Aryan heart in the Orient, in the Occident; and so it must sing in coming years, until all song ends in the richer numbers of a heavenly world.

The masterpieces in music, painting, and poetry are inspired by religion. In music, we have Haydn's best in "Creation;" and Mozart's "Requiem," Beethoven's "Mount of Olives," Handel's "Messiah," Schneiders "Deluge," Spohr's "Last Judgment," Crotch's "Palestine," and Bennett's "Woman of Samaria" are of the highest order.

What of painting? Three of the best by modern artists are Munckasy's "Christ Before Pilate," Millet's "Angelus," and Murillo's "Ascension." These have a value of over one hundred thousand dollars each, though it borders on sacrilege to

bring in here sordid gold! Raphael's finest painting is the "Transfiguration;" his best mosaic, "God Creating the Stars;" his best statue, "Jonah." Rembrandt's best paintings are the "Marriage of Samson" and "Christ Healing the Sick."

Then what of poetry? Did Dante write anything better than "Inferno," and "Purgatory and Paradise?" Then we have Milton's "Paradise Lost;" Tennyson's "In Memoriam;" Bryant's "Thanatopsis;" Longfellow's "Village Blacksmith" and "Two Angels;" Whittier's "Driftwood Fire" and "Laus Deo;" and Lowell's "After the Burial" and "In the Twilight." These all were inspired by religion.

What of Christian archæology? In sacred architecture the æsthetic and religious join. Mural decoration, painting, reliefs, and mosaics are uniformly Christian. Old Testament scenes, prophets, apostles, and the Virgin meet us everywhere. Sacred Greek architecture reached perfection. They built twenty-eight matchless temples from 600 to 335 B. C., or two hundred and sixty-five years. Romans borrow from Greeks, as English, French, and Germans borrow from both. As ministers to æsthetic-religious taste these sacred edifices are fruitful. St. Peter's at Rome, and the Cathedrals at Milan, York, Westminster, and many others, are grand models of sacred art. There they stand, mute yet eloquent witnesses of the devotion of other years; prayers they are, frozen in stone. The soul's cry of a thousand years ago is heard in "long-drawn aisle and fretted vault."

What of revelation? Do we find the æsthetic in Scripture? It is not in the first chapter of Genesis, but it is in the second; for "out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight." In the third it is also, with the ugly; Eve saw that the forbidden tree was "pleasant to the eyes." Our modern critics agree with Moses that the science of the beautiful is objective as well as subjective. The poem of Lamech is the oldest. (See Gen. iv, 23.) The sense of beauty and the spirit of poetry thus antedate all art and philosophy. Noah's rainbow appealed to his sense of beauty and to his religious nature. In Gen. xlix Jacob blesses his sons in a Hebrew poem of seventy-six lines. The poetic spirit is on Moses and Miriam at the Red Sea; Balaam's four poems in Num. xxiii and xxiv are gems; the poetic fire in

Hannah's heart breaks out at the offering of baby Samuel; and in Job we have moving mountains, sealed stars, Orion, the Pleiades, the spreading light, the pillars of heaven, the moon walking in brightness, and the golden splendor of the north. The Psalms are fruitful. In the first, by the waters we see a goodly tree with unwithering leaf; in the eighth, we survey the circling spheres; in the nineteenth, the heavens speak to us; in the twenty-third, we walk beside still waters in green pastures; in the forty-second, midst cooling shades we part the branches, to see the hart panting amidst the ripples of the waterbrook, while from out the thick-tangled wildwood the baying of the hounds and hunters' calls come faintly, and mingle with the surf of the great sea as it moans along the shore. In the forty-sixth, we are tranquil though mountains lose themselves in the deep, and though the waters roar in their troubling; in the sixty-fifth, we see soft showers, springing furrows, the year crowned with goodness, the hills girded with joy, pastures clothed with flocks, and valleys covered with corn; in the eighty-fourth, we are in God's house, and swallows and sparrows twitter in their nesting, and our valley of weeping is a place of springs; and in the one hundred and forty-ninth, everything takes to song and praise. In the Song of Songs the odors of the rose of Sharon and the beauty of the lily of the valley greet us. We partake of the honeycomb and fountains, and our thoughts are as sweet as "doves beside waterbrooks," and clean as "a flock of sheep newly shorn." The New Testament continues in like spirit. Mary, when informed of the future birth of Jesus, departed for the hills, that midst nature's rugged grandeur she might meditate. Meeting Elizabeth in the hill country, she raised her feelings in the beautiful poem recorded by Luke. Its companion is from the father of John Baptist on the birth of the forerunner.

The fisher son of Zebedee is the apostle of light. He ransacks the wide domain of nature for word-signs; celestial architecture, fountains, and music rise and gleam and float about us in bewildering plenitude as we sit, on Patmos, at his feet. Troops of pure beings swing to and fro clad in clean white linen; sweet presences carry about measuring-rods of gold; the Lamb leads the redeemed by living fountains; a

bride makes ready for a banquet; precious stones flash from foundation, walls, and gates; the streets are of gold; the music is from angels, men, harps, trumpets, floods, and spheres. Royal are the splendors; seraphic the minstrelsy. Is it not a last appeal to the element of beauty in us?

Yet, sad to say, where the Church has lavished the treasures of art piety struggles for life. Greek art at its zenith looked down on morals most detestable, and though the Tiber were lined with gems from brush and chisel, faith gasps for breath, and hides in loneliness till summoned forth by the daybreak of the Reformation. Hunger and nakedness beg at the portals of St. Peter's and Westminster. Within are gold and gems, the gatherings of centuries; without are God's starving poor. Does æsthetic taste sometimes grieve away the religious spirit? Methodism does not beautify beyond the conditions of those at her altars. She cannot take five hundred precious years in which to build a cathedral; but she builds three chapels daily, and stands in neglected places to invite the lowly. She erects her costly city churches or contents herself with a chapel of plain boards or sod. Her schools will soon be of the best, and culture, music, painting, and all the sublime ministry of æsthetics will be the heritage of every child of the Church. The art of our ancestors glorified the masculine qualities of strength and courage. Christian art gives to mercy, tenderness, and love their apotheosis.

Jno. W. Wright.

Art. IX.—ETERNAL VERITIES.

It may be questioned whether men think more deeply now than in former years, but it is undoubtedly true that they think more broadly. The stream of thought may not plow for itself so deep a channel, but it covers a vastly greater area. We have so many things to think of we are in great danger of superficiality. No man interested in the discovery and maintenance of truth can look with indifference upon certain tendencies of modern thought. The mistakes which men have made in reference to the physical forces, and to the origin of the material earth, and to the nature of the heavenly bodies, have very naturally raised the question whether they have not made a similar mistake in reference to religion. It is an age of general unrest. There is abroad a great disaffection with old ideas, old ways of doing things, and why not of old creeds? To make the matter worse, there is always present a class of men more brilliant than solid, who, finding the popular tendencies of the times, are willing to put themselves at the head of the column as leaders in what they arrogantly claim to be "Advanced Thought." These men dare to dig about the very corner stone of Christian truth. Nothing is too old or too sacred to escape their critical efforts. Theology is to be recast; creeds are to be sent to the moles and bats; we are to have a new way of thinking, a new way of preaching, and—this at least is a logical conclusion—a new way of living the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Thus men are troubled, especially those who read newspapers mainly to learn how and what people are thinking, and are ready to say, "Is there anything we can believe? Are there any eternal verities that a Christian man can stand upon and be sure he is right? Are there truths that were truths with the apostles and are truths now, and will be true when Christ shall come to judge 'the quick and dead?'" Surely it is a very discouraging view of religion to think that after so many years we have all been wrong. And then are not those who are advancing so rapidly merely inaugurating a course of thinking that will take men far beyond where they are willing to go? Will not future "advanced thinkers" look upon them as only the same distance ahead of their own times that they were behind

those of their successors? If the Bible, honestly read, carefully studied, faithfully practiced, aided by the influence of the Holy Spirit, that ever-present help to enlighten the Christian, has not given us certain great cardinal truths that can stand the investigations and criticisms of all times, then we may safely conclude it is neither the "only" nor "the sufficient rule, both of faith and practice!" It will remain to be settled whether we shall put our consciences and judgments into the hands of the pope or turn our faces to the barren wastes of infidelity.

Practically the truth necessary to save lies near the surface of thought. The child's immature mind finds it very easily, and yet the profoundest thinker is compelled to admit that there is no lack of wisdom in the child's religion. The facts of science necessary to perpetuate life are easily found, and the highest attainments in knowledge do not set aside these earlier and simpler truths. Men raised wheat in Egypt when they knew nothing whatever of the sources of the Nile. They were utterly mistaken as to the cause of the swellings of their deified river, but they made the God-appointed use of its rich alluvium. They knew nothing of the reasons of seed growth and life development, and in this respect were not much behind our own age, but they did know how to raise the crop upon which their lives depended. Before men knew that the world moved once a year in a great circuit about the sun they knew "that seedtime and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter" were eternal verities in the economy of nature, and knew how to avail themselves of the fact. So our fathers may have known less of criticism than we; but they proved the Bible true, in a thousand instances, by trusting its promises and obeying its precepts, and found they were never mistaken. They fed upon the Bible as though it was manna from heaven, and found themselves growing stronger from the divine aliment. There were moral and intellectual giants in those days, and the world would be poor indeed if the results of their labor should be lost. They could give a reason for the hope that was in them with a skill that ought to put to blush many of the upstarts of to-day that suppose themselves greatly their superiors.

Christianity has a creed. There is something that all true Christians believe. Error may approximate the truth, it may get so much of it as to bring its votaries into harmony with

Christian character. But there are certain truths essential for an aggressive, saving Christianity. Let us note some of these.

1. The Bible is the great creed of Protestantism. If the Bible is not from God we have no foundation for a single element of what we call Christianity. This is the great basal truth of all truths. Time may modify some views by which the Bible is held as authority, but never the fact that it is authority. We may in the future, as in the past, discuss the question of inspiration—its extent, its manifestation—but never to the destruction of the idea that the Bible is the word of the living God. Sound, honest, friendly criticism may modify our views in regard to certain books, chapters, and verses of the Bible, but the book that has thus far led man safely in this world—this only book that has thrown light upon his darkest moments of sin and misery—this book is not on trial to the Christian, it is simply his only hope, and, blessed be God, his sufficient hope! Nor will this book cease to be the foundation of creeds among Christians. Many foolish things are being said about creeds, as though they were human productions. To some extent they are, and to that extent subject to revision and improvement. Still, we cannot get along without them. We want to know what the Bible teaches, and when we have carefully considered its contents, and written down the conclusions to which they brought us, we have formed a creed. Theology is in the Bible as science is in nature; it is a work of love and duty alike to classify and arrange it. When so classified and arranged it becomes a creed. Men doing this have not always reached the same conclusions: they have not in nature. It is easy to see how these variations arise. A man may bring to the study a biased judgment. He may have some pet theory that causes him to unduly emphasize a truth, and thus put it out of proportion with other truths. This must of necessity mar the symmetry of truth if it do not seriously affect its use. Or, finally, men may be influenced in forming their opinions by the peculiar make-up of their own minds. Yet no man ever truly and honestly sought to know the truth of Scripture in order to live according thereto who did not find all of truth necessary to salvation. Now, every creed is what somebody believes the Scriptures teach. A man may persist in fighting creeds—all creeds but his own—but he

has one that he is dogmatically asserting all the time. Every Church has a creed, whether written or not; it would be only decent if they wrote it down, so that all men might know what they agree upon in reference to the teachings of the Bible. Few men make their own creed. They are dominated by some master mind. This, again, is no objection to their creed; on the contrary, it is greatly in their favor. One would rather have the creed of a student of the Bible like John Wesley or Richard Watson than to accept the crude intellectual wanderings of some callow youth or morbid old man out of joint with his times and his Church. "The survival of the fittest" is the best test of differences in creeds. God will take care of his own truth. Only let all final appeals be made to the word of God.

2. The incarnation of Christ is truthfully established. In spite of all philosophies, in spite of all difficulties, "*God is in Christ* reconciling the world unto himself." The Infinite becomes knowable when brought within the compass of human observation and experience. One may not take it all in, any more than he can see across the ocean, but he may take in all that his relationships involve. A man apprehends God, if he does not comprehend him. Nay, he comprehends him in all respects where he needs God's help. The fact that he is more than one sees in Christ only fits him to be his God forever.

3. The atonement is being assailed most desperately by some. We are told by one class that justice needed no satisfaction. These say that God, having all power, could do as he pleased. If he pleased to save the sinner he had a perfect right to do it. The atonement had nothing to do with justice, but was an exhibition of God's love to men; it was to draw our love toward him. Man needed to be reconciled to God, not God to man. Still another class, professing to be Christian, deny all forgiveness of past sins. We are under the reign of law. All violations of law must be punished. The only use of the atonement was to get the life of Christ into the soul; the only significance of the blood is life; the only forgiveness is power to prevent our committing any more sins. How all these refinements of human philosophy are swept away by the startling fact that God says, "The wages of sin is death!" "The soul that sinneth, it shall die!" How can a man work out the penalty of death but by dying eternally? So, again, life

comes by the forgiveness of the penalty. It is useless to quote Scriptures in such a case. They are so many and so plain that if a man deny them or explain them away he will be able to do away with anything in the Bible that he finds in the way of his chosen theories. How grandly the doctrine of the atonement stands, not only as God's manifestation of love for his creature man, but as his highest, grandest protest against sin! In the light of the cross we see not only how ready he is to forgive if we repent and believe, but also how certain our doom if we believe not! God is a Father, but he is also a King. The proper adjustment of these relations is secured by the death of Christ. False and pernicious statements of this doctrine have been made, but the truth stands as the very corner stone of Christianity, as clear to the experience as it is plainly taught in the Bible and approved by a sound philosophy.

4. Justification. That men may be forgiven is as certain as that the Bible has a truth plainly stated. That they may know the fact is as old as the days of the Psalmist, who said, "Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered." That it is not brought about by good works, or by any form or ceremony, is the constant teaching of the Bible. "The just shall live by faith." This keynote of the Reformation is the first step in the Christian life. It must be maintained in spite of the materialistic notion of the reign of law and consequent impossibility of forgiveness, to which some professed teachers of God's word are giving too great consideration. If God cannot forgive, then no such idea of a moral government can be entertained that can be of service to us in getting rid of the heaviest burden an awakened conscience can bear, the self-condemnation for offenses past. So thought not John when he wrote the truth that has carried many souls out of the shipwreck of sin into the land of light and promise, "If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness."

5. And here we must consider the very holy of holies of gospel truth. We may become the children of God. We may have the witness of the Spirit to that fact. Great and unspeakable as the privileges of this relation are—far-reaching as the consequences for good may be to the saved—the fact abides, the truth is plain, we are the sons of God by

the adoption which is secured by faith. "As many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God." And this leads to another truth connected with it, that we are fitted for our inheritance "by the washing of regeneration and the renewing of the Holy Ghost." Sanctification—a work done in the soul by the power of God—is not merely a fond thing of the Christian aspiration, but a God-given reality in the lives of those who reach up to their high calling in Christ Jesus. Now, these verities of the word are equally verities of human experience. They are found true by the highest test by which any truth may be established. They point also to other truths equally important, and certainly taught in the Bible.

(1.) The fact of sin in the work of salvation involves the doctrine of depravity. "The carnal mind is enmity against God; for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be. So then they that are in the flesh cannot please God." This certainly is our estate by nature. We do not inherit guilt, but we do inherit a "bent to sinning." Any true remedy must meet the characteristics of the disease. It was no common or insignificant moral evil that called for the interposition of the Son of God. This doctrine, too, has its practical importance. Unless men see the seriousness of their case they will not readily apply for cure. When men can be made to see that they are "dead" already, and also "lost," it will be the easier to stir them up to "lay hold upon the hope that is set before them."

(2.) As a necessary companion truth of this, we have another which the world needs as a basis of morals—*an enlightened conscience in reference to divine things.* Without the revelation of God there can be no authoritative ground for right and wrong. Morals will degenerate into convenient expedients for regulating society. It will soon be but little more than the laws of the State or municipality, and when Christian morals shall have no hand in framing these laws what will they become? But true Christian morals go much further. They involve a wise and proper adjustment of all possible relations of man to the divine purpose in the work of salvation. There are things that are lawful that are not expedient. Every generation opens its eyes to new facts and relations that need to be settled afresh. No precise law can do this. A saved humanity can. We may more safely trust the judgment of a man who

walks with God than all the arguments of the best intellects the world can produce. Not in the glitter of intelligence will we find the safe way to live, but in the inner moral consciousness when we look there to see what the Spirit has written. The Bible was never intended to be a text-book for moral conduct; instead of that, God has made it a means of finding how to "feel the least approach of sin." Thus shall it be true forever that they who name the name of the Lord shall depart from iniquity. This shall ever make the true Christian the "salt of the earth," the "light of the world."

Now, these are some of the eternal verities that have come down to us from the apostles. They are the working truths of evangelical Christianity. They stand against infidelity on one side and against formalism and superstition on the other. As Churches depart from them to take the place of doubt or to take the place of a superstitious view of devotion, they lose their power and are left behind in the march of humanity. The law of the survival of the fittest has already settled the truth of these doctrines. Reformers reform not unless they follow this plan in its entirety. They may cry, "Lo, here, or lo, there!" but the kingdom of heaven is not built up by them.

That these doctrines, drawn out in all their fullness, involve points about which pure and mighty minds may differ goes for the saying. That a restatement of them is always in order is only to recognize in them the same elements inherent in all truths which are many-sided, and so great as to be well-nigh out of reach of the human reason. But restatements are one thing, rejecting them is quite another. However you look at them they are to be the things you see, not something else. If the men of one generation shall turn from these, the necessities of humanity will bring the next one back to them. If the Church should ever again find itself filled with the spirit of the world, with the doubt of the world, with the neglect of the Bible that characterizes the world, as the Church was one hundred and fifty years ago, another Wesley and another Whitefield would arise to shake the world by means of the simple truths that an overinflated humanity had supposed itself to have outlived.

C. V. Anthony

EDITORIAL NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

OPINION.

THEOLOGY is an alluring study. A strict construction of the term would confine the investigator to an inquiry concerning the divine Being, his attributes and activities; in fact, to the relatively narrow field of human knowledge or speculation concerning the Almighty personality. But the word, like many others in the nomenclatures of men, has broadened to include far more than a consideration of the nature and the governing principles of the Godhead. Rather has the whole round of human inquiry into divine things now come to be legitimately included within the scope of systematic theology, of which we more particularly speak. Such are the always interesting problems of anthropology, soteriology, and eschatology. What sin may be in its essence and its effects; how extensive the divine authority over evil; what the nature of the hypostatic union, or the structural constitution of the human soul; what the measure of human responsibility, and what the realities of the future existence, are some of these problems which fill human thought and elicit the discussion of the scholars. It is true that the human quality involved in all theologic definition will inevitably impress itself upon the mind of the student in any thorough theologic investigation. The very term "theology," it will not be forgotten, had a heathen origin—those great thinkers, Plato and Paul, having understood by it "the doctrine of the Greek gods, and of their relation to the world." Only the Holy Scriptures are God-inspired; theology is but a gathering of human interpretations of that revelation. The Scriptures are the way of life, a lamp unto the feet and a light unto the paths of men; theology is but the guideboard that points to the wicket-gate and the road of salvation. And yet it must not be denied that a large sanctity attaches to the current theological definitions and formulas of the Christian Church. Because they have won the consensus of the ages they are not to be lightly esteemed or carelessly handled, as traders handle paltry wares. In short, the very indorsement given these definitions and formulas by the fathers—often after the stormy disputations of conventions and councils—indicates the unchanging interest in theological questions which lies back of all scholastic definitions. There is that in the scope of theology which is winsome to men. They ardently wish to know the facts regarding their own moral constitution; they are curious to reach the solution of the many problems involved in Christology; they long with an irrepressible desire to know the nature of that unseen life whither all earthly life is tending. Over inquiries such as these every successive generation in turn lingers, asking with the eager Pilate, "What is truth?" Theology is, in other words, one of the most en-

gaging of all sciences. Without disparagement of other lines of scholarly pursuit in which men engage—but rather with a full recognition of the nobility of such departments of study as geology, which explores the earth's strata, or zoology, which classifies the animal creation, or astronomy, which sweeps the stars—we cannot relegate theology to the rear in comparison with these ennobling sciences. It leads the van; it is the chief because man has the religious instinct; and, because of this, all the coming generations of men will, in some sense, be theologians.

And now the name of Ernest Renan must be added to the list of the world's illustrious necrology. It was but lately that he indulged in pleasant self-congratulations that he had arrived at his seventieth year, and from the Scriptures, which he had so long challenged, quoted the sentiment that "the normal age of man" had been reached by him; but now, in obedience to the inexorable law of nature, he has passed on to join the company of the immortals, while his works do follow him. By what measurement shall Renan be estimated? For half a century he has been a recognized literary force in France, and much of the time has been accorded a chief place among her literati. His *Future of Science*, which was written in a few months at the early age of twenty-five, was an unusual book; his succeeding volumes, through a series of many years, have shown a man of great native force, of unwearied and wide investigation, and of ripened scholarship. So that were mere literary execution the criterion of judgment he would hold a permanent and enviable place in the list of the world's distinguished authors. It is not, however, as a merely literary character that Renan has long been known to the reading world. To at least the Christian portion of mankind he rather stands as a monumental instance of a severe though honest, and outspoken though not blatant, misinterpreter of the Holy Scriptures and the genius of Christianity. For two generations the student of ethics and comparative religion, as he has surveyed the field of scholarship, has discerned in the forefront of the philosophical critics of Christianity the prominent form of Renan. Whatever misconception of the true spirit and purposes of the man there may have been on the part of Christian believers—if such a misconception be possible—the Church has long since come to acquiesce in the verdict of Pius IX upon the French scholar, to the effect that he was the "European blasphemer." His rereading and misreading of the sacred Scripture, and his persistent misconception of the spirit of Christianity, is then the amazing feature in his life which elicits present notice. It is true that there have always been disbelievers in our holy faith. In the times of the incarnation, despite the fact that Christ by his miracles so clearly demonstrated his godhood, there were multitudes of Pharisees, chief priests, and scribes who received him not. He was persecuted by them as a deceiver, and was hung upon the cross as the arch impostor of his times. The spirit of Renan has not been dissimilar to that of those ancient critics of the Nazarene and his new doctrines. It

does not seem to be the rule that men believe in proportion to the light which they receive. Though enjoying the full blaze of illumination which is the heritage of the student who closes the nineteenth century—and which in its irradiation shows a religious system undimmed by defect—there are those in the world who still discount, like Renan, both Christ and his Gospel.* Apparently their mental operations are normal, and certainly they are vigorous. Yet in seeming honesty they discredit those cumulative evidences for the Gospel which have been sufficient to confirm its supernaturalism in the estimate of many of the world's profoundest thinkers; and upon the brow of the world's Redeemer they rather place in repudiation the crown of thorns. As a study in the peculiarities of human nature their cases are important. As to the measure of their impiety, they must be left to that final test of fire which "shall try every man's work of what sort it is."

Once more the Christmas bells ring in the steeples, with their call to reverent worship and their inspiration to gratitude for the goodness of God in the divine Epiphany. From the merely historic standpoint the birth of the Saviour is one of the most important events in the Scripture record. Because of Christ's claims to the Messiahship, even though he were the arrant impostor that his enemies have held; because of his potential relations to the civilization of the past eighteen centuries; and because of his molding influence upon the manifold life of the present generation, there is not an iota involved in the story of the incarnation which has not already been the object of minute scrutiny on the part of the world's great scholars, and which will not challenge the attention of chronologists and historiographers for the centuries to come. Even as the student would study the birth and the infancy of Zoroaster, of Confucius, of Mohammed, among the world's great religious leaders, in a dispassionate spirit and with a desire to learn the established data of their personal lives, so there is enough in the birth of Jesus to stir all the enthusiasm of the specialist in historic pursuits. The diverse genealogical tables of Matthew and Luke thus afford him an intricate problem to whose attempted solution he should not be averse. The place of the nativity—with the contending claims of Bethlehem and of Nazareth, as viewed from the standpoint of Christian faith or of critical doubt—the personality of Joseph and of Mary, the identity of the Magi, the nature of the "star" which overhung the manger, and the date of the Messianic birth are also additional questions to whose importance the element of the wonderful and even the miraculous lends a heightened charm. But while all these questions are transcendent in the estimate of scholars, and while their settlement is important to the maintenance of our Christian system, there is another and not less beneficial lesson for the "common people" in the recurring Christmas anniversary. Textual criticism or historic challenge in their experience must make way for happy sentiment. The essential brotherhood of humanity is the glorious truth which psalter and song and sermon

revive in their consciousness each Christmas season. The Christ who lay as a babe in the manger of Bethlehem, though a Jew as to earthly parentage, was the Redeemer of all peoples, and with his advent joined the hands of the nations at the antipodes in indissoluble fraternity. The time is, then, emphatically one for peace. The unequaled beauty of the first Christmas song, which broke on the ears of the shepherds at Bethlehem, is paralleled by its practical setting forth of the fact of human brotherhood. Whatever be the proper exegesis of the ἐπί γῆς εἰρήνη of St. Luke, its value as a working sentiment is great. How inconsequential seem human differences as the anniversary of the Nativity approaches! How unfortunate the most just wars in which the nations of the world have ever engaged, even where fundamental human rights have been involved! How trivial and wicked the strifes waged in the interests of personal selfishness and racial ambition, that have stained the earth with the red blood of warriors! Aside from the chief lesson of the holiday season, as found in the fact of the incarnation for human sin, there is no truth more imperative of remembrance in this world of jars and discords. And we perhaps venture little in expressing the belief that the teeming multitudes of the globe to whom the gospel story annually comes are not unmindful of this underlying fact of human fraternity which is involved. The sentiment is very likely a growing one—perhaps with the Jew as well as with the Gentile, and with the skeptic as well as with the Christian. Behind the bestowment of gifts in many households, the reunion of kindred, and even the appointed services which mark denominational practice, there exists this deep and growing interest in one's fellow-men which Christianity always emphasizes. It has its expression in the interchange of cordial greetings and well-wishes, the bestowment of well-directed charities upon the poor, and the forgiveness of enemies. It is among the most noble of all sentiments, and in its growing observance will be brought about one of the great purposes which we may think was designed in the birth of the holy babe at Bethlehem.

Biblical criticism in the better sense of the term is a certain consequence of Bible study. The tendency of all true research is toward the fullest and freest investigation of the fundamentals which are involved in any line of inquiry pursued. True scholarship is an exhaustive knowledge of details. And as every modern science is forced to undergo the searching scrutiny of each successive student of its occult principles, it is not strange if the demand obtain that biblical truth should always lie open to investigation. The Scripture, with its lofty claim to inspiration, its asserted authority over human thought and conduct, its mysterious leadership among the volumes of the world, cannot be a closed book. It has always courted the fullest inquiry, and only by the opportunities it affords the student of the future for his deliberate investigation may it maintain its primacy among the text-books of religion. As the works of nature fashioned by the great Creator have undergone the test of micro-

scope or telescope, so has revealed truth escaped no ordeal which men in their argus-eyed scrutiny have known how to apply. And there is something of daring, dash, and unconventionality in all human investigation. The words of Renan are almost of the nature of an aphorism: "Criticism knows no reverence; it judges God and men. For it there is neither prestige nor mystery; it breaks all charms; it tears aside all veils. This irreverent power, turning upon everything a firm and scrutinizing look, is by its very essence guilty of treason toward God and man." The inquiry of the present age into the meaning of the Scripture is not, then, a surprise. No generation has ever weighed it in finer-poised balances. Reckoning as of prime importance such questions as the authorship of the various books of the Bible, their dates, their authenticity, their accuracy of translation, or their textual meaning—present scholarship is prosecuting these inquiries to the uttermost limit. The Bible has been under tests in every century; it is passing through the trial of furnace fires heated to seven times their wonted heat, in the present epoch. Yet criticism, if it be not iconoclastic, is not to be shunned or feared. The purposes of truth are thereby more fully served. True biblical criticism is helpful alike to Christian faith and progress.

The practice of morality is no less important than the profession of religious experience. In other ages of the world the nicer regard for integrity and honor in daily deed has not always kept pace with claims to sanctity. With the strains of the *Te Deum* yet lingering on their lips men have turned away from the worship of Christian temples to sing the songs of bacchanalian revelry; and with hands still fresh from the touch of holy things they have gone forth to take part in injustice, extortion, and bloody warfare. But Christianity, in its constant advance through the world and its growing control over the daily lives of its disciples, is not remiss in its emphasis of the necessity of practical morality. Neither psalm-singing in mellifluous accent, nor almsgiving with Pharisaic open-handedness, nor prating professions of experience, is of itself enough. Practice must go hand in hand with profession. To perform is better than to preach. Quiet integrity in daily service is better than unctuous testimony. The way to heaven is through right living. There is perhaps no lesson which the world needs more imperatively to learn. In its daily living the experience of all the ages but repeats itself. Men know better than they do. Led away by the cares of business, the allurements of fashionable life, or the glitter of worldly amusements, they too often divorce their practice from their creed, to the loss of self-respect and reputation. Nor are they alone the injured in such courses of conduct. But the practice of the daily moralities also affects the well-being of society at large. That community is the most stable where men illustrate the practical virtues in their daily living. That State or nation is the most prosperous where these same virtues are given the preference to personal desires. For their temporal prosperity men should learn the lesson that right-thinking and right-doing bring a present profit which is hundredfold.

CURRENT DISCUSSIONS.

THE MODERN MISSIONARY IMPULSE.

THERE is not in all the ideals of philanthropy and benevolence a concept so sublimely grand, so morally beautiful, as the thought which is the root of the missionary enterprise. That thought is the exorcism of the spirit of evil from every human soul and the enthronement of Christ in the affections of regenerated humanity as a coming fact in human history. It is a concept of the whole world freed, not merely from the dominion but also from the presence of sin; of a world rescued from heathenism, superstition, barbarism, skepticism, vice, crime, war, and every other hurtful thing; of a world washed in the blood of the Lamb, and having all its inhabitants adorned with the graces of the Holy Spirit, bound to each other by the silken bonds of brotherly love, and drawn, as by a mighty magnet, to Him who was "lifted up" that he might transform it into this condition of universal loveliness and happiness.

It was this concept of the world not merely redeemed, but really saved, through his redeeming blood, that filled the heart of the Saviour with holy joy when the seventy evangelists returned from their brief missionary journey rejoicing over their unexpected success, and especially over the fact that even devils had been subject to their power through his name. In that moment Jesus viewed their success as the first fruits of that preaching of the Gospel by which he willed to bring the world to his feet. His prophetic eye saw in it the ultimate triumph of his Gospel as an accomplished fact, and he exclaimed, "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven." The mighty evil force which had hitherto ruled, and for some ages was still to rule the world, became to his prophetic vision, while still existent, a power suddenly, visibly, and finally overturned; and mankind, freed from its cunning solicitations, stood before him gratefully singing the praises of his love. Thus beholding the certain issue of his redemptive work, his great soul was thrilled with a divine joy; he thanked his Father that those seventy disciples, who were but babes in the wisdom of men, had been permitted to symbolize the triumph of that kingdom which had been delivered to him with power to reveal it to whomsoever he might find willing to receive it. And then, as if desirous of impressing the certainty of that grand triumph of his Gospel upon their minds, he proceeded to assert that all the power necessary to the overthrow of the dominion of evil was in his hands, saying, "All things are delivered to me of my Father."

Hence the concept which lies at the root of the missionary impulse is not an ungrounded speculation, but an ideal sure to find its realization in the experience of mankind. This certainty is implicit in the great missionary command in which Jesus pledged his perpetual presence and aid until the day of its consummation. In the words cited above it is explicit, is indeed made as certain as the existence of Jesus himself. As sure as he

is the Truth, the Life, and the crucified One, so sure is the coming of the glorious day in which this poor world, so long cursed by the spirit of evil, will be a saved world!

The merely intellectual perception of this grand root-thought may excite admiration, may charm one's æsthetic tastes, may even awaken faint desire to contribute some trivial service for its realization; but it never has and it never can give birth to the genuine missionary impulse. The object sought, being chiefly spiritual and aiming to reach the material well-being of mankind through a spiritual life, cannot be grasped until one's interests are centered in spiritual things. Christ's love for humanity was the impulse of his self-sacrifice for its redemption. And no man whose affections are not set on Christ, no man whose soul is not an abiding place for Christ, can be in active sympathy with his aim to regenerate humanity. How can one labor for human salvation who is indifferent to his own spiritual interests? Neither can one who is spiritually lukewarm be the possessor of that measure of missionary impulse which begets deep devotion to the great missionary movement of the age. But when Christ is so emphatically the life of a man that he can intelligently and sincerely say with Paul, "I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me," then Christ's aims become his aims; what Christ loves he also loves; and what Christ wishes done in the world he attempts to do so far as in him lies.

This relation of the missionary impulse to deep spirituality is demonstrated by the fact that it was not developed in the apostles until the hour of their Pentecostal baptism. That they had loved the Master prior to his crucifixion need not be questioned. But that first affection was superficial and alloyed with vanity, arising out of their friendly connection with the Teacher whose miracles made him the wonder of the times, the cynosure of all eyes. It was not rooted in a clear conception of his divine character and of the spirituality of the kingdom he was founding. Hence, although it was strong enough to move them to an avowal of their readiness to adhere to him in any possible peril, their love was only a flickering flame, which was so nearly extinguished by the fierce blast of the persecution preceding the tragedy of Calvary that "they all forsook him and fled." But after that baptism of fire which so illuminated their previously dull understandings as to give them a clear comprehension of the spiritual nature of their Lord's kingdom and a perception of the amazing love for humanity implied in his incarnation and death, their feeble affection blazed into a flame of holy and intelligent love kindred to his own; then they loved him most devotedly, and partook so fully of his love for humanity that they entered at once with heroic self-devotion upon the work of persuading men to become his disciples. Thus the missionary impulse was born under its inspiration; the men who had fled when their Master was arrested in the hour of his unparalleled agony were transformed into heroes defiant of persecution, indifferent to the toils of travel, the pangs of destitution and of death by violence and torture. Through them this divine impulse was imparted to others and transmitted to many generations until their Lord's message of salvation was communi-

cated to all the then civilized world, and the paganism of the Roman empire lay prostrate at the feet of Christianity, like the image of the Philistine Dagon before the ark of the Lord.

But the success of this divine impulse, by bringing the Church it had built up into connection with the empire, was mightily checked. The smiles of the State, with the temptations of wealth and power which it spread before the leaders of the Church, chilled the love which inspires the missionary impulse. Selfism displaced love in multitudes who nevertheless continued to call themselves Christians. The "Dark Ages" succeeded. With the decline of the love of Christ the impulse to diffuse the pure Gospel was also more or less paralyzed. Yet it did not die. Even Rome herself, though fallen and generally corrupt, illustrated the depth of her hold on the thought and habit of the early Church in her zealous endeavors to persuade heathen nations to accept her creed and ritual. Long after she had lost her knowledge of Christ as the only Saviour of the soul she persisted with a zeal worthy of the true object of preaching in urging men to put their trust in her false interpretations of Christian truth and in her sacerdotal pretensions. But when Luther restated the scriptural doctrine of justification through that personal faith in Christ alone which begets conscious love for God, the true missionary impulse was revivified. Men who thus found Christ as their Saviour felt that strong impulse to proclaim him to others which, as we have seen, had its birth amid the rushing wind, the fiery tongues, and the polyglot voices of the day of Pentecost.

Professor Gotwald, writing of Luther in the *Lutheran Quarterly*, says that the missionary spirit "burned in his bones and lived as a quenchless life in his innermost soul." Consequently the Reformation, of which he was the author, "was all aglow with missionary ardor and missionary life." His missionary spirit was grounded on the idea that Christ, while requiring his disciples to begin their missionary work in the city of Jerusalem, bade them not to remain there or in Judea, but to carry his Gospel to heathen nations. "There is," wrote Luther, "no difference either as to places or persons. The Gospel is to be promulgated to the uttermost limit of the world."

Luther was no sentimentalist. To him ideas were stimulants to action, ingots of gold to be minted into evangelistic deeds. Hence, though the emergencies of the Reformation were so absorbing as to demand such exhaustive devotion to the rescue of Germany from the errors and corruptions of the papacy as to justify a temporary limitation of missionary labor to the home field, he was yet "very urgent in laying it upon the consciences of kings and rulers not only to protect and further true religion at home," but also to send "gospel messengers throughout the world." As one of the earliest results of this sound missionary teaching we may note the very interesting fact that in 1551, only six years after our great reformer's death, a Lutheran pastor named Truber translated the New Testament into the Wendish and Croatian languages, with a view to Christianizing the Slavonic populations of Europe and such of the Turks as spoke

those dialects. Eight years later, in 1559, Gustavus Vasa, the Lutheran King of Sweden, sent missionaries to Lapland. In 1660 Duke Ernest of Saxe-Gotha sent missionaries to Russia, and shortly after to Abyssinia; and in 1705 Frederick IV of Denmark organized a foreign missionary society, which appointed missionaries to labor in India, where "thousands upon thousands of heathen souls were led to Christ" by them and their successors in that populous field. These, with other facts cited in the *Lutheran Review* from the "Handbook of Lutheranism," may justify us in regarding Martin Luther as being in no mean sense the instigator, if not the father, of modern missionary organizations. Most assuredly he himself was possessed by the true missionary impulse, which he very correctly taught to be inseparable from the love of Christ; and he communicated it to some of the best men of his age and country so effectually that one of them anticipated by his action those grand missionary organizations which are now energetically seeking to "preach the Gospel to every creature," both in Christian and in heathen lands.

The dependence of the missionary impulse on genuine and deep spirituality is demonstrated by the historical fact that nearly two centuries passed before the missionary spirit of Luther's Reformation became powerfully and generally operative in the Churches of Europe. This is accounted for, in part, by the fact that the false doctrines of Rome had taken such strong possession of the public mind that even to sincere seekers of Christian truth the cross was enveloped in mist. Hence, spiritual truths, being dimly comprehended, failed to work their legitimate and full effects in Christian experience. The religious life of Protestant Churches was, therefore, feeble and more or less inactive. In England the political plottings of the denationalized papal Church, the persecution of nonconforming Christians by high churchmen, and the vigorous warfare of deistical teachers on Christianity so distracted popular thought that spiritual darkness hung over the land and vice gained sufficient strength to keep its foot on the neck of virtue. Then truly spiritual men, being only a feeble minority, became disheartened. Their love of Christ, chilled by the deadly spirit of the times, was too powerless to prevent their missionary impulses from languishing into feebleness or falling into sleepy inactivity.

In this perilous extremity the grace of God quickened a few good men in Germany, historically known as Pietists, and begat in England that "second reformation" called Methodism. These divinely begotten forces made "the dry bones live and become a mighty army to conquer, not Germany and England only, but all the world, for the King of kings." "As a phase of this astonishing revival of godliness," says a recent writer, "a divine pity for man was kindled." It was a baptism of Christ-love; and it kindled a philanthropic desire to win men to Christ akin to that which stirred the souls of his followers in the first century and moved them to compass the world with his Gospel of good tidings on their lips.

To give effect to this sublime desire, which was the breath of Christ's love, Wesley, perceiving that it must needs have an organism for its visible

habitation, culture, direction, and development, devised the simple ecclesiastical system known as Methodism. His classes, bands, societies, and Conferences were as unpretentious as were the informal assemblies of primitive Christianity. But they constituted an organism which was essentially missionary, eminently fitted to stimulate and guide spiritual minds to seek the highest possible development of the spiritual life and to do all their gifts and graces permitted toward the conversion of the world to Christ. As we know, it was amazingly successful. It quickly led many into the possession of experimental godliness. It inspired its first converts with intense and prayerful desire for the salvation of souls, and to personal efforts, both in private and in public meetings, to bring men to an immediate acceptance of the Saviour. This inspiration strengthened faith, and moved many of them to exclaim, after a day of much prayer, "We parted with a strong conviction that God is about to do great things among us." That this conviction was not a dream of the imagination is manifest to every man who to-day looks at the millions of souls who in all parts of the habitable globe are rejoicing in the life propagated and still being propagated through Methodistic instrumentality!

As in the birthday of Christianity and in the first years of the Lutheran Reformation, Methodism did its first missionary work, as Christ commanded, "beginning at Jerusalem." They recognized, as Luther had done, that in principle "there is no difference either as to persons or places," that Christian work in the home field is as truly missionary as in the foreign. The command to preach the Gospel "to every creature" makes it obligatory on the Church not merely to place the Gospel within reach of the public, if men choose to visit its preaching-places, but to devise means by which it shall be actually preached or taught in some way to every person, in every place. "To every creature" is Christ's emphatic phrase.

Is this obligation fully met by the modern Church? Is it not sadly true that it would be difficult to find a single city, town, or village in Europe or America which is so completely Christianized that one can say of it, "There is not a person in it who has not had the Gospel pressed upon his attention?" Is it not a fact that in well-nigh every place there are individuals and families which the Churches, by their inaction, tacitly admit to be beyond the reach of successful Christian effort? Practically no one cares for such souls, more or less of whom may be found in every community. Nevertheless, as hopeless as the case of these neglecters of the Gospel seems to be, many, perhaps most of them, might be won if personally and persistently sought out by suitable instrumentalities.

Is the truth of this last observation questioned? If so let the questioner turn his attention to the work of the Salvation Army. The methods of this singular body may be, actually are, offensive to one's tastes and judgment of the fitness of things. We are not prepared to defend them. They do not impress us as modes which the Christ would have approved; for he, though very condescending, was always quiet, dignified, and gentle. But despite the uncouth and distasteful methods of this "Army," one cannot reasonably deny that through the truths it

has so distastefully taught it has won very many apparently hopeless cases from grossly sinful lives to faith in Christ and purity of conduct. Admitting this, may we not look upon the fruits with which God has crowned its work, not as evidence that he approves of its irreverent peculiarities, but that he has yet used it as his instrument to teach the Churches that the classes whom they have accounted beyond recovery are really within reach of Christian effort? May it not be his call bidding his people to make a complete conquest of the entire population in every town and city?

It would also seem that the attention recently given to the "slums" in large cities, to the deaconess movement, to preaching in public halls, and to similar modes of reaching those who will not go to the churches, should be viewed as from the Holy Spirit, seeking to direct the missionary impulse of the Churches to that feature of the great missionary command which requires them to preach the Gospel to "every creature" in Jerusalem (the home field) as well as to "every creature" in heathen nations. That will be a great day in the history of Christianity in which the majority of its Churches shall be consecrated to an unfaltering purpose to pray and work for the conversion of every soul in the city, town, or village where it is situated, taking as its motto and solemn pledge such words as these: "Every soul in this town belongs to Christ; we will give ourselves no rest until every such soul has been personally invited to become a disciple of Christ."

Working thus "at Jerusalem," the modern missionary impulse will continue to grasp at the regeneration of the nations which know not God as for a precious prize. This our Methodism did as early as 1784, when it organized its first Methodist missionary society "for the establishment of missions among the heathen." It has been and still is claimed by some that the devoted Carey was the founder of modern missions. But "The Particular Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel Among the Heathen," under whose auspices Carey went to India, was not organized until 1792. It is true that Carey went to India several years before Methodist missionaries began their work in Africa and India, because the openings for missionary laborers were so inviting and so urgent in the British Channel Isles, in the West Indies, in Newfoundland, and in North America, that, until 1811, it was thought advisable to postpone for a season the purpose of the society to establish missions among the heathen. In that year it sent missionaries to Africa, and in 1814 to India. Thus Methodism, while "beginning at Jerusalem" and laying secure foundations there, was also obedient to that feature of the missionary command which requires the Gospel to be preached "to every creature" in the inhabited earth. And its Missionary Society was in the van of such modern organizations.

The thorough conversion of Christian countries is fast becoming a vital condition of the success of the Gospel in heathen nations. Modern commerce, modern diplomacy, and modern means of travel are bringing the peoples of all lands into such intercommunication and such political rela-

tions that their characters become known to each other. As never before Christian nations are now sufficiently unveiled to the observation of intelligent citizens of China, India, and Persia as to be objects of tolerably fair moral judgment. If, for example, England violates the law of justice and benevolence in compelling China to open her ports to vessels laden with opium, China recognizes and resents her injustice and inhumanity; if America, unwilling, and perhaps justly so, to permit China to swell our population by sending millions of heathen subjects as emigrants to our shores, rejects those emigrants with brutal violence and in defiance of acknowledged treaties, China perceives and reasons that she is not honorably treated—that America, being a Christian nation, ought not to restrain the objectionable immigration by harsh enactments, but by new treaty arrangements, especially as China is as desirous of keeping her subjects at home as America is to prevent their coming. As things now are, when Christian Churches send missionaries with the Holy Bible to India and China the unchristian conduct of England, in the one case, or of America, in the other, stands out as a formidable barrier to their success. The thought, if not the language, of either people to the missionary must be, "If the religion you offer us has not power to prevent the people you represent from doing us such great wrongs why should we accept it?" On the other hand, if England and America were in all respects "living epistles," exhibiting the spirit and especially the ethics of the Gospel in their diplomatic dealings, their moral purity and manifest righteousness would commend the Gospel which they profess and give the missionary an irrefutable argument in its favor.

It follows, from this view of the bearing of national character on missionary success in foreign lands, that while the Churches are pressing the battle against heathenism with unresting vigor they should also solemnly resolve to thoroughly Christianize their home communities. By seeking a deeper spirituality as the inspiration to this home missionary work, by making the ethics of the Gospel dominant in industrial, financial, commercial, and political circles, and by bringing every soul of age to understand the truth, face to face with Christ's incomparable saying, "Come unto me, . . . and I will give you rest," they would, by God's promised blessing on such endeavor, make this great nation a "living epistle," known, understood, respected, and revered throughout the world—a factor in the foreign missionary work that would contribute mightily to the triumph of the kingdom of Christ over the kingdom of Satan.

The Christian student, surveying the signs of the times, can scarcely fail to be convinced that God is working mightily to bring about the speedy triumph of the kingdom of his Son. Not only as noted above is he calling his Church to greater endeavors in the home field, but also to more energetic action in the heathen world. On every side he sees evidences of the unprecedented intensity of the missionary impulse. In our own Church the princely contributions of the last year to her various societies for Christian work, which, if the sums raised for mission work in our cities be included, must have amounted to little short of two

millions of dollars, indicate the disposition of her members to furnish abundant means for the support of mission work at home and abroad. Looking, then, at the increasing need of laborers in missionary fields, he beholds the "student volunteer movement" which numbers thousands of more or less educated young men pledged to do missionary work in foreign lands; looking further, he notes the desire of many laymen to go abroad at their own expense as lay workers, gaining their subsistence by mechanical labor, and spending their spare time in evangelistic work; next, appears the plan of self-supporting missions, such as Bishop Taylor is testing in Africa with considerable success. These, with the plan for the employment of individual missionaries to be sent out and supported by local churches, independently of direction by missionary organizations, and various other measures, are advocated by ardent minds. To the thoughtful observer most of these proposed methods, though indicative of the intensification of the missionary impulse, are yet so lacking in prudent adaptation to the actual condition of things in foreign lands as not to promise desirable results. Most of them assume that the average Christian student is or can readily and easily be qualified to go into a foreign land, acquire a difficult language, endure the physical effects of a sickly climate, and possess the self-poise, the self-adaptation, the force of character, and the practical wisdom indispensable to a successful missionary. The concept of independent missionaries thrust into the field by single churches and unguided by the experience and knowledge acquired through correspondence with men placed in the field by missionary organizations is absurd and misleading. A man of exceptional ability and force of character, finding himself in a strange land among people of a strange language and of semibarbarous habits, might possibly hew his way to success. But the average man would speedily lose heart, sink into despondency, return home if he could find means to do so, and after a vain struggle give up all hope and die. No; the heathen world is not to be saved by such instruments, who in most cases mistake the impulse to win the souls nearest them for a call to foreign mission work, which is a special influence from the Holy Spirit. Nevertheless, as evidences that Christ is working in men's minds in the direction of the world's conversion the Christian student rejoices over these workers, believing that He who begat these impulses will bring them into harmony with missionary methods tested by experience, and lead those moved by them into association with the great organizations which God has sealed with his approval by giving them much rich fruit.

But the best sign of the times is the astonishing prosperity of missionary work in Africa, in China, and especially in India, where the power of the Holy Ghost to save souls, though unaccompanied by visible tongues of fire, is as manifest as it was in the great day of Pentecost. In presence of all the gracious signs one is moved to look with confidence for the coming of the day in which "the great voices in heaven" shall say, "The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ; and he shall reign for ever and ever." Amen and amen!

THE VALUE OF DOCTRINAL STANDARDS.

DOCTRINE in its usual significance is the formulation of human conceptions of divine truth. We must, however, clearly understand the meaning of this statement and the processes by which doctrinal definition is reached. The word "doctrine" does not mean, for instance, the opinion of an individual alone, who may be liable to error through limitations in his intellectual processes or through bias toward some particular view of biblical truth; but is rather the agreement of the many, whose natural endowments and tendencies of belief essentially harmonize. It is not the utterance of uneducated men, led into fallacious reasoning through very ignorance; but is rather the judgment of scholars who have enjoyed the instruction of the schools and possess technical knowledge of that concerning which they speak. It is not the passing definition of the hour which is liable to reconsideration and change; but is rather that consensus of the ages which gathers force from its very antiquity. Nor in its source is doctrine based upon the traditions of the Church, as Romanism has boldly taught, nor is it necessarily conformable to human reason, as rationalistic writers on dogmatic theology have sometimes held; but on the Bible alone, "as the source from which we have to derive our religious beliefs," is it constructed. With these distinctions in mind we may remark with profit on the necessity of doctrinal standards through the former periods of the Church and their particular value in the denominational experiences of the present age.

I. The very history of doctrinal formulation shows the worth of rigid theological definition, in the estimate of the earlier Church. To those on whom rested the responsibility of laying the foundations of the Christian structure, heresy in belief was among the most damnable of errors. Few chapters in the story of organic establishment are more interesting than those which cover the development of the cardinal doctrines of Christianity. To trace the growth of the idea of the Trinity, or the vicarious atonement, or the relation of faith to works, or the resurrection of the dead, or the general judgment, is a pursuit whose reward is ample. Slowly, as all great conceptions of scientific truth have been reached by scholars, involving sometimes reconsideration, as has been found necessary in the formulation of the best human definitions, and yet steadily, as men walk toward a goal, have these great ideas in theology come to their final formulation.

Around some of the great Councils of the Church which met in the earlier centuries for the framing of Christian belief what a glamour gathers for the ecclesiastical student, and, from the time-lasting results which were reached, how colossal every personality who sat in those supreme gatherings of Christendom! At Nice, at Constantinople, and at Ephesus these dramatic gatherings met to interpret that word whose right understanding makes men "wise unto salvation," every one of these Councils being a center of light in the often somber history of early Christianity. The words of Waddington, the church historian, concerning the Nicene

Council and its conclusions as to the relation of the Son to the Father, are pertinent to the line of thought in the present discussion and are deserving of partial quotation:

> Among so many assembled many there must have been of sincere intention and earnest piety, and certainly several well instructed in the learning of that age; and the excellence of these persons doubtless so influenced the general character of the Council that, though unable to repress the intemperate violence of some of its members, they were sufficient to conduct it to that decision which has now been followed by the great majority of Christians for fifteen centuries.
>
> The bishops began by much personal dissension and presented to the emperor a variety of written accusations against each other; the emperor burned all their libels and exhorted them to peace and unity. They then proceeded to examine the momentous question proposed to them. It was soon discovered that the differences which it was intended to reconcile might in their principle be reduced to one point, and that point might be expressed by one *word;* and thus the question appears to have been speedily simplified (as indeed was necessary, that so many persons might come to one conclusion on so mysterious a subject) and reduced to this, whether the Son was, or was not, *consubstantial* with the Father. Many of the leading bishops hesitated, or even held, in the first instance, the negative opinion, and among them were Eusebius of Cæsarea, the historian of Constantine, and Eusebius of Nicomedia, from whose hands the emperor afterwards received baptism. The former proposed to the assembly a creed, in which the word "consubstantial" (Homoousion) was omitted; but in which he anathematized *every impious heresy* without particularizing any. His advice was not followed. Then arose subtile disputations respecting the meaning of the word, "about which some conflicted with each other, dwelling on the term and minutely dissecting it. It was like a battle fought in the dark; for neither party seemed at all to understand on what ground they vilified each other." However, the result was perfectly conclusive; they finally decided against the Arian opinions, and established, respecting the two first persons of the Trinity, the doctrine which the Church still professes in the Nicene Creed.

This was the great Nicene Council. Nor of the importance of other famous gatherings succeeding this can there be difference of judgment. Such was the first Council at Constantinople, called by the Emperor Theodosius the Great, in A. D. 381, to decide upon the doctrine of the Holy Ghost; the first Council of Ephesus, convened by Theodosius the Younger, in A. D. 431, which declared against the Nestorian heresy concerning the double personality of Christ; or the Council of Chalcedon, under the Emperor Marcian, in A. D. 451, which "asserted the doctrine of the union of the divine with the human nature in Christ, and condemned the heresies of Eutyches and the Monophysites." All these gatherings had their place and function. Toward such great Councils, besides others that are spread along through the succeeding centuries as links in the great chain of ecclesiastical history, the reader will ever turn to learn the emphatic belief of the earlier Church in the necessity of doctrinal formulation. Upon every jot and tittle of theological definition these doughty defenders of the faith laid a supreme emphasis. And this emphasis they laid, not because they delighted altogether in hair-splitting definition and subtle jugglery with metaphysical or theological terms, like gladiators who loved the arena, but because they felt that accurate definition, according to the full measure of their understanding of the Scriptures, was necessary to personal stability in religious things. Of the

importance of these early Councils an eminent authority in ecclesiastical history has testified as follows:

> The value of the decisions of the councils depends, not upon their authority as drawn together at the call of emperor or pope, not upon the number of the bishops who attended them, but upon the truth of their decisions and their conformity to the word of God. The Councils of Nice and Chalcedon rendered great service to the Church and to theology; but their Christological statements of doctrine have been received by the general Church down to the latest times, not because they emanated from the Councils, but because they satisfy the intellectual and moral needs of the Church and are held to be true statements, though in more scientific form, of doctrines explicitly or implicitly contained in the word of God.

The Council was thus indispensable for the Church of the earlier centuries. Thereby was the weed of heresy rooted up from the fair garden of the Lord, and thereby was faith made strong and interest quickened in the things which are supersensible.

II. But doctrinal belief is necessary as well to present denominational vigor. With any feeling of indifference as to the theoretical value of creeds we can have no sympathy; and toward any disposition to doctrinal relaxation which may obtain in these later times we can express no sentiment save that of stinging rebuke. The strong denominations of the world in the present age of Christianity are those which have come to their prestige through the announcement and persistent emphasis of some doctrine or group of doctrinal beliefs. It is impossible to write an intelligent history of early New England and omit from the records the story of the great Calvinistic controversy covering a century and a half of colonial and State history. The substitution of the "Savoy Confession" for the earlier Reformed standard which had been adopted took place in 1680, this change having been made by "the elders and messengers of the Churches in the colony of the Massachusetts in New England," while in the year 1707 the Churches of Connecticut made a similar substitution. Thenceforward the Congregational Church was the valiant exponent of the Calvinistic system in its various phases. Under the preaching of Edwards, Bellamy, and Hopkins, that "great triumvirate of New England theologians," as well as other less conspicuous but not less sturdy theologians of the Massachusetts and Connecticut pulpits, men's ears burned and their consciences were appalled by the story of the divine decrees. Where in the history of Christian preaching, since the apostles went forth to proclaim the truth to men, have communities been wrought to a more fervent heat over the meaning of the divine revelation than when Northampton, and Litchfield, and New Haven, and Boston, and other towns resounded with the clarion voices of these great giants in theological controversy? And to what does Congregationalism owe its survival and its present vantage-ground if not to its proud maintenance of the theory which it championed in the long past?

The Baptist Church affords a similar instance of vigorous, unrelenting insistence upon certain tenets as necessary to church membership and perhaps to salvation. Besides its emphasis of the distinctive doctrines

of Calvinism, the necessity of immersion as the sole authorized method of Christian baptism, and the accordance of the privilege of participation in the service of the Eucharist only to those who have thus been buried in the waters of immersion, are the distinctive marks of the orthodox Baptist Church which distinguish it from all other branches of the Christian body. The disposition is sometimes shown to ridicule these pretensions of the Baptist body and to charge an intense bigotry upon the denomination. Yet without giving assent to that peculiar exegesis of the Greek text which leads the Baptist Church to discover immersion in the New Testament record, and exercising the right to construe the manuscripts of the New Testament according to other canons of interpretation, we must believe that this very tenacity of the Baptist Church to its convictions affords a partial explanation of its denominational vigor.

The case is not different with Swedenborgianism. Basing their reasons for denominational separateness upon the rhapsodies of the illustrious leader who gives them name, the Swedenborgians find in his written narration of heavenly experiences another law and gospel. Misguided as these followers of Emmanuel Swedenborg surely are, by all the standards of judgment which other denominations entertain, one must nevertheless admire their patient endurance of criticism, their tenacious adherence to sectarian peculiarities, and their philanthropic desire to bring the world to their position of belief.

In the case of the Unitarian Church is a parallel instance of doctrinal peculiarities tenaciously held. Failing to find in the New Testament Scriptures, by some strange process of ratiocination, the divinity of Jesus Christ—which the great denominations of the world, whether Romish, Greek, or Protestant, unite in discovering—the Unitarians virtually claim no more than the humanity of the Carpenter of Nazareth and emphasize the moral theory of the atonement. Blind leaders of the blind they surely are, unless the judgment of the whole Christian world besides is mistaken. And yet one cannot but feel a species of admiration for this sect upon whose eyes the scales yet remain, for their adherence to the doctrine which is at once their distinctive mark and their rebuke.

We cannot believe, with all these instances in mind, that the day for doctrinal emphasis has gone by. If the fathers preached the more important phases of Christian doctrine with a vigor that has now become traditional, it is possible that the pulpit instructors of the present day are too often silent upon the fundamental principles of Christian belief. Denominationalism in the past has been maintained by insistence on the standards of doctrine. Denominationalism in the present cannot afford to grow lax in doctrinal definition. Denominationalism in the future must build upon these same standards as upon a granite foundation-stone. A Church without its distinctive creed, however many its other excellences, is but a stately structure built upon the sand.

III. It therefore follows as a corollary that the many provisions for the maintenance of orthodox belief which are found in the practice of different ecclesiastical organizations are justifiable. In the enforcement of

its doctrinal views each Church has the inherent right to resort to such measures, even though they be extreme, as will perpetuate its standards of belief. Every human organization, even of a political or social nature, possesses this inherent right and is often not averse to its exercise; and a process of self-purgation is necessary to the perpetuation of every organization since the world began that has been of human origin, has been directed by human codes of law, and has been officered by human leaders. It is not uninteresting, in this connection, to read the record of the punishment of heresy in the early Church, as given by the important ecclesiastical authority before quoted:

> Soon after the triumph of Christianity over paganism, and its establishment by the State, the laws became very severe against heretics. Those of the *State*, made by the Christian emperors from the time of Constantine, are comprised under one title, *De Hæreticis*, in the Theodosian code. The principal are the note of infamy affixed to all heretics in common; commerce forbidden to be held with them; privation of all offices of dignity and profit; disqualification to dispose of their property by will, or to receive property; pecuniary mulcts; proscription and banishment; corporal punishment, such as scourging. Heretics were forbidden to hold public disputations; to propagate their opinions; their children could not inherit patrimony, unless they returned to the Church, etc. The laws of the *Church* consisted in pronouncing formal anathema, or excommunication, against them; forbidding them to enter the church, so much as to hear sermons or the reading of the Scriptures (this was but partially observed); the prohibition of all persons, under pain of excommunication, to join with them in any religious exercises; the enjoining that none should eat or converse familiarly with them or contract affinity with them; their names were to be struck out of the diptychs; and their testimony was not to be received in any ecclesiastical cause.

The severity of these early forms of punishment for heretical belief was undoubtedly necessary for the continuance of the nascent Christianity. Otherwise the disposition to every vagary of doctrinal belief would have run riot; and otherwise error would have supplanted truth with its luxuriant growth. The conception of heresy and its relation to Church and State, in the Middle Ages, is another important chapter in the history of ecclesiastical doctrine to which we cannot be oblivious. Included in this pregnant chapter will be found such matters as the relation of the scholastics to heresy, the papal bulls thereupon, or the pronouncement of Thomas Aquinas that when the Church had despaired of bringing back its heretics it should "cut them off by excommunication and then deliver them up to secular justice, which frees the world of them by condemnation to death." Of the reaction of the Reformation, following these extreme views of the Roman Catholic Church, notice must also be taken. We quote again thereupon:

> The Reformation protested against these doctrines. Luther, from the first, denounced all attempts to overcome heresy by sword and fire instead of the word of God, and held that the civil power should leave heretics to be dealt with by the Church. On this ground he opposed Carlstadt. Yet it was a fundamental principle with all the reformers that governments are bound to prevent blasphemy, to see that the people receive from the Church built on the word of God the pure teaching of that word, and to prevent all attempts at creating sects. This led to the adoption of preventive measures in the place of the former penalties of confiscation, bodily punishment, and death. These preventive measures confined the

heresy to the individual, and extended as far as banishment, when no other means would avail. Luther admitted the use of secular punishment against heretics only in exceptional cases, and then not on account of the heresy, but of the resulting disorders. Even then he considered banishment sufficient, except when incitations to revolution, etc., required more severe punishment, as was the case with the Anabaptists; yet he often declared against the application of capital punishment to such heretics. Zwingle took nearly the same stand as Luther on this point, yet was somewhat more inclined to the use of forcible means. The Anabaptists were treated in a summary manner in Switzerland. Calvin went further, and with his theocratic ideas considered the State as bound to treat heresy as blasphemy and to punish it in the severest manner. His approbation and even instigation of the execution of Servetus gave rise to a controversy on the question whether heresy might be punished with the sword.

We have prolonged these historical references, though at the risk of prolixity, to make emphatic the proposition we wish to assert concerning the treatment of heretical belief in the present Church. Not only the prosperity but even the perpetuity of a denomination, it would seem, depends on the excision of heresy and the maintenance of those doctrinal standards which have been transmitted from the fathers. Creed and denominational coherence keep one another company, purity of belief and the enlarging prosperity of the Church of Christ. Viewed in the light of this position, the present theological trials for alleged heresy that are attracting the attention of the general American Church are both justifiable and necessary. Whether the case be that of a minister in the active pastorate or of a professor from some school of theology, the case cannot be radically different. An outspoken and continued assault upon any of the cardinal doctrines of the faith—as the denial of the Trinity, the challenge of the full inspiration of the Scripture, or the claim of a future probation for men—must not pass unnoticed. The prosperity of the individual is less important than the integrity of the denomination. The successive steps of advice, rebuke, ecclesiastical trial, and excommunication for a proven offense are justifiable alike on grounds of right and expediency. Only less important than experience in divine things is the doctrinal formulation of the truths which God has taught in his inspired word. To know the latter is to put one's self into intelligent position for the enjoyment of the former. Doctrine is a help to experience, and experience the path that leads upward to the skies.

TIMES OF REFRESHING.

THE revival is one of the phenomena of human experience. As a rule it comes unexpectedly. The ungodly do not anticipate its glowing fervor, and praying saints often grow weary while waiting for its appearance. Its motive power is mysterious. Unseen forces, more strange than the wind whereof Christ spoke to Nicodemus, actuate its participators, direct the exhortations and testimonies of believers, and rouse the emotions of the impenitent. Its emphasis is upon the enormity of sin. Although the moral law remains the same in its rigid commandments to do or to abstain

from doing, yet transgression in such a time of quickening assumes a new heinousness in the estimate of men. The guilt which they before measured by the varying and even fallacious standards of the times they now view as in the blaze of eternal light. The disobedience to divine commandment, which before seemed to them but a peccadillo, now assumes those towering proportions which lead the guilty to exclaim, "My sins as mountains are." The revival also reveals invisible things. Men for a little forget their sordidness. Their eyes are opened to see the heavenly verities. The Father is no longer a far-away abstraction, but a living and loving personality; the Son comes to seem as an "Elder Brother," but just removed from human sight; the Holy Ghost is no more an indefinite and intangible influence, but becomes a near and precious Comforter. The innumerable company of angels seem near at hand, and all the hosts of the departed. The world of sense recedes; the supersensible fills the enraptured sight and charms the ravished ear. And the revival is far-reaching in its consequences. Like fields of harvest grain swept by the summer winds, the community bows its head before this resistless influence which "bloweth where it listeth." Stony hearts are broken. The raging lion becomes the harmless lamb. The leopard changes his spots. And as the consequence of the special outpouring of the Spirit the community takes on a new ambition, usefulness, and happiness. Measured by its visible results in every land where it pleases God that the fires of Pentecost should fall, the revival is the greatest phenomena in all human experience.

We risk nothing in saying that the revival is a divinely designated method for the renewal of the Church. The Scriptures seem crowded with this suggestion. Without lingering upon particular instances of etymology or discussing the merits of verbal significations, it is enough to say that alike in the Old Testament and in the New the indications show that God has appointed the revival as a valuable means for the increase of his Church. It would be a startling reflection, were the event not so familiar in New Testament history, to recall the fact that the Christian organization, whose influence now pervades all lands of the globe, had its corporate beginning in a scene of unparalleled revival interest. Toward that spectacular event in the city of Jerusalem, on the morning of the great festival of the Pentecost, the reader ever turns with reverent curiosity. It was the day that the prophet Joel had found room in his ancient prophecy to predict, and to predict in words of sublimity which must have stirred the devout Jews who waited for its blessed fulfillment. What majesty in that foretelling of the coming day of the Lord, as recalled in the Acts: "And it shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh: and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams: and on my servants and on my handmaidens I will pour out in those days of my Spirit; and they shall prophesy: and I will show wonders in heaven above, and signs in the earth beneath; blood, and fire, and vapor of smoke: the sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before that great and notable day of the Lord come: and it shall

come to pass, that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved." So amid the ecstatic words of human instruments on whom the Spirit had fallen, amid the tears and beseechings of men whose hearts were bowed with the agony of sin, amid the preaching of the efficacious name of Christ as the Redeemer from guilt, and amid the rejoicings of the newly converted a new Church sprang into existence and influence.

But, following that august scene at Jerusalem, Pentecost has succeeded Pentecost in the experience of the Christian Church. The orderly and stated worship of the denominations is well. Neither anthems and chants, nor litanies, nor didactic preaching, nor catechetical instruction, should be altogether supplanted by the extraordinary methods which belong particularly to the revival season. Yet the disposition to formality, ritualism, worldliness, and spiritual declension is a tendency which has always been prevalent in Christian experience, and whose counteraction is in the seasons of refreshing which come intermittently to the Church. As illustrative of this general tendency toward spiritual decline one writer well describes the spiritual condition of New England at the beginning of the great revival under Whitefield, Edwards, and others: "Revivals had become less frequent and powerful. There were many in the churches, and some even in the ministry, who were yet lingering among the supposed preliminaries to conversion. The difference between the Church and the world was vanishing away. Church discipline was neglected, and the growing laxness of morals was invading the churches. And yet never, perhaps, had the expectation of reaching heaven at last been more general or more confident. The young were abandoning themselves to frivolity and to amusements of dangerous tendency, and party spirit was producing its natural fruit of evil among the old." For conditions so extraordinary as these—and they are more than paralleled by the neglect of religion and open wickedness preceding the Lutheran and the Wesleyan awakenings—the extraordinary solution provided seems to be the revival. There is startling force in the remark of such a veteran in evangelistic labor as Mr. Finney, that "almost all the religion in the world has been produced by revivals." We must believe, as we believe in the divine origin and the divine oversight of the Church, that the revival is divine method for the increase of Zion.

The human element involved in revivalistic work also invites our present attention. In its origin every genuine work of grace is divine; as to its conduct, it is under the direction of mortal agency. Two factors entered into the success of that first revival which set the pattern for the whole Christian Church. The first was the Holy Spirit, who fell that day on the hearts of men "like rain upon the mown grass;" the second was a group of one hundred and twenty Jews but lately turned from the faith of Israel, of whom the hitherto vacillating Peter was the spokesman and head. In the study of this first advance movement of the Church the fact appears which is evident in every subsequent outpouring of the Spirit—the apparent inadequacy of the visible means employed to accomplish the results desired. In the use of such unworthy means by the great Head of

the Church is found a ceaseless wonder for reflecting men. Preferring the use of the one agency that was the instrument in the introduction of sin into the world, the Divine proposes by human means to overthrow the citadels of evil and effect the triumph of righteousness. With a heart that has felt the touch of evil, and a life that has been marred by its fell presence, regenerate man must engage in this great work. With limitations in wisdom that are depressing, lacking in tact as he approaches the fortress of the human soul, injudicious in the use of means, and impotent at the best, must he work out as a colaborer with God those sublime results which even an angel might hesitate to undertake.

With this consideration in mind, that redeemed and regenerated man is God's visible agent in the conduct of revivalistic work, the necessity of consistent Christian living is apparent. They should be "clean that bear the vessels of the Lord." Unless in exceptional instances God does not honor an indifferent, worldly, careless, prayerless Church with the special baptism of his grace. His Pentecostal gifts, as at Jerusalem, follow scenes of wrestling prayer like that where the one hundred and twenty met for ten days "with one accord." Men may raise their costly sanctuaries, embellish them with all the adornments of ecclesiastical art, and maintain a worship that is faultless in its antiphony, intonation, and ritualistic response. But into many a humbler scene, where plain men pray their unlettered prayers and offer their broken praise—an uncouth worship which æstheticism would despise—the Holy Ghost ofttimes more quickly comes with his quickening impulses. Right-heartedness determines the sending of God's greatest gift. Whatever the exceptions to the rule, the general fact regarding the revival movements of the Church is that an outpouring of the Spirit comes upon a church and a community where at least a few prayerful, consistent, and vigilant souls are watching for the refreshing showers from on high. "The real human sources of many revivals are more secret and remote. They have often been traced to some poor sick disciple, praying at home for years, or to a little band of believers meeting according to mutual pledges, and at times and places unknown or unconsidered by the mass of formal professors. The great harvesting of souls which in 1859 began in Ireland and advanced thence to Scotland and England had its obscure source in a meeting of four young men for prayer in an old country schoolhouse." Of the human causes for the effect of the celebrated sermon by President Edwards on "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God," at the time of the "great awakening" in New England, a similar estimate is made: "It was believed that the sermon owed much of its success to the earnest petitions of a few believing persons who spent the whole of the previous night in a prayer meeting in the vicinity (Enfield). These prayers were made the more earnest by the fear that God, who was blessing other places, would in just indignation pass them by." All Christian history is permeated with this important truth. Revivals of the work of God turn not alone on the divine pleasure in the awakening and the conversion of sinners, but also on the desire of his human instruments in these regards. A faithful Church may open

the windows of heaven by its persistent prayers. A faithless Church may defeat the divine purposes. And in all the consideration of the great question of revivals there is no lesson more pertinent as the harvest season of immortal souls once more arrives for the American Church.

It would also seem that the times are ripe for a world-wide revival of religion. In the foreign fields of the earth, dissatisfaction with the inferior religious systems of men—as in India, where the impotence of the Brahmanic and Buddhistic faiths are coming to be keenly felt—makes the opportunity favorable to Christianity. Men, in their sense of sin, their heart-hunger for the bread that satisfies, their longing for an eternal arm on which to lean, are willing to try the experiment of Western Christianity. Commerce, in its multifarious plans for financial profit, has also made possible the entrance of the Christian faith into the hitherto inaccessible regions of the globe. Embarked on the ships of trade, as Paul sailed on a grain ship of Alexandria, the Christian missionary may now enter the chief ports of the known world. China, with her unsatisfying idolatry, has a welcome for him. Japan waits to receive the benefits of his medical skill and to hear his evangelistic words. Corea bids him come in with the story of the Man of Nazareth. Commerce, with its personal plans for the wide interchange of commodities and the enrichment of all who engage in international trade, is thus God's agent, throwing open the doors of opportunity for the Gospel of the divine Son. An increasing sense in the Church of the crying needs of this sinful world, with a keener conviction of the obligation put by God on his people, is another hopeful sign of the times. Never in Christian history were the harvest fields more white on which the divine Lord bids his disciples look. To realize the exceeding whiteness of these fields and, in a strength that is inspired from above, masterfully to reap these harvests of souls immortal is the supreme mission of the Church as the bells of the twentieth century ring in the steeples. Despite the formality and worldliness existing in the present Church, the growing desire to perform personal Christian work and the increasing feeling of responsibility for one's brother are omens of encouragement. It would seem that God is fitting his people for some great era of evangelism.

For, with those who are alert and watching the sky for the appearance of the cloud like a man's hand, the signs are plentiful that the expected "showers of blessing" are near. With many there is perhaps the conviction that a great revival, world-wide in its extent and glorious in its transforming results upon society, is about to occur. The "forward movement," having its origin in London, but now advanced in some measure to some of the leading cities of the Western World, is the beginning of a more earnest evangelistic work among the degraded of our great centers of population. The wonderful signs of promise in India foretell the near turning of a great nation to the Lord. Christianity is drawing near its zenith brightness—a brightness that will be followed by no westering sun and no settling night.

PROGRESS OF CIVILIZATION.

THE supremacy of man over the forces of nature is an inalienable mark of advance in the world's civilization. Having been promised large dominion in the earth by the mouth of Jehovah himself, in the creative time, his sovereignty upon this high authority is undisputed and unchanging. The condition of the primitive man, it is true, was not always advanced as regards his relation to many of the powers of the natural world. The race has had its infancy in respect to its utilization of many of the gifts of nature, its knowledge of the arts and sciences, its ability to cope with the hostile forces of the physical world. The romantic stories of human ignorance and insufficiency, in that primeval time, are not without their keen interest. Ignorant of the art of metallurgy, man fabricated his first implements from stone. Unskilled in architecture, his first houses were but rude hovels. Untutored in the remedial and restorative qualities of different herbs and medicaments, he wore amulets to ward off disease and resorted to crude experiments to induce recovery. Powerless in the face of roaring hurricanes, of beating storms, and of sudden lightnings, he could do naught else than hide himself away from these terrors of the air. Believing in goblins, gnomes, and demons, he resorted to fetich worship and muttered his incantations against the spirits of evil. If there seems an element of the grotesque in these wierd experiences of our common ancestors, there is also something pitiable in this helplessness and fearfulness in the face of the opposition of nature.

But man has entered more fully since that pristine time into the enjoyment of his limitless heritage. To attempt the story of the progress which has taken place in scientific knowledge, the development of the many useful arts wherein the world is daily blessed, or the advance in terrestrial discovery is to undertake an impossible review. Man would seem to be in the large exercise of that regal authority which was promised him in Eden by the Lord Jehovah. If the divine prophecy was primarily that of future dominion over the brute creation only there has nevertheless come with it a domination of the invisible and purely immaterial forces of the physical world which is most satisfactory. Within the last century, and even within the last few decades, the triumph of the human mind over matter has rapidly progressed. Whatever may be said of the theory that the "lost arts" are many, the race was never so far advanced in the utilization of the gifts of the material world for its convenience and luxury. And it is in harmony with the common desire, as well as in unison with the current statements of men, to say that the ultimate has not yet been reached. The king is to rule over a still wider empire. If Columbus, four centuries ago, made the discovery of any new continent impossible, in that he found the only hemisphere which was undiscovered, there are yet geographical explorations to be made which are worthy of men's undertaking. The regions of the arctic and antarctic are not yet fully known; the territories of Central Africa need a fuller exploration. The uttermost

secret in materia medica and in surgery has not yet been learned. The ocean will narrow, with the progress in the use of steam, to the width of an inconsequential river. Electrical application is yet in the experimental stage; in some coming time this giant force will confess its master. It is enough to suggest these many lines of future achievement. Man is to be the victorious force in nature. Matter is dormant; mind is alert and ambitious. Matter is transitory and changing; mind is eternal. Matter is pliant in some superior hand; mind has the instinct as well as the prophecy of final dominion.

LUTHER is immortal. The recent rededication of the ancient Schlosskirche, at Wittenberg, Germany, is a noticeable event in the current religious history of the Fatherland. About this church, which was begun in 1439 and completed in 1499, most interesting traditions gather. "In 1760," says an historic note, "it was seriously injured by bombardment, and it suffered in the same manner in 1813–1814. It was first restored in 1814–1817, and has now, owing to Emperor William's generosity, been again restored. On the north side of the church were the wooden doors to which Luther affixed his theses. These doors were burned in 1760, but were replaced in 1858 by metal doors, ten feet in height, presented by Frederick William IV. They bear the original Latin text of Luther's theses. Under a brazen slab in the Schlosskirche lies the body of Luther." Romantic is the story of the present rededication, which took place in this historic sanctuary and was participated in by the emperor and empress, with the Protestant princes of Germany, the representatives of foreign Protestant sovereigns, the high Protestant clergy of the empire, the ministers of State, and many military and civil officers. In the presence of the best blood that Germany can boast, in Church or State, the name of the great reformer was again taken in reverence upon the lip and his lasting work recalled. Overlooking, however, the details of this most important celebration, the value of right posthumous influence is a practical teaching which it is a privilege to point out. Some men live in the tyrannic governments they establish and leave to their successors; some in the mischievous systems of philosophy they teach their disciples; some in the devastation they work with their cruel swords. But Luther, with many great religious and social reformers, lives in the blessings which he has given to the world. He was a great man in his integrity notwithstanding the depreciation of the Romish Church, great in his fearlessness, great in his industry, and great in his influence while alive. But, so far as Luther living may be compared with Luther dead, his greatness increases with every century. It was the value of the institution to which he has given his name that was the fundamental impulse to the present rededication of the Schlosskirche. Of this the emperor himself gave evidence in his address at the banquet following the religious services, when he declared that the edifice was not only a memorial, but also "an expression of divine blessing through the Protestant Church." Unselfishly working

out a system of theological belief which seemed to him in consonance with the Holy Scripture, and heroically teaching, in those days of penances and indulgences, that salvation is by faith alone, Luther has blessed Germany and the world as he never dreamed. Probably the most enduring influence for good is that which is unsought and even unexpected. It is the part of manhood so to labor in the field of service which opportunity gives. To all there may not come a chance to work a world-wide reform. But from the life of each who so labors some good influence will remain, and mayhap the mention of men, when he has ceased to live upon the earth.

LIKE some giant of evil, defiant of the forces of righteousness, the possible desecration of the Lord's day at the World's Fair looms up once more before the American people in its colossal proportions. The congratulations of the friends of the Christian Sabbath, and of the advocates of its observance, over the last congressional decision to close the gates of the Exposition on the holy day, seem to have been prematurely made. Evil is not so easily thwarted in its mischievous purpose. All signs go to show that the friends of a lax Sunday observance are on the alert. Apparently as deeply concerned as the defenders of Sabbath sanctity, they have enlisted the secular press of the land in their interests, are triumphantly quoting the unexpected advices of certain well-known and honored prelates and divines of the American Church in favor of Sunday opening, and are sending broadcast for signatures petitions to the Congress of the United States to reconsider the action already taken directing Sabbath rest. Added to which instances of intemperate zeal, the liberal position taken by some of the directors and officers themselves of the Exposition would indicate the trend of influence that is untiringly at work to bring about a reconsideration of congressional action.

To the arguments in favor of Sunday opening it is probable that little can be added which is new. Yet the one argument whose constant repetition would seem worthy of a better cause is that the closing of the Exposition on the Lord's day will "deprive millions of the American people" of all its advantages, and the interests of these unfortunate "millions" forsooth become the watch-cry on which the sordid, speculative, secularized, and religionless leaders of the liberal movement hope to ride on to success. Nor is it probable that any new consideration in the new discussion which is near will be added to the many arguments which have already been advanced in favor of Sabbath closing. All the reasons for Sunday closure, based on the Old Testament commandment and the New Testament reiteration of the divine law, lodged in the scientific demands for one rest day in seven, or found in various prudential and even commercial considerations, have been advanced with a cumulative force that cannot be surpassed. Without allusion, therefore, to the various lines of argument that have been advanced for the maintenance of the Christian Sabbath, it is rather the enduring evil results of such a proposed Sunday desecration which seem particularly alarming. The increased number of visitors at

the Exposition, as the result even of a modified Sunday opening, and the consequently increased revenues to the directors of the Exposition, would be a most doubtful benefit in comparison with the mischievous results that would ensue. The aftermath of the summer desecration of 1893 would be a perpetual desecration of the Lord's day in American practice, long after the Exposition has become a receding incident in the national history. Already has the breaking down of the great regard for the holy day which prevailed in the formative times of our national history become an evident and grievous fact to all who cherish the institutions of Christianity. But in all the history of the American republic there has been no period so critical as regards the perpetuation of Sabbath sanctity. All the interests of the holy day, with its traditions of sanctuary blessing, its benison of rest to tired brains and hands, and its promised rewards for continued observance, are in jeopardy. The proposal of the directors of the Exposition to hold religious services on the grounds of the fair for the benefit of the jostling Sunday crowds who may gather there is but a sop thrown to Cerberus. The suggestion should be rejected with disdain by the denominations of the land. Its enforcement would be a species of Jesuitical practice to which no Protestant body should lend its support. But meanwhile, in the renewed agitation over the Sunday opening of the Exposition, every Christian disciple throughout the republic should give the protest of his prayers, his signature, and his cooperation against the religious profanation which is proposed.

The English and American Societies for Psychical Inquiry are prosecuting an important work. Even on the materialistic theory that man does not live beyond the tomb, the study of mental operations and their results would be surpassed by no line of investigation. But on the theory of a future existence the practical value that attaches to the notice of psychological phenomena goes hand in hand with its exceeding charm. It would be strange if men were careful to learn the mysteries of terrestrial life, but were incurious concerning the structure and destiny of mind. It would be passing strange if men were to view the daily procession of their fellows into the spirit world and ask no question as to their experiences in the unseen. Psychical inquiries, on the contrary, in a sense appear the most important of all investigations, since it is more necessary to know man than the material tabernacle wherein for a little he resides; and the pursuit of these lines of research would seem to be prosecuted with too little rather than too much zeal. The proposed psychical congress at Chicago, in 1893, prosecuted as it will doubtless be in a reverent spirit, is significant in possibilities. It may be that Mr. Stead indulged in superlative expectations when in a recent interview he declared: "I can only say that the invisible world is to the nineteenth century what the western hemisphere was to the fifteenth." Yet it is at least possible that the ultimate fact has not been learned, consistent with biblical revelation, regarding psychical structure and manifestations.

THE ARENA.

MINISTERIAL INDIVIDUALITY.

RECENTLY one minister was heard to remark to another, "You are a typical Methodist preacher." The remark was intended as a compliment. The writer so understood it, but failed to appreciate its value as such. Every nationality has some physical or mental characteristic, or peculiarity of custom or dress, that we have learned to recognize at sight. No one mistakes a Caucasian for a Mongolian. These social marks, modified by climate, customs, and civilization, serve to differentiate tribes and nations from each other. That which we find actually true in the development of nations holds good under different ecclesiastical systems. Each leaves its own impress. Certain types of men are the outgrowth of certain systems. The Romish priest is at once recognized. Our observation teaches us that to know one is practically to know all. Most of this order look as if each had been cast in the same mold.

Now, what is the typical Methodist preacher like? Have the majority so much in common that there is little to differentiate? The individuality of the man ought not to be lost in the mass. "Show yourselves men," was the demand of the prophet. Manliness is a great element of power in the ministry. Uniformity is not desirable save in the essentials of religion. Unity with diversity is God's thought. And only as we find this in methods of preaching and work may we look for the highest intellectual and spiritual development of the individual minister. Systems in themselves are nothing if we leave out the man. Christ dealt only with the man. With effete ecclesiastical systems he had no sympathy. A man was more than a sheep. A human soul was of infinitely greater importance than ritualistic observances. The right remedy for a morally sick and diseased soul was of more importance than the method of administering it. The growth of Christianity, the upbuilding of the Church, will be better accomplished through a ministry that has an individuality than through one which is all of a kind. Some ministers will be more effective as extempore speakers, others with the carefully written manuscript. Every man in his own order, wherever he can be at his best.

Solomon says, "There is no new thing under the sun." This was true at the time of its utterance, but the world has moved since then, and much that was hidden has been brought to light. The well-stored treasure-house of God's word contains things new as well as old; and with the key of knowledge the ministry must open the door and bring the treasures out of their place of concealment "for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ." We may not always have the power to produce new ideas or to form uncommon combinations of thought, so as to be called original, yet our individuality must not be lost in a great ecclesiastical system like ours. The man of individuality will not be taken in a crowd for somebody else. You know him wherever you see him. We do not include the crotchety character,

but the minister who aims to reach the highest spiritual and intellectual development, that he may the more effectually influence the minds and hearts of those to whom he ministers the word of life, "that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works" which may fully equip him for the highest calling in life. A Methodist minister can and should have no higher aim than this set forth by Paul. He is not, like the Jewish rabbi, reiterating, parrot-like, the utterances of a dead past, nor is he a priest to offer sacrifices after the formula of a prescribed ritualism, but a living teacher and expounder of great truths, the representative of Him who said, "The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life."

GEORGE H. GOODSELL.

New York.

THEOLOGICAL SCHOOLS FOR PASTOR-TEACHERS IN INDIA.

So eminent and careful a guide as Dr. T. J. Scott, of the Bareilly Seminary, North India, has felt the necessity of arranging for a one year course of study for the preachers from and for the depressed classes. This method is just announced by the faculty of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary at Saharanpur, Northwest Provinces. In the Telugu Mission of the Baptists in the south large numbers of the leading converts have been massed in such an institution. In the Nerbadda Valley District of the Bombay Conference, Dr. T. S. Johnson, presiding elder, we have been favored with the establishment, seven months ago, of a training school for pastor-teachers. Of the forty-five pupils, about half being married men and others quite young, a dozen from the higher class are to be stationed in the villages with the beginning of the new year, after they shall have taken part in the District Conference, to be held here in December, and shall have enjoyed their first Christmas entertainment. None of them were in the Christian fold previous to the 29th of September, 1890, when the success began which has extended into scores of villages. It has been impossible, we being almost without helpers to go among these villages, to do much for the converts until workers are somewhat qualified. This waiting has been a painful experience, but we remember the command, "Tarry."

In the largeschool house near the town of Narsinghpur—a part of the property which came to us a year ago, when Bishop Thoburn took this station and district from the Swedes—these men and lads are, in the forenoons, taught reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, geography; but half of the time is devoted to the Scriptures. Here the drill is of the most painstaking character—statement, question, memorization, repetition, rehearsal day after day in the basal facts of man's condition and the provisions for his salvation, as stated chiefly in the books of Moses, the Gospels, and the Acts. The lower larger class is instructed by a brother from the Bareilly Theological School, and supervised by the principal, H. W. Butterfield, Esq., who gives his strength to the higher class, to get them prepared, as largely as possible, for the work which is so immedi-

ately before them. Yesterday these supplied themselves, by purchase, with an outfit for learning Roman-Hindi: they have been of late mastering the Roman letters from the blackboard. With ability to read the Lucknow paper of our Church they will come in touch with the thoughts of our advanced native brethren, and a wide literature will open before them. Some are learning English out of school hours. This leads to respect being given them by the educated native gentlemen, who are numerous in this civil and literary center and in this enlightened district.

Wives of workers have a day school. Evenings are employed always in the means of grace used by the people called Methodists—class, prayer, Sunday school teachers' and Epworth League meetings. Debates are had, with compulsory division, on such subjects as touch our interests here and now. Last night it was, "Is it well to buy and sell wives?" To-night it will be, "Is it admissible under any circumstances to have more than one wife?" In contests in Bible questions, in which all take delight, sides are chosen, and twenty-five face twenty-five.

Out of their pittance they are buying libraries, consisting of the various forms of the Scriptures, Church history, the Pilgrim's Progress, Barth's Scripture History, and numerous tractates, prepared by missionaries as to the heathen and Islam faiths and the points of Christian doctrine. In an appeal just at hand, Dr. E. W. Parker says that we must educate and train our workers if we are to prevent superstition from lodging in the new native Church. Friends can have representatives in the school at thirty dollars a year, and in the Christian Boys' Boarding School at half of this amount.

Narsipur, Central Provinces, India. C. P. HARD.

DEFINITION OF FREE WILL.

FREE WILL is a mental or spiritual development which enables the possessor to act according to an ideal, regardless of fleshly inclination; it is the opposite to free appetites or desires. Born into a world governed, or sought to be governed, by sacred and civil law, man has not free will except in so far as his individual inherited tendencies may incline him to conform to existing restrictions, which vary according to the interpretation put upon them by different denominations of believers or different authorities. Inherited or acquired tendency to act contrary to such laws is man's limitation toward free will. It is a power to be developed in and by the individual through the right use of God's law or laws (not mysterious but natural) made to effect such an end. If earthly life has a definite purpose it must be to develop this power. The office of sacred and civil law is to direct and aid its development. The degree of free will possessed by an individual is to be measured by his thoughts and their fruit —his acts, taking as a standard his accepted ideal of religion and ethics. Fruit is the ultimate measure of anything good or evil.

Inherited tendency and effective environment determine man's ideals. In time past priests (heathen and other) have mystified man's relation to the Creator. In an enlightened age "mysticism" cannot flourish, because

it is plain that what any man knows he can make plain to others, and what cannot be so made plain is not a matter of duty in this short life, with so much to overcome. Man may labor to search out the hidden, but excepting regulations for common good, he may not dominate his fellow-man regarding matters in the domain of speculation.

To develop an ideal free will we must have ideal heredity and environment, as well as an accepted ideal of religion. Until then we must judge the Christian by his ideal, the Mohammedan by his, the Buddhist by his, others by theirs.

F. G. NAGLE.

Pacific Grove, Cal.

A FIELD FOR DEACONESSES.

THE letter on the above-named subject, by Rev. W. P. Odell, and the editorial comment in the September-October number of the *Review*, emphasized a very important matter, not only as related to the home work, but much more so when applied to the foreign field. The ever increasing work of the pastor, and his need of help, are duly emphasized in their various phases. Macaulay says, "One concrete illustration is more intelligible and memorable than a thousand abstract propositions." I will therefore give a concrete illustration from Calcutta: Two years ago I came to India to become pastor of the English-speaking church in Calcutta. This is a central church, with a wide and largely scattered congregation, and it is doing many kinds of work. At last watch-night service we had written reports from fifteen different departments, and then the chairman of the meeting, Bishop Thoburn, said: "I would suggest, in order to show what this church is really doing, the addition of a few more reports. For instance, the local missionary society, the grogshop work which has been carried on for sixteen years. I think the grogshop work of this church is ahead of any in America. And to that I would add the work of tract distribution, and to that, the fellowship bands."

One year after I became pastor of this church Dr. McCoy, who was presiding elder of the Calcutta district, died, and I was, without being relieved of the pastorate, made presiding elder, which involved, in addition to the usual work of a presiding elder, the secretaryship of two large schools, for which I have ever since, in addition to almost endless correspondence, had to collect monthly rent deficiencies on one of the schools.

Just about the time of Dr. McCoy's death a Deaconess Home was established in Calcutta, which has taken up a great variety of work; but one deaconess, Miss Maxey, from London, O., was appointed "Pastor's Assistant," and I do not exaggerate when I say that that appointment has saved the parent Missionary Society the expense of house rent and the salary of a missionary as presiding elder of this district for the past four years, for without the assistance of a deaconess the double work would have been impossible. The deaconess aids me by helping to care for the probationers, of whom we have many, visiting the sick of the congregation, investigating the circumstances of those who appeal for help (in Calcutta their name is Legion, and enough to wear the pastor out), hunting up

families who do not attend any church, organizing the ladies of the church and the young people, superintending work of the young people's societies, hunting up the absentees from the Sunday school, visiting the hospitals, distributing tracts in the hospitals, grogshops, and on the streets of the city. I will not enumerate more, but want to thus express my appreciation of the work, and encourage the societies who support the deaconesses in the foreign field. The Roman and Anglican Churches use female workers to such a large extent in their work among the European and Eurasian population in India, that it seems preeminently wise for us to have the same kind of workers. I believe the deaconesses are in the order of Providence in India. FRANK W. WARNE.

Calcutta, India.

METHODISM.

METHODISM, as an ecclesiasticism, is not a product of mechanical skill, but of living growth. Her general superintendency, her presiding eldership, her class meetings and love feasts, are essential parts of her economy, not forecast by wise ecclesiastics, and framed into the system by force of legislation, but suggesting themselves as practical expedients to men who were themselves too busy in soul-saving to theorize on church government. The result is, that Methodism has had a century of phenomenal growth, and her methods have been copied, with necessary modifications, by most of the other denominations, until the lines of demarkation, which in the days of our fathers were very prominent, are now almost wholly obliterated. We have not only given to others, but we have greatly improved ourselves. In very many respects the Methodism of the twentieth century will come to her task relatively much stronger than did the Methodism of the nineteenth century.

Her schools and colleges, her publishing interests, her great connectional movements, the increased general intelligence of her people, and particularly her care for the children and youth, are all elements of strength recently put on. It would be difficult for the most sanguine son of the Wesleys to predict what achievements await us in the next quarter of a century. We must not, however, forget the secret of our past success, nor discard the use of means which God has so signally honored.

In our preaching we must recognize the immanent peril of sin, as well as the power of the Gospel to save. We must hold to regeneration, justification, sanctification, and the witness of the Spirit. As to our peculiar usages, we must hold on to them. I can only speak of our *love feasts*.

1. Keep the announcement of the quarterly meeting before the people.

2. Always have special Saturday service, with altar exercises at night.

3. Let nothing interfere with the regular Sabbath morning love feast. If the Sunday school is at that hour let it change hours for that occasion.

This may not be very popular in some places, but it is not popularity we should seek, but the pentecostal fire. Let us not forget to calculate on the manifestation of the wonderful presence of God. D. G. STRONG.

Walla Walla, Wash.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

PRACTICAL.—THE COURSE OF STUDY FOR THE NEXT QUADRENNIUM.

By the law of the Church the duty of designating the course of study to be pursued by the candidates for our ministry is assigned to the bishops. They determine not only the subjects of examination, but also the books which the candidates are to study and to read both for admission to Conference and for ordination. The new Discipline contains the course which they deem desirable and necessary at this time. It is to be presumed that it represents what they regard as the minimum of requirement, since they omit some departments which under different circumstances they would undoubtedly include. A brief notice of the several studies which they have laid down is not out of place in the department of the *Review* devoted to the Itinerants' Club. The first subject mentioned is the "Common English Branches." One is inclined to ask whether the knowledge of these should not be taken for granted. They belong to the common school, and it seems strange to require these of a young man who has subsequently passed the academy, the college, and the theological seminary. And yet it is possible that too much may be taken for granted in these particular studies.

There is great danger of young preachers knowing the uncommon English branches to the neglect of the common English. Grammar and geography are supposed to be common English studies, and yet how few are masters of them. It is not meant by this that few are acquainted with the rules of grammar and with the names of the chief countries and cities of the world, as well as their general location and condition. But how few really write good English and know the geography of the world in any practical sense. The study of English has been greatly neglected hitherto, and is now assuming its proper position in our institutions of learning. The ability to speak and to write the language, in which they are to preach, with accuracy and force is therefore rightly placed first in the list of subjects for examination in order to gain admission to an Annual Conference.

Some years ago a church committee asked a friend to aid them in securing a pastor for the next Conference year. He asked them what kind of minister they wanted. One of them promptly replied, "We want a man that talks good grammar, anyhow." This particular desire was the more remarkable because both were uneducated men and technically ignorant of English grammar. It may have grown out of the fact that their pastor had been criticised in this respect, and they desired to rectify it in the case of the next pastor. If any young man is disposed to criticise and to treat lightly this part of the examination let him consider carefully before doing so.

The knowledge of the English language and the ability to write and

speak it with accuracy and force are fundamental to a well-furnished, successful minister. It does not follow from this statement that men of extraordinary natural gifts and spiritual power may not succeed in being eminently useful in saving souls although they break all literary laws, for many instances can be cited where this has been the case; but it is safe to say that it seriously mars the influence and usefulness of the most devoted men.

Nor is it true that this defect is found solely among those who have had very limited educational advantages. It is not uncommon to find students who are well acquainted with Latin, Greek, and Hebrew quite defective in their knowledge of English. They neither write with precision nor speak with correctness. It is often a matter of wonder how a man can read Greek so well and speak English so badly. The fault does not lie with the study of the classics, but with the neglect of classical English. Indeed, it shows the neglect of the study of the grand English of our English Bible, which is the great protector of our Anglo-Saxon tongue. The ancient classics have a molding influence; their tendency is to elevate the style, but they cannot be a substitute for the study of one's native tongue. The ability to use well the English language will atone for many other defects. Indeed, without it all other attainments, however varied and extensive, are rendered practically useless.

It is to be hoped that the Itinerants' Club will be a stimulus to the wiser as well as the more careful study of English. It is not enough for a student to know the rules of grammar; this is well; but he must be familiar with the masters of style. He must not omit the earlier English. Addison and Goldsmith are still masters. Dean Stanley, among the moderns, will repay careful and critical reading. The poetry of Wordsworth and Tennyson and of our own Bryant and Longfellow and Whittier will be found very stimulating and helpful. Milton remains a monument of classical English, but it has been often remarked that all praise "Paradise Lost" while few read it. It is not so well to study brilliant but abnormal writers. Johnson, Thomas Carlyle, and Macaulay wielded pens of great fascination, and their fame as writers is secure; but it may be doubted whether they should be studied as models. They lack that simplicity which is the charm of the choicest productions, whether of art or of literature. Models of clear Anglo-Saxon style will well repay study. But this first topic of examination has occupied already too much space, and the discussion of other subjects is reserved until the next number.

EXPOSITORY.—"THE LIKENESS OF SINFUL FLESH."

(Rom. viii, 3.)

The necessity of a careful study of the nomenclature of St. Paul is everywhere apparent in his writings. The depth of his profound argument can only be understood by those who have mastered the terminology which he employs. In the previous number of the *Review* "The Law of

the Spirit" was discussed. Equally difficult, and at the same time equally important, is the phrase, "likeness of sinful flesh."

The proposition of the verse of which it forms a part (Rom. viii, 3), is that God sent his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh. The doctrine of the incarnation is here affirmed, or rather assumed. It is worthy of note how constantly the apostle takes for granted this cardinal doctrine of our faith. In his conception the doctrine was so deeply rooted in the belief of the Church that a mere reference without extended explanation was sufficient. In his summary of the faith of the early Church in 1 Cor. xv, 1–8, he does not mention the incarnation, but the crucifixion, evidently regarding the former as assumed in his statement of the latter. This is the great presupposition in the New Testament. Historically declared by the synoptists, it is distinctly affirmed by the evangelist John (John i, 14), "The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us."

Paul, in 1 Tim. iii, 16, reaffirms it in language equally strong. "God was manifest in the flesh," or to the same effect in the Revised Version, "He who was manifested in the flesh." In like manner Heb. ii, 14, says, "Forasmuch then as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself likewise took part of the same." The last passage states more specifically than the others the constituents of Christ's humanity.

It is also assumed that in his incarnate nature Christ was sinless. Passages of Scripture might readily be multiplied to prove this. The announcement was made to the Virgin Mary, "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee: therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God" (Luke i, 35). Also in Heb. vii, 26, we read, "Who is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners."

The absolute holiness of Jesus is not only declared, but everywhere implied in the New Testament. It is an axiom of our Christian faith. But how is his holiness related to his human body, which is here designated as "sinful flesh?"

The unity of nature between man and his Redeemer is clearly revealed. It became him in all things "to be made like unto his brethren, that he might be a merciful and faithful high priest in things pertaining to God, to make reconciliation for the sins of the people" (Heb. ii, 17).

Compare this passage with the one in Romans which we are considering: "God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh."

Both passages involve his incarnation and suffering as necessary to secure for man reconciliation with God. When we proceed to analyze these and other similar passages we find some propositions of great significance, closely related to our present inquiry:

1. In Hebrews and Romans Christ is represented as God's Son (Heb. i, 2; Rom. viii, 3).

2. This Son of God assumed human nature in its completeness. "Made like unto his brethren" (Heb. ii, 17); "Likeness of sinful flesh" (Rom. viii, 3).

3. In his condition of humanity he by his death made reconciliation for mankind possible.

4. His atoning act made provision for the restoration of man to purity and to favor with God.

These propositions, if legitimately drawn, show that the passage in question merely affirms that Christ in his assumption of human nature did so with a definite purpose. It omits, however, any statement attempting to explain how he could be sinless and yet be united with a nature which is described as "sinful flesh."

Various explanations have been attempted by exegetes. 1. "In and by the miraculous conception it (human nature) is perfectly sanctified, so that though it is 'sinful flesh,' or corrupt human nature in Mary the mother, it is the 'holy thing,' or perfect human nature in Jesus the child."—SHEDD, *Commentary*. In other words, his assumption of human nature purified the corrupt nature with which he became united.

Another explanation is that of Beet, to the effect that "the material of Christ's body was not really, but only apparently, a flesh of sin." By this of course is meant that his body was an ordinary human body, that it appeared like sinful flesh, but that in reality his whole nature was without sin. Although clothed in human form and subject to human desires and aspirations, he was nevertheless so animated with the Holy Spirit that there was in these desires and aspirations no element of sin. This could not be affirmed of any merely human being, because in them there was no such indwelling presence. Thus St. Augustine says: "We may not say that anything is impossible when the power of the Most High is present; we may not think of human frailty when there is the fullness of the Deity." The word "likeness" here employed is the same word found in Phil. ii, 7, "And was made in the likeness of men." These two passages of Scripture, proceeding from the same author, are manifestly intended to convey the same meaning. Although he was in the "likeness of sinful flesh," he was without sin.

It seems necessary, then, to advance beyond the views already given. He was not only sinless in keeping the flesh in subjection by the Holy Spirit dwelling in him, but sinless in the sense of being pure in his essential nature and essence. In other words, he took upon himself the nature of man in his sinless and unfallen condition, and therefore the likeness of sinful flesh involved no element of sin. The mode of this assumption is as impossible to explain as is the incarnation itself. The possibility of such a union of the divine with the human, as well as the temptability of a sinless nature, is a philosophical question with which exegesis is not directly concerned. We may, however, say that the parallel employed by St. Paul between Adam and Christ, so admirably drawn both in Romans and in 1 Corinthians, is significant in the light of this interpretation. Irenæus evidently regards this as the nature of the incarnate Christ. His language is: "He therefore had flesh and blood, not of a different kind from what men have; but he gathered into himself the very original creation of the Father, and sought that which was lost."

THE PRESERVATION OF MATERIALS.

(*Continued.*)

THE following contribution from Brother Hartley is in continuation of a subject already discussed in the "Itinerants' Club," but always of interest and practical importance to students and sermon-makers:

EDITOR ITINERANTS' CLUB: I have for over four years followed a method of indexing my reading similar to that suggested by Brother E. A. Hoyt in the September–October *Review*, and find it increasingly helpful. Soon after I began to wish for some plan whereby I might also have at command all I had in my library bearing on different passages of Scripture. It was some time before I was able to supply the want, but the inconvenience I often experienced convinced me that an ever-increasing amount of material was slipping away. I finally adopted a system that has so far proved satisfactory, and I give it for the benefit of any others who have felt a similar need.

I procured a suitable book, and so divided it as to give a sufficient number of pages to each book of the Bible, in the order in which they occur. Eight pages are for Genesis, and in the upper corner of each page I have designated in red ink the chapters to which the page is devoted—*Genesis* 1–6 on the first page, *Genesis* 7–12 on the second, etc., *ad finem*. Whenever in my reading I find anything of help relating to any Scripture passage I turn to the appropriate page in my index; in the margin at the left of the page I indicate the chapter and verse, following with the reference to the book and page where such exposition or illustration may be found. Thus, on the first page of my index I find the entry, 1. 28. L. F. 330, and I know that on page 330 of Professor Townsend's *Lost Forever* I will find something relating to Gen. 1. 28; also, 3. 15. W. I. ii, 190–3, which refers me to pages 190–193 of the second volume of Watson's *Institutes*. The figures indicating the chapter and verse are always underscored, and the entire entry is with black ink.

I have in a smaller book a catalogue of my library, but in this index I prefer to designate the book by the initials of its title rather than by its catalogue number, because most generally the initials will suggest the title, when the number would not, but would necessitate the trouble of referring to the catalogue. In the forepart of the book the edges were already cut for lettering, and in these pages I have the names of the books, together with the corresponding initials. If in the entry above referred to I fail to recollect L. F., I turn to L of the index in the forepart of the book, and among other things I find L. F.—*Lost Forever*. I use the same abbreviations for my Index Rerum as for this Scripture index. Some in adopting this plan may find it convenient to modify it in some particulars, but I believe that some such method will prove valuable to any who may try it.

SAMUEL HARTLEY.

Cozad, Neb.

FOREIGN RÉSUMÉ.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

RICHARD ADELBERT LIPSIUS.

In the death of Lipsius the University of Jena and the theological world have suffered a great loss. He had held various positions in the educational work in Germany, being at one time professor in Vienna, where he greatly influenced the development of evangelical Christianity. Both as a lecturer and author Lipsius exhibited a certain self-consciousness amounting almost to self-conceit, and as a personality he was marked by some unfortunate weaknesses. But his knowledge of philosophy and theology was enormous. There is scarcely a department of theology which has not felt the influence of his publications, and he was almost equally great as exegete, historian, and doctrinal theologian. In his early life he adhered to the so-called "Mediating Theology," but gradually and increasingly he drifted to the left wing of theological thought, although toward the very last he returned somewhat to a more positive position. But while he was in the main negative in his theology he supported his assaults upon the citadel of confessionalism with so much learning and ingenious reasoning that he can but command the respect of scholars of every tendency of theological opinion. He was never flippant, never declamatory nor denunciatory, but based his judgments upon careful, honest research, and expressed himself generally in a judicial tone. His contributions to the scholarship of the theological world are invaluable; and by his profound investigations and honest statement of results he has started questions which will perhaps never cease to affect the thought of the religious world. He was very active in combating Romanism. Like nearly every true negative theologian, his chief energy was spent in attacks upon the papal system, though not always avowedly so. It is this which so often renders the German theologian odious in the sight of the ardent adherents of traditional Protestantism; for frequently the German thinks he sees in Protestantism exactly the same fault in principle, although differently developed, as in Romanism. And to him it is as truly offensive in the former as in the latter. Lipsius was as well an ardent Christian as a zealous Protestant and theologian. Christianity was not, to him, a mere series of historical facts sustaining a certain religious theory which could be made the subject of scientific investigation and philosophical reflection; it was also a supply for the needs of his soul; and while somewhat different in its contents, yet his religious life was as intense as that of most Christians.

DR. AUGUST DILLMAN, PROFESSOR IN BERLIN.

We have here an undoubted leader of thought, a man who will continue to influence the criticism of the Old Testament for decades to come. In Germany he is not regarded as particularly radical, although he is denied a place among the Conservatives. With the views of

Wellhausen concerning the Pentateuch he is at variance, although it is doubtful whether his opinions on that subject would be more acceptable to the average American student. In order to illustrate what positions a moderate German critic may take, we give a brief outline of Dillman's views concerning Isaiah. According to him only chapters i–xxxv contain genuine Isaian parts; and of these chapters several are interpolations of a much later origin—some as late as the post-exilian period. The first thirty-five chapters were, therefore, not finally edited until after the exile. The second part of the book, containing chapters xxxvi–xxxix, also originated much later than Isaiah's time. So also the third part, consisting of chapters xl–lxvi, was composed by some one of whose very name we are ignorant, but who lived at the close of the period of the exile. The impossibility of its Isaian origin he argues at length on the grounds that the historical background forbids such a supposition, presupposing, as it does throughout, the Babylonian exile as then existent, and that the ideas of this portion are thoroughly distinct from those of the unquestioned Isaian portions. He mentions, also, the literary style as a reason for rejecting this portion of Isaiah, but lays most stress upon the first two arguments. Dillman is all the more willing to yield the genuineness of these predictive parts of the Book of Isaiah because he denies the fulfillment of several of the undoubted Isaian predictions. We have not at all given the argument of Dillman in its force, nor have we space here to do more than point out that on the supposition of true prophecy his exact prevision of the exilian and post-exilian periods would not be surprising. This, of course, merely throws the question back to a discussion of whether Isaiah's predictions were divinely inspired. This Dillman unhesitatingly denies. As to the difference between the ideas of the former and the latter half of the book it may be said that if written at a different period of Isaiah's life this would not be wonderful.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

THE SCIENTIFIC TREATMENT AND PRACTICAL IMPROVEMENT OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

THIS is another of the series of published treatises of a theological conference at Giessen. It is by Pastor R. Eibach. The author announces and defends three theses: 1. The scientific treatment of the Holy Scriptures seeks to discover their peculiar significance for Christianity without regard to any dogma relative to their origin and churchly value; 2. The scientific treatment of the Holy Scriptures on the one hand experiences increased activity and a distinct deepening of method from the faith of the Church, and on the other purifies and clarifies that faith; 3. It furnishes, therefore, the absolutely necessary condition upon which the Holy Scriptures can be made serviceable to the spiritual needs of the congregation, and once more brought into contact with the understanding of our times. The treatise is brief but weighty. It is the attempt of a believer in the

latest results of scientific theology to show that the practical value of the Scriptures is not destroyed, nor, perhaps, diminished, by their scientific treatment. If this could be made clear everybody would be content to let the critics alone. One can but sympathize with the ultimate object of all true criticism—to discover the origin of each book and the meaning of every portion of each book. Yet history shows that the holding of certain articles of faith as living, burning truth, is essential to that form of Christianity which is alone likely to bring this world under the scepter of Christ. Eibach affirms that biblical criticism does not affect any such doctrine. He would create the impression that it leaves the teachings of Scripture essentially as it finds them, but simply demonstrates that their origin is not so divine as to be without mixture of human influences and errors. In his second thesis, however, he seems to admit that while the scientific treatment of the Bible goes its own way unmolested by the faith of the Church, and the faith of the Church takes its own independent course, yet they do in fact mutually influence each other. If the faith of the Church is affected by the results of the scientific treatment of the Bible, then Christianity can only stand if these results in some way secure the authority of the Bible, unless Christianity is to be something else than it has been for eighteen hundred years. There was a Christianity prior to the New Testament, but none prior to Christ and the apostles and their teachings. If these records do not at least contain a trustworthy account of their lives and teachings our faith has no sure foundation. Those who make practical use of the Bible look with the greatest solicitude, therefore, to the findings of its critics.

CHRISTIAN ESCHATOLOGY, BY DR. LEONHARD ATZBERGER, PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN MUNICH.

THIS is a thoroughly Roman Catholic work in all its doctrinal presuppositions and in development; but it is well worthy the study of all who would know the questions at issue. The author defends the superiority of the eschatology of revelation to that of human philosophy and the religion of nature, but holds that Christian eschatology need not be founded in all its parts upon the Bible, since tradition is also a source of authority in the Roman religion, and hence all that is demanded is that eschatological doctrines do not contradict Holy Writ. It is a striking fact that this apologetic tone is especially employed in connection with the doctrine of purgatory. For it is here, more than anywhere else, that Roman Catholic eschatology stands in open conflict with that of Protestantism. However, Atzberger denies that the Protestant view of the state of the soul after death is more scriptural than the Romanist, and makes a serious attempt to show that he has the Bible on his side. We are more interested, however, with his doctrinal than with his biblical defense of purgatory. It runs essentially as follows: Only the absolutely pure can go to heaven. There are some Christians who are not yet wholly redeemed from the corruption of sin at death, and who therefore cannot go to heaven at once. It is inconceivable that these should be condemned to hell; hence they

must be consigned to a place where they can complete the work of redemption within themselves. The soul purifies itself, or is purified, by sufferings on account of sin. Hence the place to which the souls above described are consigned is not merely an intermediate place or state, but a place of actual infliction of sanctifying penalty, or at least of suffering. The average Protestant does not take as profound a view of sin and holiness as is here assumed. Protestants too often do not undertake to explain how the many faulty Christians who die without any apparent improvement can go straight to the world where all are perfect. Those who do undertake to explain it generally assume that in the last moments of a Christian's life God sanctifies and purifies him by his Spirit, and thus prepares him for immediate entrance to his holy presence. On the other hand, the Protestant view is free from that Christ-dishonoring doctrine of human merit, and the falsehood which attributes our sanctification to suffering instead of to the influence of the Holy Spirit. Protestantism has the truer and more evangelical principles at the base of its doctrine on this point, but it is imperatively demanded that these principles be consistently carried out to their logical consequences, and extended so as to cover all the questions involved.

THE HISTORY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT PRIESTHOOD, BY PROFESSOR BAUDISSIN, OF MARBURG.

In principle Baudissin does not differ from the rank and file of Old Testament critics in Germany, although he reserves the right to arrange details according to his own judgment. This particular work is an attempt to shed light upon the origin of the Old Testament books, or portions of books, especially of the Pentateuch, by a study of the development of the Old Testament priesthood. We here pass by the conclusions he reaches concerning the origin of the different component parts of the Old Testament, and give only the results of his investigations as to the priesthood. The Jehovistic writings of the Old Testament assume that in the patriarchal period there was no special priestly class. Moses was the first to establish such an order. It is very uncertain in what relation the priests stood to the supposed tribe of Levi. It is difficult to say whether the term Levite merely meant a person called to serve at the altar or whether the Levites were descendants of a patriarch Levi. The latter is very improbable. It is possible that there was a tribe of Levi which early disappeared, and with which the Levites came to be accidentally identified. The most probable view is that Moses established his own relatives as Levites—that is, as specially privileged to serve at the altar—and that it was a later misunderstanding which made him a son of Levi. It is quite unlikely that a whole tribe could be occupied with the affairs of the sanctuary during the journey in the wilderness. When the tribes settled in Canaan the Levites did not receive a portion of land, but were scattered over the entire population. The service at the altar was not always conducted by this priestly class, although they were preferred. According to the priestly document the sacred tent was the place of sacrifice;

but according to the Jehovist it was a place where oracles were given out by Moses to every one who sought. At the sanctuary in Zion under David the priests were chosen according to the will of the king, who himself assumed the position of a superior priest, bringing offerings, imparting the liturgical benediction, and dancing before the ark of the covenant. A later psalm celebrates him, as with Melchizedek, a priest-king. The priestly document in the Pentateuch was systematized toward the end of the period of the kings, in the first part of the seventh century B. C. It is made up of older documents. It did not represent the actual service of the period, since it was not a well-rounded system, but it is consistent in that it makes the clear distinction between priests and Levites. The descendants of Aaron alone are priests. The editor seems to have known, however, of descendants of Aaron who were not priests. But our space forbids us to trace his conclusions further.

AN INSTANCE OF THE CRITICAL TREATMENT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

No two New Testament critics worthy of the name will proceed alike; yet a somewhat extended example of the method of one critic will give the reader at least the spirit of all criticism, allowance being made for differences of the temperament of authors. The example we select is a fair average. It is the prize essay of William Brückner, on "The Chronological Order in which the Epistles of the New Testament were Composed, as far as this can be discovered from their mutual unison or diversity, and from the use of words and citations in the later which occur in the earlier letters." The general principles of this critic are exhibited in the title of his work. But we shall undertake to delineate them somewhat more in detail. He assumes that the gospels and epistles follow one another in the order of an historical development of the faith in the Church. In this he agrees, indeed, with most of the theologians of Germany, the assumption being that the New Testament writings are the product of the Christian consciousness of successive periods, and not of inspiration by the Holy Spirit. Only in this way, claims the author, can the variety of the portraitures of Jesus in the writings of the different contributors to the New Testament be understood, and only thus does the full significance of this diversity appear. In order to maintain this theory of the origin of the New Testament documents it is necessary to assume a tolerably long period of time, and not merely the brief lifetime of the apostles subsequent to their conversion. Hence he divides the letters of the New Testament into those written in the first and those written in the second century, toward the latter part of which period the later letters were written. To the objection that instead of indicating a relation of dependence of the later upon the earlier these coincidences of thought and expression are the result of accident, and to the profounder objection that instead of resulting from a literary dependence they arose from the fact that the same thoughts moved all hearts, and naturally found expression in similar

language, he replies that in many cases such suppositions will not answer, because the similarity of thought and expression extends over too wide a reach of chapter and verse. The extent of the similarity demands the supposition that one borrowed thought and expression from the other. Especially does he claim that it cannot be accidental that different authors quote the very same Old Testament passages side by side. Thus both Rom. i, 24–33, and 1 Peter ii, 4–10, quote Isaiah xxviii, 16, Isaiah viii, 14, and Hosea ii, 23, and similarly in several other instances. But while he places several of the letters in the second century, and thus cuts off all possibility of their apostolic origin, he claims that we have the text of the New Testament letters essentially uncorrupted. Here he parts company with many critics who teach that the original documents were altered in the third, or perhaps even as late as the fourth century, to suit the purposes of the Church of the period, and that these alterations are so great that the original authors would no longer recognize or own them. It will be difficult to answer his argument that if such a redaction had taken place for dogmatical purposes it would have been so thorough that the diversities now existent in the New Testament would have been removed. The attempt to prove the interpolation of some of the epistles dogmatically is, he asserts, exceedingly difficult to complete. Yet he admits that some interpolations of a late date can be detected, and he assumes that some passages generally accepted as genuine are interpolations. These are the general positions of the author. But why is it necessary to assume that the diversities of doctrinal position are a chronological development? Could they not as well be accounted for on the supposition that these documents arose in different localities about the same time, and to meet the diverse wants of a variety of congregations, and that they are further modified by the personality of the author? But a critic who would thus make it possible for all the New Testament documents to be the product of apostolic pens would be no critic at all. Again, let it be observed that our critic is obliged to defend the integrity of these books because otherwise he could not maintain the dependence of one document upon another. We defy anyone to challenge the assertion that this method is an earmark of all so-called higher criticism. Furthermore, which theory shall we accept, that of our critic that we have the New Testament books in their integrity, although many of them are not of apostolic origin, or that of other critics, that our books are honeycombed with interpolations for dogmatic purposes? All are alike able men. When doctors disagree who shall decide? Until they agree we may go on securely in the belief that the New Testament is God's revelation to man.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

THE BASLE MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

It is to be regretted that this Society is compelled to report a decrease of thirty-two thousand francs for the fiscal year last past. The organiza-

tion has been in existence for nearly a hundred years, and is one of the most important in Europe. At the earnest suggestion of Professor Christlieb they began about seven years ago to send medical missionaries to their mission fields, the first being Dr. Fisch, who went to the Gold Coast. They have now a number of hospitals, large and small, where the medical skill of European physicians is applied to the healing of native diseases with excellent effect. In the city of Calcutta they have a hospital where four thousand patients were treated in 1890. The wretched system of medical practice in vogue among the Chinese makes this form of missionary labor especially helpful there. The growth of the missions of this Society has been small, amounting in all to only 24,692 native Christians and 10,934 school pupils. When their medical work becomes fully established they will doubtless recommend themselves to the heathen as never before, and will thus make more rapid gains. It has been too long forgotten that Jesus healed the bodies as well as the souls of men in the execution of his work.

PROTESTANT ACTIVITY IN FRANCE.

VARIOUS Protestant societies in France have recently held their anniversaries. The Association for the Advancement of Sabbath Observance chose for its president a member of the Free Evangelical Church, the report was read by a Methodist, and addresses were made by pastors of the Reformed Church and by Father Hyacinthe. The Society for Jewish Missions report but two missionaries employed, one in Paris, the other in Algeria. The Temperance Society was encouraged by a report showing good progress. Its president is Pastor Theodore Monod. The Central Evangelization Society reported the opening of eight new stations, while the Sunday School Union reported slim attendance upon the Sunday school sessions and a financial deficit. The Deaconess Home celebrated its fiftieth anniversary with great rejoicing on account of prosperity. The Evangelical Association, the Methodists, the Baptists, and the McAll missions all reported good progress. The work of foreign missions has found greater favor than ever among the people the past year, and the income for this purpose increased to 474,984 francs. Two new missionaries have been sent to Zambezi, and in general Protestantism seems to flourish.

THE THIRTY-NINTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF GERMAN ROMANISTS.

THIS important gathering convened in Mayence on the 29th of last August and closed its sessions on the 1st of September. It was characterized by a remarkable hopefulness for the speedy overthrow of Protestantism and establishment of Romanism. Bishop Haffner, of Mayence, spoke against atheism, which, he declared, is furthered in the German universities and gymnasia. Freiherr von Schorlemer-Alst spoke on the socialist question, which he regarded as the most important of the present

day, and the one around which everything else revolves. He affirmed that the first and only salvation from the inroads of social democracy is religion. This to him means not only the freedom and independence of the Church, but also the territorial independence of the pope, and confessional schools and education. With one accord the assembly favored the restoration of the pope's territorial independence and the return of the banished Jesuits, and the placing of the schools in the hands of the Church. Indeed, the demand was that the legislation of Germany should be conducted and based upon the law and word of God. Otherwise it was declared that Germany is approaching an abyss of irreligion and immorality which will engulf all Christian sentiment and civilization. If religion did not mean to the Roman Catholic exclusively Roman Catholicism there would be much in the sentiments of this assembly to which every true Protestant would assent.

PERSECUTIONS OF PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES IN TURKEY.

THE Mohammedans are as foolishly fanatical in their hatred of Christianity as ever. It is now admitted that the house of the missionary (Bartlett) was set on fire by a mob. The sultan had consented to the erection of the house, but the governor had set himself against it. It is declared on good authority, however, that this was not without orders from the sultan, and that two sets of orders are always issued from Constantinople, one to quiet the foreign legations, and another, with different contents, for the home government. The sultan is compelled to heed the voice of the foreign powers on the one side and of the local enmity to Christianity on the other. The Mollahs, a very strong party, the Armenian Christians, and the adherents of the Greek Church are all bitter enemies of Protestantism. It is high time that something be done to check the outrages and duplicity for which the sultan's government is responsible, and the American government ought to see to it that Turkey is brought to account for violations of the treaty rights of our missionaries in that country.

ASYLUMS FOR ALCOHOL VICTIMS IN SCHLESWIG.

THE asylum in Leipe began the year 1891 with thirteen patients, received during the year eleven others, and dismissed in all seventeen. The year 1892, on the other hand, began with seven patients in the house. The work is in part successful and in part unsuccessful. But in general it may be said that wherever a patient can be found who has the purpose to abstain wholly he does not fall again into his old habits. Many, however, are of the opinion that total abstinence is fanaticism and that moderate drinking is wisdom; others, upon the advice of some ignorant or conscienceless physician, drink for their "stomach's sake," and so keep alive the old appetite. The Germans are slow to learn that total abstinence is the only preventive for the fallen and the unfallen, but are yielding to the indubitable proof drawn from experience.

EDITORIAL REVIEWS.

SPIRIT OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

THE aggressive activity and political meddlesomeness of Roman Catholicism, both in America and Europe, are much noted and discussed in the leading Reviews. Thus among their October issues we find Mgr. O'Reilly, in the *North American*, contending with much assurance that the principles of civil and religious liberty, which are the corner stones of American institutions, require the support of Catholic parochial schools with money derived from public taxation. But Mr. O'Reilly judiciously shrinks from touching the historic fact that Romanism uses her parochial schools for the training of children in principles subversive of that religious and civil liberty which he so inconsistently invokes. It borders on audacity to ask the American public to tax itself for the maintenance of schools the main object of which is to root up the very principles which are the lifeblood of our governmental system. In the *Lutheran Quarterly* we have a paper on the "Reformation and Civil Liberty," which proves that when Luther wrote his famous theses Rome, true to her arrogant claim of supremacy over both the State and the individual conscience, had suppressed both civil and religious liberty throughout Europe. His theses were the seeds of that religious and civil freedom which the Romish parochial schools are planned to destroy. The *Presbyterian Quarterly* also discusses "Romanism and the Public Schools" in a very forcible paper, which, while rightly claiming that the safety of our republic calls for the universal education of the young in free schools, and for teaching which is patriotic, religious, and unsectarian, strongly contends that to such schools and such teaching Romanism is vindictively hostile. Her false theories compel her to be so. Her parochial schools are not simply Christian, but strictly and offensively sectarian. Hence she forbids the reading of the Bible, which, said Pius IX, "has produced more harm than benefit, is indeed the snare prepared for their [the peoples'] everlasting ruin." Hence also she proclaims herself the exclusive interpreter of the Bible. Her parochial school-teaching cannot be patriotic, because she claims a supremacy over the State, implying "power to require the State not to permit free expression of opinion." Thus the teaching in her parochial schools, both in word and spirit, must be disloyal to the State. Having sustained these points the article contends that no compromise with Rome on the school question is possible. Therefore we must maintain our Common School System intact; keeping its instruction loyal to God and to the Bible, thus fitting it to train children into good citizens. As to parochial schools, the American theory of civil and religious liberty simply demands their *toleration*—nothing more. In the *Contemporary Review* a very statesmanlike paper comments on the present "Policy of the Pope." Its keynote is that the welfare of

the Catholic Church is "indissolubly bound up with the temporal sovereignty of her visible head." Guided by this secular keynote, Leo XIII is ignoring the fact that Catholics are citizens of the State as well as members of a Church. He is struggling to develop *the Catholic* at the expense of *the man* and *the citizen*. This struggle has involved him in much inconsistency. His political crookedness causes loud cries of disaffection to fall from the lips of Catholics in Austria, because he has been more ready to heed the anti-Catholic leaders of the French republic than the zealous Catholics of Austria, Hungary, etc. The writer of this paper, who seems to be a devoted Catholic, is deeply grieved and alarmed lest the result of the pope's policy should react against the papacy itself. His article merits close attention; for it may be that Leo's ambition to recover the temporal power is the rock on which Romanism will be wrecked, and its misled followers freed from the oppressive yoke which they are illy able to endure.

THE *Presbyterian Quarterly* (Southern) for October has, 1. "The Immortality of the Soul;" 2. "A Religious Estimate of Carlyle;" 3. "Romanism and the Public Schools;" 4. "A Modern Jehu;" 5. "Pentecostal Baptism;" 6. "Notes." Of these very excellent papers we note the first as a very strong presentation, by Dr. Dabney, not of the biblical but of the rational argument for the immortality of the soul. It is an able and timely article. The second paper is a candid and keen critical analysis of Carlyle's religious sentiments, and of the influence of his writings on Christian thought. It credits him with having made atheism and materialism impossible to self-respecting minds, but finds that notwithstanding his "rugged righteousness and stern incorruptibility," he lacked that experimental knowledge of the Gospel which softens the heart and beautifies the character. The fourth paper is a caustic and convincing review of Dr. Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*. Dr. Driver's assault on the Old Testament, it contends, is so unscrupulous as to justify its author in saying that, like Jehu, "he driveth furiously." This paper is eminently worth reading. The fifth article claims that the Pentecostal baptism did not consist in the gift of tongues, nor in endowment with power, but in the coming of the Holy Spirit to dwell in the souls of believers. It is suggestive, but not sufficiently clear to be conclusive and convincing.

THE *Bibliotheca Sacra* for October discusses, 1. "The History and Definition of Higher Criticism;" 2. "Minute Prediction and Modern Doubt;" 3. "Duality;" 4. "Driver on the Literature of the Old Testament;" 5. "Carey, the Founder of Modern Missions;" 6. "Professor Huxley *versus* Genesis i;" 7. "We Shall Not All Sleep;" 8. "Jonah in Nineveh." The first of these papers, after tracing the history of the phrase "higher criticism" from Eichhorn, its inventor, down to Kuenen and Dr. Briggs, finds it to be, as a term, unscientific, unstable, meaningless, and, as distinguished from lower criticism, false. The second article finds evidence

of real inspiration in the minuteness of the Messianic prophecies. The third paper recognizes and illustrates the principles of duality and triality as entering into the structure of the universe, and into the Old and New Testaments. Its writer uses this fact as evidence that the former is not "a fortuitous concourse of atoms," nor the latter "a lump of conglomerate." The wisdom of a designing mind is visible through these principles both in the universe and in the Bible. The fourth paper reviews Dr. Driver's book on *The Literature of the Old Testament*, commending its excellent spirit and general merits, but mildly exposing the unsoundness of some of its rationalistic reasonings. The sixth paper is an eloquent and eulogistic sketch of William Carey, whom it misnames the "*Founder* of Modern Missions." Carey merited most of the high praise given him here, but he did not *found* modern missions; for the Lutheran Church had missions in India in 1705, and the Wesleyans had a working missionary society in 1784, eight years before the society founded by Carey was organized. The sixth paper sustains the order of life as given in Genesis against Mr. Huxley's objection to its geological correctness. The seventh paper successfully defends the theory of the resurrection of the sleeping dead at the end of the world, and of the translation of living believers at the time of Christ's appearing, against the notion that souls will stay in hades until the end of time, and then be removed to a different place, namely, to heaven. Hence, when Christ appears *living* saints will pass *without dying* directly to the throne of God.

THE *North American Review* for November has, 1. "The Presidential Campaign of 1892," by Hon. J. G. Blaine; 2. "The Scandinavian in the United States;" 3. "Politics and the Pulpit;" 4. "What Cholera Costs Commerce;" 5. "The Democratic Outlook;" 6. "Waste Products Made Useful;" 7. "How to Solve the School Question;" 8. "Swiss and French Election Methods;" 9. "Quarantine in New York;" 10. "Wanted, a New Party;" 11. "Are There Too Many of Us?" 12. "Ernest Renan;" 13. "Europe at the World's Fair;" 14. "Notes and Comments." Of these papers we note the second as being a candid statement of the number, character, influence, and political sympathies of our Scandinavian immigrants. Its writer, Professor Boyesen, while regretting their disposition to keep apart from their American neighbors, predicts that they will soon be assimilated to our people. In the third article Bishop Foss judiciously outlines the duty of the pulpit with respect to political questions. While the pulpit should avoid strictly political issues it should boldly explain and emphasize the ethical points involved in political measures. In the seventh paper Mgr. O'Reilly shows that the school question can be easily settled by letting the Catholic priesthood have its own way! But this cannot be done. The Roman Catholic school is anti-American in its teaching. There is a touch of impudence in asking Americans to provide funds for the propagation of ideas hostile to their institutions. The twelfth paper, which purports to treat of Ernest Renan, is in truth a mis-

representation of the character of Jesus, by R. G. Ingersoll, whose hatred of the King of men renders him blind to the moral grandeur of the Redeemer's mission, to the unmatched perfection of his life, and to the miraculous splendor of his deeds.

THE *Globe* is a "Quarterly Review of Literature, Society, Religion, Art, and Politics," published in Chicago. Its editor and principal contributor is William H. Thorne, whose aggressive spirit and slashing style suggest that, consciously, or unconsciously, he is an imitator of Carlyle. In his October number he tells his readers how he quite recently became a Roman Catholic. He was once a Presbyterian minister; then a "Cosmotheist;" and is now a Catholic layman. While putting the fetters of Romanism on his individuality it appears that he found it difficult to accept its "Mariolatry." It seems that his common sense told him that it implied Mary's omniscience. But a priest told him that "all Catholics, in praying to the Virgin or to the saints, firmly believe that God himself, in his omnipotent love, conveys our messages to the Virgin and to the saints!" This puerile idea convinced him that prayer to poor Mary, who can neither see nor hear us, is more helpful to the petitioner than prayer offered directly to the Most High! Mr. Thorne's acceptance of this irreverent and absurd conception of Jehovah's relation to such a redeemed sinner as Mary must convince thinking men that, with all his sharpness and ready wit, he is very poorly qualified to be a leader of religious thought.

THE *Lutheran Quarterly* for October has a scholarly historic sketch of the modes of Christian worship from apostolic to modern times. It finds no definite prescription of forms of worship in the Scriptures, but only the two divine pillars of the word, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, on which all worship rests. Varying liturgical forms were gradually introduced. These are briefly described and commented upon. The history of the liturgies in the Lutheran Church is next quite fully given. Regret for the liturgical agitations which have disturbed that body is expressed, as is also the hope that the adoption of a recently authorized *Common Service* will put an end to those disturbances. In another paper it is proven that "our Lutheran Church is a missionary Church." As early as 1559 Lutheran missionaries preached Christ to the Lapps and Finns; the next year they were in Russia, and in 1663 Abyssinia heard the word from their lips. In 1705 they planted a mission at Coromandel, India. The same year they sent Ziegenbalg also to India, where he translated the New Testament into the Tamil language, and after forty-five years of labor rejoiced over nine thousand converts. These, with other kindred facts, justify this writer's claim that the Lutheran Church is a missionary Church. In a paper on "The Ethical Aim of Christianity" it is clearly shown that "individual salvation" and "the renewal of society" are included in the "supreme ethical purpose of Christianity." A paper on the "Intermediate State" concludes, on questionable exegetical grounds, as we think, that the Gospel was preached by Christ in the realm of the dead, and is still preached

there to all who did not hear the Gospel while living on earth; but not to those who, having heard it before death, had rejected it. A speculative theory resting on a few texts of very uncertain meaning.

THE *Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*, has thirteen excellent articles, of which we note, 1. "St. Patrick and a Glimpse of the Emerald Isle," which makes it historically clear that though St. Patrick was an ascetic monk he did not teach purgatory, adoration of the Virgin Mary, transubtantiation, papal supremacy, or other crude superstition of the existing Romish Church. 2. "A Good Book, but Obsolete," in which O. P. Fitzgerald reviews a work entitled *Duties of Christian Masters*, written by Bishop McTyeire when the slave power was dominant in the South. Its words to masters were good and sensible, but its underlying assumption was the innocency of slaveholding. This was the fly in that pot of ointment. Its author did not even whisper that to hold a man as a slave was in itself a sin; and, we take it, this reviewer does not accept this ethical concept of slaveholding. 3. "The Problem Solved" is a review of a book bearing that title, by Dr. G. H. Hayes, who rejects "the second blessing theory of sanctification." His view is, that the need of regeneration is not grounded on entailed spiritual corruption, which he denies, but on one's personal sin and guilt. This is removed by the grace of regeneration, in which the quickened soul is made a son and heir of God. The regenerated man, by obeying the impulses of his new life, grows up into the fullness of love, which is the essence of entire sanctification. The impression we get from this review of Dr. Hayes's book is, that while it is substantially sound in its conclusion, it is yet open to the charge of Pelagianism, and of a measure of logomachy which darkens counsel with many words.

THE *London Quarterly Review* for October critically reviews several recent works, such as, *Life and Times of Niccolo Machiavelli*, by Professor Pasquale Villari; *Is Christianity an Evolution?* by Lyman Abbott; *An Englishman in Paris*, etc. It is justly severe on Dr. Abbott's book, not only because of its serious doctrinal errors, but also because it does not recognize the Holy Spirit, nor the radical sinfulness of human nature, denies the very idea of propitiation, and changes conversion into something else. The *Review* finds it "a different yet not another gospel."

THE *Quarterly Review of the United Brethren in Christ* for October discusses, 1. "Our National Perils;" 2. "Moral Power, and How to Generate It;" 3. "Divine Healing;" 4. "The Holy Ghost;" 5. "Inspiration of the Scriptures;" 6. "The Christian Church." In the first of these papers the low character of the immigrants coming into our country, the growing lawlessness of our people, the corruption of our political life, the greed of wealth and the wickedness of the nation are viewed as elements of impending national peril. The second paper contends that the prosperity of

a nation is rooted in the spirituality and ethical purity of the Christian Church. The third paper finds the modern doctrine of divine healing to contain the seeds of fanaticism and impiety. The fourth paper is an admirable condensation of the teaching of Holy Writ concerning the office and work of the Hóly Ghost. The fifth article is an argument in favor of the plenary inspiration of the Bible, in the sense that its writers were so moved by the Holy Ghost that its statements are infallibly true.

Christian Thought for October has seven thoughtful papers, of which we note one on "Recent Modifications of Darwinism," by Joseph Cook, showing that the discussions of the last quarter of this century have resulted in taking away entirely the atheistic and materialistic aspects of the theory of evolution. Another on "Richard Rothe and Social Theology," by Professor A. B. Curtis, dissects Rothe's theory of "saving society as a whole," points out its fallacies, and claims that the salvation of society can only be reached through Christ's method of individual conversions. A third article is on the "Tenement-house Evil," by R. F. Cutting, Esq. It merits the attention of all who are interested in the problem of providing fitting homes for workingmen in our large cities.

THE *Edinburgh Review or Critical Journal* for October favorably reviews Curzon's valuable book on Persia; strongly commends Giovanni Morelti's *Italian Painters* to all students of art; pronounces the Duc d'Aumale's *Biography of the Princes of the House of Condi* to be "a noble addition to the history of France;" discusses with much force the international importance of the Mediterranean Sea, vigorously contends against the aim of France to make it a French lake, and insists that England must maintain at all hazards her present position as the leading naval and commercial power in that historic sea. It also discusses, with much breadth of view, the vital relations which the increase or decrease of national population has to the progress or decline of civilization; and in a very scholarly paper states the conclusions which "British Criticism of the Old Testament" claims to have reached. The writer of this last paper is moderately rationalistic, yet holds that the Bible is a perfectly veracious and divinely simple record of the growth and development of God's Church.

THE *Fortnightly Review* for October has a slashing criticism of Mr. Huxley's *Controversies*, by Frederic Harrison, a doughty Positivist; a paper on "Aërial Navigation," in which Mr. Hiram Maxim confidently predicts that such navigation will be achieved in the near future; an article on "The Trades Union Congress," which students of sociology will find worth reading; a paper on "Russia and China," which shows how Chinese apathy is encouraging Russia to make further aggression on Chinese territory; and a very suggestive article on "Silver and Indian Finance," which American financiers and statesmen will do well to seriously consider.

THE *Contemporary Review* for October has, 1. "The Policy of the Pope;" 2. "The Recent Heat Wave;" 3. "McKinleyism;" 4. "Irish Literature;" 5. "Lessons of American History;" 6. "Archbishop Magee;" 7. "The Coercion of Trade Unions;" 8. "Of Nuts and Nut-Crackers;" 9. "Equality;" 10. "The Rise of the Coal Trade;" 11. "The Message of Israel;" 12. "English Character of Canadian Institutions." Of these papers the first commends itself to thoughtful Americans who wish to comprehend the aims of the papacy. The fifth and ninth are also interesting to us as able discussions of political principles. Students of Old World literature will value the fourth paper, and those interested in the so-called higher criticism will not fail to read with care the suggestions of the eleventh article.

THE *American Catholic Quarterly Review* for October gives large space to papers on Columbus, one of which treats Mr. Winsor and the "scientific school" very cavalierly. Its anger, though not preeminently Christian, is quite natural, inasmuch as that school has torn from Columbus that garb of sanctity with which the fancy of Romanists had clothed him. A paper on "The Church and English Liberty" is provocative of a smile, because it illustrates the desire of the Romish Church to rid herself of the record of history, which demonstrates her hostility to civil and religious liberty wherever she has had power to persecute and suppress it. In an article on "Our Parochial System" it is claimed that eight hundred thousand Catholic children, from seven to fourteen years of age, are in parochial schools! It urges the support of this system, not because it tends to make patriotic American citizens, which we know it does not, but because it makes them devout members of the Catholic Church. This, we think, is a good reason why it should not be supported by public taxation. It is an implicit concession that it is, in the strictest sense, *sectarian.*

THE *Nineteenth Century* for October opens with a thoughtful paper on the Irish question, by Mr. J. E. Redmond, who contends for such a "Readjustment of the Union" as will give an Irish legislature "full and sole control of the police, the judiciary, and the land." In another article on Ireland Mr. T. W. Russell finds that notwithstanding the depletion of its population during half a century, it is still in some counties overpopulated; that education is so general that the number of persons wholly illiterate in 1891 was only 18.4 per cent of the population; that mud cabins are rapidly giving place to houses of brick and mortar; that pauperism is steadily declining, albeit the number of lunatics and idiots is greater than it was ten years ago, and that the English language is being everywhere spoken. We further note a paper on "Cholera and Our Protection From It," which deserves to be widely circulated and generally read.

Harper's New Monthly for November is superbly illustrated, and filled with ably written papers. "The Holy Places of Islam," by C. D. Warner, describes the Moslem annual pilgrimages from Damascus and Cairo to

Mecca and Medina, with spirited pictures of their mosques. Mr. Child conducts his readers "Along the Boulevards of Paris," imparting much pleasing information as he proceeds. F. D. Millet gives some admirable portraits of the designers of the Columbian Fair, who appear to be very fine specimens of manly beauty; and Lawrence Hutton comments on "A Collection of Death Masks." Besides these are other papers of varied interest and value, making altogether an admirable number of this always attractive magazine.——The *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* for October is rich in good things. Spiritual religion, theological points, literary criticism, and science are among its topics, and are all ably treated.——The *English Illustrated Magazine* treats of "Some Musical Conductors," "Beards and No Beards," "Clipper Ships," etc. Its illustrations are numerous, artistic, and spirited.——The *Methodist Magazine* (Canadian) for November has a finely illustrated descriptive paper on "The City of the Sultan," by its editor; a topographical and historical illustrated article, "Through Roumania," by Dr. Sternberg; an appreciative sketch of Whittier, by Dr. Withrow, and a critical analysis of that poet's work by the late Dr. Nelles. These, with a variety of other topics, make a very attractive number of this popular magazine.——The *Treasury of Religious Thought* for November contains four sermons and several "Leading Sermonic Thoughts," which may be suggestive to preachers. Its "Critical Comment" has "The Song of Songs" for its subject. Its writer, Professor Milton S. Terry, contends very judiciously that its heroine is a maiden of Palestine betrothed to an absent lover, but tempted by Solomon to become his concubine. The loyalty of her love to her betrothed is the theme of this famous song.——The *Converted Catholic*, intelligently edited by Father Connor, aims at the conversion of Roman Catholics to Evangelical Christianity. Its September number, among its other portrayals of the anti-Christian character of Romanism, has a paper by Mr. John Bond, entitled, "Why I Left the Roman Catholic Church," in which that gentleman gives his opinion of the evil character of that anti-Christian body, based on his own experiences and observations.——The *Homiletic Review* for November is, as it usually is, filled with matter which is both suggestive and instructive to ministers.——The *Gospel in all Lands* for November is rich in important papers. We note "Countries and People of South America" (illustrated), "The Gospel in Russia," "Churches and Missionary Societies." This magazine should be considered as indispensable food for the sustenance of the missionary spirit by every Church.——The *Missionary Review of the World* for November discusses, "Native Instrumentality in Foreign Missions," "Forerunners of Carey," "Africa in the World's Congress," etc. A valuable number of this standard magazine.——The *Critical Review of Theological and Philosophical Literature* for October, edited by Professor S. D. F. Salmond, D.D. In this review current publications on theological and philosophical topics are critically analyzed by some of the most distinguished writers of England and Scotland. It is valuable for students of theology who desire to keep themselves informed of the progress of modern thought.

BOOKS: CRITIQUES AND NOTICES.

THE THOUGHT-WORLD.

No department of industry is more active. Like some great mechanism that never stops, the human brain works on and on, filling the earth with the material results of its operation and leaving to succeeding centuries the lasting evidences of its skill. Every wonderful machine in iron or steel, every towering cathedral, every Madonna upon the canvas, is a record of this brain industry in enduring form. But books not least of all are the permanent registration of the thought of the ages. Whether in the department of theology, science, philosophy, or general literature, the printed volume preserves the thought-activity of the departed. So Theodore Parker once declared that the books which help us most are those which make us think the most. "The hardest way of learning," he wrote, "is by easy reading; but a great book that comes from a great thinker—it is a ship of thought, deep freighted with truth and with beauty." Measured by this basis of judgment the books of the day are not surpassed by the old. Still do many volumes which are newly printed excite the logical faculty, stir the emotions, and arouse men to action. As enduring evidences of the activity of the thought-world their value is untold. Among them all we may mention as of particular worth in our notices of the present issue: *Apologetics*, by A. B. Bruce; *The Democracy of Christianity*, by L. White; *Faith Healing, Christian Science, and Kindred Phenomena*, by J. M. Buckley; *India and Malaysia*, by J. M. Thoburn; and *The Armies of To-day*.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Apologetics; or, Christianity Defensively Stated. By ALEXANDER BALMAIN BRUCE, D.D., Professor of Apologetics and New Testament Exegesis, Free Church College, Glasgow; Author of *The Training of the Twelve*, etc. Crown 8vo, pp. 522. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $2.50 net.

It would seem that Christianity needs no apology. In the estimate of the great majority of observers its works are its sufficient defense. Wherever in the wide world it has gone it has dispelled darkness, lessened burdens, and transformed human living. Subjected to the most rigid scrutiny as regards the quality of the fruit that it bears, it has triumphantly endured all tests, and dominates the existing religions of the world. Nor is this the only hesitation for the admission of apologetics into the curriculum of theological study. But there is force in other objections that have been made, according to the present author, on the ground that apologetics borrows its material from other sciences, that the function of defense is performed by theology itself, and that the proper statement and handling of the particular dogmatic truth which unbelievers attack renders other defense unnecessary by the apologist.

These are weighty objections. Yet we are far from granting that apologetics subserves no purpose in the department of argument and has no place among Christian evidences. As an aid to belief, particularly in the case of those who are inquiring for the truth and are open to its influences, apologetics may help to faith when other evidences have proved insufficient. Believing that it should therefore have a place in the department of theological study, Professor Bruce now sets forth in a new light some of the familiar arguments for the gospel system, aiming "to secure for Christianity a fair hearing with conscious or implicit believers whose faith is stifled or weakened by antichristian prejudices of varied nature and origin." In the threefold division of his volume the author considers, in Book I, the "Theories of the Universe, Christian and Antichristian," giving that ample consideration, not alone to the Christian, but to the Pantheistic, the Materialistic, the Deistic, the Modern Speculative, and the Agnostic theories, which the largeness of the subjects demands. In the very fact that these later philosophies stand in opposition to the Gospel as to fundamental doctrines, like the divine personality, human sin and redemption, providence, and immortality, they can neither be ignored nor belittled. To show them forth in a spirit of candor is therefore the part of the Christian theologian; and in proving their speciousness, rather than in ignoring the vigor of their claims, must Christianity look for its true defenders. With much clearness has Dr. Bruce sketched these various antichristian philosophies. Notwithstanding many excellencies in his work, we must, however, seriously deplore some concessions made by him which seem unnecessary to the argument, and which are in antagonism to ordinary belief. Some of these, for instance, are the surmise that man may be mortal irrespective of his fall; that it may not be contrary to Christian theism to hold that the world has always existed—a view which will certainly lead the reader to "Manichæan dualism or pantheism;" and that the "grand conception" of evolution is the true theory of the creation. The mischievous tendency of these positions must be their refutation. On the basis that Christianity has its "historic presuppositions" the author has devoted Book II to the consideration of "The Historical Preparation for Christianity." Granting that the entire previous history of the world, with its religious movements, was "a divinely ordered preparation for the coming of Christ," there is nothing belonging to this preparatory period which is of little consequence. And particularly is Judaism of moment. Its national beginnings, its Mosaic institutions, its system of prophetic utterance, and its literature are all elements in the consideration that stand forth with prominence in this historic background and demand explicit attention. All these varied features in the story of Israel—including its national inception, its period of prosperity, and its various captivities—come thus under review. But, again, orthodox belief will object to such positions taken by the author as that apologetics should grant concessions to the "evolutionary theory of the origin of Old Testament literature and religion;" or that the correctness of every historical state-

ment in the Hebrew Scriptures is a matter of indifference. Book III is devoted to a study of "The Christian Origins," involving a consideration of Jesus as the Christ and the founder of the kingdom of God, of the personality and work of Paul, primitive Christianity, the synoptical gospels, and the fourth gospel. If a familiar line of review, it is always an important one in the study of Christian evidences. Whether Jesus drew from his favorite prophets his Messianic idea, as the author teaches, is a matter for difference of judgment. Yet in the Christ of history all will find, with Dr. Bruce, the true Messiah and Lord. Concerning the value of Paul to the early Church it is satisfactory that reference is also made. The theory of the Tübingen school that "Christianity would have been a failure but for Paul" is an overputting of the case which Professor Bruce does well to resent, giving the great apostle his rightful place, however, in the acknowledgment of "his very great importance as the interpreter and eloquent preacher of what we believe to be the true mind of Jesus concerning the destination of the Gospel." Christianity, in other words, according to the author's summation, is "the absolute religion. It is, indeed, God's final word to men. On the simple principle of the survival of the fittest it is destined to perpetuity and to ultimate universality." We close the volume regretting that we may not notice except in the most cursory way the many weighty themes with which the book is crowded. Herein, in fact, is a general criticism that may be passed upon the work. The one volume should rather have been three, since three distinct fields of thought are swept in too rapid review. Yet despite this fact, and notwithstanding its vulnerable positions which have in some instances gone unmentioned, it is weighty in thought, logical in arrangement, and clear in expression; and is an arsenal from which the Christian polemic may draw many a weapon for aggressive warfare.

The Book of Job. By ROBERT A. WATSON, D.D., Author of *Judges and Ruth*, *Gospels of Yesterday*, etc. Crown 8vo, pp. 416. Price, cloth, $1.50.

The Gospel of St. John. In Two Volumes. Vol. II. By MARCUS DODS, D.D., Professor of Exegetical Theology, New College, Edinburgh. Crown 8vo, pp. 427. Price, cloth, $1.50.

The Epistle to the Ephesians. By the Rev. Professor G. G. FINDLAY, B.A., Headingley College, Leeds. Crown 8vo, pp. 440. Price, cloth, $1.50.

The employment of different authors in the construction of a commentary on the Bible has its certain benefits. Specialists are thereby permitted to interpret the scriptural books for which they have a particular liking, and to which they have given, it may be, long investigation. Undue responsibility for a complete commentary, which few would voluntarily choose, is also obviated; and the stamp of any one individual mind on the completed work is avoided. The preparation of the present series of commentaries is thus of diverse authorship, with the excellencies gained which have been indicated. In the first volume mentioned Dr. Watson undertakes the consideration of one of the most difficult books of the Scripture. Its unknown authorship and the circumstances of its prepara-

tion—problems which all interpreters of Job have met—confront him at the outset. On the basis that the earlier portions of Proverbs belong to the post-Solomonic age, he would refer the Book of Job to an even later date. In his estimate it probably belongs to the period immediately following the captivity of the northern tribes, as held by Ewald and others, or to the time of the captivity of Judah, as favored by such critics as Davidson and Cheyne. On the evidences for such a belief, in the altogether speculative nature of the question, it is not necessary to linger. Holding thus to the later date for the authorship of Job, the commentator believes him to have been an exile of the northern kingdom who had widely traveled and had enriched his own tongue by the ideas and words of other countries. As to Job's book, it is autobiographical rather than imaginative. "In some hour of burning memory and revived experience he has caught at the history of one who, yonder in a valley of the eastern wilderness, knew the shocks of time and pain, though his heart was right with God; and in the heat of his spirit the poet-exile makes the story of that life into a drama of the trial of human faith—his own endurance and vindication, his own sorrow and hope." On the author's consideration of the successive scenes in this ancient tragedy it is not possible to dwell. But it is enough to say that he interprets the story of Job with a vividness and a skill which deserve only commendation.

Dr. Marcus Dods, the author of the second volume under notice, has furnished at least three other numbers of the present series of commentaries. It falls to his portion in the present instance to discuss the sublime events in the close of the Saviour's earthly life, as recorded by St. John. Without any particularly noticeable feature in his process he has written a running comment on the impressive events that displays both scholarship and constructive tact. All lovers of the fourth gospel will be interested to possess this work, especially as it is the second of two volumes on the gospel of St. John.

The contrast between the Galatian and the Ephesian epistles is the sentiment with which Professor Findlay begins his present commentary. The first epistle suggests the battlefield; the second, the quiet of the temple. "It is as though a door were suddenly opened in heaven; it shuts behind us, and earthly tumult dies away. The contrast between these two writings, following each other in the established order of the epistles, is singular and in some regard extreme. They are, respectively, the most combative and peaceful, the most impassioned and unimpassioned, the most concrete and abstract, the most human and divine amongst the great apostle's writings." Discovering in the general epistle such topics as Praise and Prayer, Doctrine, and practical teachings on Church Life and Christian Morals, the commentator has followed this line of discussion in his scrutiny of the Ephesian epistle. His work as a whole is no less able than the two others in our present classification.

All of the above volumes belong to "The Expositor's Bible Series," of which A. C. Armstrong & Son, New York, are the publishers. The reader who is already familiar with the series needs not to be told that its

numbers are general in their nature rather than textually exegetical, and are to be valued as books of practical reference rather than works of over-erudite scholarship.

Genesis Printed in Colors. Showing the Original Sources from which It is Supposed to Have Been Compiled. With an Introduction. By EDWIN CONE BISSELL, Professor in McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago. 8vo, pp. 59. Hartford: Belknap & Warfield. Price, cloth, $1.25.

The mystery surrounding the authorship of Genesis has as yet proved baffling to Christian scholarship. Whether the book is a compilation from previously existing documents; if so, how many the original sources from which it was gathered; and who the unknown redactor may have been that made the compilation, are questions belonging to the general subject whose solution waits for the future. Their mystery, in short, is a part of the indefiniteness surrounding those far-away, enigmatic, semi-visionary times of Genesis itself. We have no novel theory to advance upon this unknown authorship, in the brief notice of the work now under review; nor does Professor Bissell himself suggest any new explanation of the difficulties that encompass the question. Holding the matter on the contrary in abeyance, as well as the relation of a composite authorship to "the authenticity, authority, and divine inspiration of Genesis," he has rather attempted in his work to present the text of Genesis in a manner best calculated to show the original sources of the sacred book. The scheme of textual analysis is that of Kautzsch and Socin, and is remarkable in its ingenuity. By the use of blue, black, green, lemon, orange, brown, and red inks, documents P, J, J^1, JE, E, and others are indicated; so that the user of the analysis has before him in concrete form the position of the higher critics on the construction of Genesis. As a faithful student of the Pentateuch, Professor Bissell has done the world of exact scholarship a lasting service in the preparation of the present volume. The critical student of the Hebraic text will find it valuable as a book of reference, in these days of discussion as to the authorship of the early books of Scripture.

Illustrative Notes. A Guide to the Study of the Sunday School Lessons for 1893. Including Original and Selected Expositions, Plans of Instruction, Illustrative Anecdotes, Practical Applications, Archæological Notes, Library References, Maps, Pictures, Diagrams. By JESSE L. HURLBUT, D.D., and ROBERT R. DOHERTY, Ph.D. 8vo, pp. 387. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, $1.25.

Helps in the study of the International Lessons have long since become an indispensable part of the Sunday school literature of the day. The ordinary commentary will not suffice. For the elementary students of our Sabbath schools a simplified form of lesson comment is necessary; for those who are more advanced, an exposition which has been prepared with the thought of the practical needs of the users; and for all, a separate volume which is portable in its size and exclusive in its purpose. No qualification of this sort, or of others that might be mentioned, seems to be lacking in the case of the *Illustrative Notes* now under comment. With

each recent new year we have been called upon to give a critical estimate of the successive volumes in the series; and of them all we have had occasion to speak only commendatory words. The present volume is, if it may be, superior to its predecessors. But how is it possible to add to words of recommendation already superlative? Nothing seems wanting. In its expositions of the successive lessons, its "Hints to Teachers." "Practical Thoughts," and "Illustrations for the Use of Teachers" the *Notes* have provided for the most diverse and critical needs. In its letterpress and illustrations the volume is equal to the best Sunday school publications of the day. We have no additions to propose to the subject matter of the *Notes*. The publication should have the largest sale in its history.

The Thorn in the Flesh; or, A Religious Meditation on Affliction. By J. W. ETTER, D.D. With an Introduction by Bishop JOHN F. HURST, D.D., LL.D. 12mo, pp. 107. Price, 60 cents.

With Paul's "thorn in the flesh"—which he thinks was "some disease of the eyes"—as a point of departure, Dr. Etter writes strongly and thoughtfully of the moral dangers, the remedies, and the benefits of ill health. Though he names his book "a religious meditation," yet its style is rather didactic than meditative, furnishing many suggestive ideas fitted to feed the burdened mind when in its reflective and contemplative moods. In his final chapter the doctor discusses the question of "Divine Healing." After rightly denouncing the so-called "Christian science" as "a stupendous fraud," he gives his reasons for believing that we cannot reject the evidences of latter-day miraculous healing without also rejecting "the evidences of every miracle, ancient and modern." This would be sound reasoning, perhaps, if the "evidences" of miraculous power in each case were proven to be identical, which identity, however, the writer does not attempt to prove. Hence many of his readers will incline to the opinion that he leans too much toward the charlatanry he condemns. With this exception, it is safe to say that this little book is so instructively written, and is so tender and sweet in its spirit, that it can scarcely fail to become as a "ministering angel" to such children of affliction as may have the opportunity to peruse it.

The Evolution of Christianity. By M. J. SAVAGE. 12mo, pp. 178. Boston: George H. Ellis. Price, cloth, $1.

Only advanced thinkers can appreciate the sentiments of these sermonic addresses. From the usual standpoint they are crowded with statements that shock the faith of the believer. Among their startling announcements we find such propositions as the following: The difference between Christianity and other religions is one of degree rather than of kind; the patriarchs, Abraham and Isaac, Jacob and Joseph, are largely traditional figures; Jesus was born at Nazareth, and not in Bethlehem; he did not teach doctrine, organize a Church, or establish any sacraments; it is not certain whether he believed himself the Messiah or not; the atonement was not necessary; the Jewish race is to be absolved from

"that hideous load of imaginary guilt under which they have labored for centuries, of having consciously or purposely, or even ignorantly, put to death the Son of God;" we do not now need a Trinity; the infallible revelation of the supernatural "has gone;" the question as to whether a man shall live again can only be settled by science; there is no fixed condition in the future life; the future religion will be a combination of "the heart of Christ and the clear-headed guidance of the finest knowledge that the world can possibly attain." We might quote at more length from this unusual volume, were more extracts needed to show the advanced position which the author has reached. They well illustrate the lengths to which that liberty would go for whose exercise the demand is so strenuously made.

Christ and the Inheritance of the Saints. Illustrated in a Series of Discourses from the Colossians. By THOMAS GUTHRIE, D.D. 12mo, pp. 344. New York: E. B. Treat. Price, cloth, $1.

Out of Harness. Sketches, Narrative and Descriptive. By THOMAS GUTHRIE, D.D. 12mo, pp. 388. New York: E. B. Treat. Price, cloth, $1.

Dr. Guthrie was a preacher renowned for eloquence, learning, and spiritual force. His sermons attracted the scholarly and the ignorant, the aristocracy and the common people. The first volume above mentioned is a series of discourses, founded on Paul's Epistle to the Colossians, which exalt Christ and the privileges of the saints in him. Purely scriptural in substance, and agreeing with the general faith, they are good reading for the times. Seeming to be the product of an evangelical mind uninfluenced by environment or the condition of society, and, therefore, without archaisms or local coloring, they are spiritual food to the hungry.

In the second volume the author appears as an essayist or magazine writer, confining himself chiefly to narrative and descriptive sketches. He describes towns, persons, schools, seasons, houses, and inscriptions, with clearness, fullness, and interest. The book is a reflection of histories, tastes, and habits of observation, and is written in an easy style.

Into His Marvelous Light: Studies in Life and Belief. By CHARLES CUTHBERT HALL, D.D., Minister of the First Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, N. Y. 12mo, pp. 354. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

In this admirably printed volume Dr. Hall has given twenty sermons to the reading public, gracefully dedicated to "the members of my congregation in the fifteenth year of our fellowship in the Gospel of Jesus Christ." These discourses treat of questions which relate to various phases of the ethical and spiritual life. We note as of special interest, "Christ the Pillar of Light;" "The Embrace of God;" "The Gift of Adversity;" "The Mountain Climb of Life;" and "The Retrospect of Trial." Dr. Hall possesses the "art of putting things." He writes strongly and suggestively. His style, mode of treatment, and illustrations are peculiarly his own, and the vein of tenderness running through his thoughts makes them powerful to move the heart of a Christian reader.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

The Democracy of Christianity; or, Equality in the Dealings of God with Men. By Rev. LORENZO WHITE, A.M. 12mo, pp. 307. New York: Printed by Hunt & Eaton. Price, $1.25.

This volume is the work of a strong and radical thinker who has the courage to give full expression to his convictions. It consists of a series of essays which, though formally independent of each other, are yet so connected by an intangible thread as to constitute a logical discussion of the central concept of the kingdom of God. This concept is, as the author states it, that "within the realm of responsibility it secures perfect or absolute freedom to all," and that "it assures all equality of opportunity for deserving and gaining the approval of God, and for achieving success in the probation of life." These two ideas, with their related topics, are discussed in a style which is generally clear and rises at times to epigrammatic force. The author's statement that human freedom is "freedom to elect for one's self between the path of rectitude and life and the sinful indulgence that leads to death," or as "power equally to sin and to abstain from sin," is well and strongly put. But when he affirms that "he whose probation is closed is no longer under the conditions of accountable freedom," and that to be "out of probation is to be out of the sphere of moral agency," one hesitates to accept a speculative proposition which leads him to the author's conclusion that "he whose probation ends in victory no longer faces the alternative choice between the right and wrong." This, if we interpret it correctly, means that once in heaven the man ceases to be the possessor of that liberty of choice which gives moral dignity to his nature while on earth. He then falls under that law of necessity which Mr. White opposes with such righteous indignation when treating of human freedom. It may be difficult to harmonize the certainty of a saved soul's everlasting loyalty to God with his absolute moral freedom; but we prefer to place that difficulty among things which are mysterious to us only because we now know them only in part, rather than to accept a theory which, by denying moral freedom to the redeemed, makes their obedience automatic. Overstatement of the "equality in probation" is also apparent in the author's discussion of this great question. All men, he claims, have now such equal opportunity to secure God's favor that "no one found on the left hand on the great day of awards will be able to say of one on the right hand, 'If I had had his probation I should now take his crown and he would suffer my doom.'" It may not be easy to overthrow the logic which supports this theory. But, remembering that Jesus once solemnly declared that if Tyre, Sidon, and Sodom had been as highly favored with miraculous influences as Capernaum was in his day they would have repented, one is inclined to think that there are such unknown factors in the administration of God as would, if known to men, upset the pillars on which much of the argument for this extreme view of absolute probational equality reposes. Perhaps the key to the apparent inequalities in men's probationary opportunities may be found in such an

equality of opportunity and of responsibility as to solve the problem. Our author's treatment of Christ's redemptive work, though substantially sound, is yet liable to be understood as understating its expiatory features. This is owing to his evident endeavor to impress the supreme importance of human effort on his readers. His discussion of the doctrine of a second probation is very satisfactory. And viewed as a whole there is so much in this book that is suggestive, stimulative of thought, sound in doctrine, and helpful to earnest seekers of truth that, without indorsing all its points, one may join its devout author in "commending it to the attention of all candid disciples."

The Foundations of Rhetoric. By ADAMS SHERMAN HILL, Boylston Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory in Harvard University. 12mo, pp. 337. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.

Three principles are fundamental, according to Professor Hill, in all good writing; these three being the use of no word in any other than its established sense, the placing of every word in the place fixed for it by the idiom of the language, and the use of no more words than are necessary to accomplish the purpose designed. So sensible and commonly accepted are these three basal regulations that there is no reason for their challenge here. For the instruction and help of elementary students Professor Hill has prepared the present treatise. And it is pleasant to notice that in his practical composition he is himself a satisfactory illustration of that perspicuity which makes for rhetorical excellence. Believing also in the value of object lessons, we are gratified that the author has made emphatic, by the abundant use of concrete illustrations, the abstract rules which he teaches. Much that is helpful to beginners and also suggestive to experienced writers is found in his pages. We cannot but commend the book, and believe that its use in our grammar schools and academies will contribute to the attainment of a good style, described by Swift as "proper words in proper places."

The Armies of To-day. A Description of the Armies of the Leading Nations at the Present Time. Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 438. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $3.50.

Warfare has long since become a science. In the earlier days, when the bow and arrow, the javelin, and the sling constituted the ordinary weapons of battle, fighting was desultory and informal. Every warrior was in some sense a guerrilla, hiding behind ambushes or fighting under the cover of the dark. But with the gradual construction of military weapons, the invention of gunpowder, the discovery of more terrible explosives, and the improvement in tactical practices, warfare has passed from the experimental stage and has attained a degree of scientific precision which the future will hardly surpass. The present volume may therefore in some sense be regarded as a description of approximately ideal conditions in military operations. Eight prominent authorities on the martial history and regulations of their respective nations contribute to the

work. They are Brigadier-General Wesley Merritt, U.S.A., General Viscount Wolseley, K.P., of Great Britain, Lieutenant-Colonel Exner, of the German army, General Lewal, of the French army, an unnamed Russian general, General Baron Von Kuhn, of the Austro-Hungarian army, G. Goiran, General Staff Colonel of the Italian army, and Thomas A. Janvier, of the Mexican army. Each of these writers, we have reason for inferring, may be considered an authority on the military customs of his nation. By comparison of part with part the diverse convictions and habits of the different nationalities will assume a stronger contrast; by consideration of the whole field of martial practice a growing admiration for the ingenuity of man, even in his purposes to kill his fellow, will be engendered. The Appendix added by Lieutenant-Colonel Exner, on "The Military Situation in Europe," is at once a practical and scientific portrayal of the present conditions in army life, as they exist on the European continent. Despite the grim nature of its subject-matter and a probably growing belief in the great benefits that would follow national arbitration, this volume must rank among the most attractive books of the season. Beautiful in print and superb in illustration, it will doubtless have many purchasers.

Did a Hen or an Egg Exist First? or, My Talks with a Skeptic. By JACOB HORNER. Edited by JAMES CROMPTON. 12mo, pp. 96. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

Under the peculiar and seemingly humorous title which this book bears various serious talks are published upon fundamental questions in science and religion. The conversations are familiar in their character, and are supposed to be carried on between the writer and his nephew, Tom Rod. In their aim they maintain the important principles of Christian faith, such as the creation and providence of God, human resurrection and immortality. While candid in its notice of the advanced scientific positions on these great questions, the dialogue is none the less earnest in its maintenance of the interests of revealed religion. It was originally designed as a "cheap and readable" book for English workingmen, and in its American edition should also interest similar thinkers on this side of the Atlantic.

Faith Healing, Christian Science, and Kindred Phenomena. By J. M. BUCKLEY, LL.D. 12mo, pp. 308. New York: The Century Co. Price, fancy cloth, $1.25.

The present volume is particularly fortunate in the subjects it discusses. While the study of the occult has always a charm for the reader, this is particularly the case when mental operations and the vital relations of mentality to the external world are involved. No list of topics involving the mysterious, and sometimes bordering on the supernatural, could be drawn up more fascinating than such matters as "Faith Healing," coincidences, dreams, somnambulism, presentiments, visions, apparitions, witchcraft, "Christian Science," and "Mind Cure." Into this large arena of discussion the author enters as one who has long made the study of

psychical processes a specialty and knows with confidence whereof he writes. It is only in harmony with the facts to say that he has considered the intricate questions involved in a truly scientific spirit. Calm, philosophical, and searching in his attitude, no antagonist can charge charlatanism upon his methods. But it also agrees with the facts to say that Dr. Buckley has avoided, by the abundant use of illustrations, the undue wearisomeness that often attaches to a scientific discussion. Fortunate as he is in having a world-wide field from which to draw concrete instances that are pertinent to the discussion, he has so availed himself of this opportunity that his book is charmful upon every page. No more truly scientific or interesting volume has lately appeared discussing the mysterious and phenomenal in mental operation.

Selections from the Poetical Works of Robert Browning. Vignette Edition. With One Hundred New Illustrations by THOMAS MCILVAINE. 12mo, pp. 474. Price, fancy cloth, $1.50.

Aurora Leigh, and Other Poems. By ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING. Vignette Edition. With Numerous Illustrations by FREDERICK C. GORDON. 12mo, pp. 415. Price, fancy cloth, $1.50.

The poems of the Brownings need no specification or elucidation here. In the present instance it is the nature of the edition published that calls for particular notice. By a happy fortune the two poets, who were so joined in their work and lives, are now favored with similar issues of some of their choice compositions. In this fact sentiment will find a coincidence and a pleasure. And it is certain that no poet could wish for a more tasty edition of his works than those now considered. Beautiful alike in their ornamental covers, mechanical preparation, and illustrations, the companion volumes are among the most attractive poetical works of the holiday season. The Frederick A. Stokes Company, of New York, are the publishers.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

India and Malaysia. By Bishop J. M. THOBURN, Thirty-three Years a Missionary in India. 8vo, pp. 562. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, $2.

The devout student who would recognize God in history; the preacher who would stimulate his hearers by reports of what is really doing in the progress of Christ's kingdom; the pastor who would lead his flock into invigorating pastures, cannot consent to ignore this unpretentious yet powerful history of what its far-seeing writer believes to be "the mightiest movement of the globe." Nor can we believe that the reader who may come to this book in a receptive frame of mind can finish it without having reached an opinion very much in harmony with the author's outspoken conviction. A singleness of aim, united with a complete knowledge of his topic, results in making a most readable book, though it is a volume of nearly six hundred pages, with a title uninteresting to the

majority. In the first ten of the more than forty chapters Bishop Thoburn rapidly discusses the topographical, ethnological, political, and religious features of India, and in each aspect gives the broadest view in the most condensed style. The English occupation of India is regarded from the providential standpoint, and in the opening paragraphs of chapter iv this is most clearly outlined. A more popular setting forth of the philological treasures of that wonderful land than he gives in chapter ii we are unable to recall, where the eleven leading nations of the empire are enumerated, seven of Aryan and four of Dravidian stock. The principal religions of the empire are delineated with a fair-mindedness which must impress the reader most pleasantly. The thought is with the reader as he enjoys these chapters that were Hindoos or Mohammedans, Buddhists or devotees his hearers, the bishop's impartiality of statement and hearty appreciativeness of what is good in these "broken lights" would compel their dispassionate attention. From chapters xi to xv the reader is given a complete, if condensed, history of early efforts to introduce Christianity into India. The first of these chapters effectually does away with the often-met assumption of Roman Catholic successes. Francis Xavier's history is given sympathetically, yet it is only when the writer, with fervid pen, describes the toils and triumphs of that great apostle of modern missions, William Carey, that we really catch the spirit which thrills him and must stir any but the most stolid of readers. With chapter xvi begins the third part of the book, dealing with the missions of our own communion from their earliest beginning, through their providential growth, to the immense proportions of to-day, which only suggest the vastness of what is yet to be. In the course of this history that essential equipment of the historian, the fair-mindedness which is a marked characteristic of Bishop Thoburn, again impresses us. With him history is history; and whether his may have been the winning or the losing side matters little to this clear-eyed watcher of God's purposes as he unfolds the history of the taking of the mighty land of India for Christ. As an excellent illustration of what we mean we may refer to chapter xxii, where he writes the story of the much-discussed policy of "self-support." The three chapters on "Women of India," "Education Among Women," and "Medical Work for Women" were written by Miss Thoburn and reflect the same spirit of breadth and impartiality which by this time may well be called Thoburnesque!

We venture the opinion that the heart of this book is to be found in the pages from chapters xxxi to xxxv, which might all have for their general title "Open Doors." As giving the true spirit of the book we may extract from the closing paragraph of chapter xxxv: "In the preceding five chapters I have, in addition to brief notices of other fields, sketched in bare outline thirteen vast regions, each capable of furnishing material enough to make a Christian empire, into which we have been led in the providence of God, and are fully committed to do our share of evangelization. . . . I regard it as practically certain that within a very few years we could report an average of from five to ten thousand converts for each one

of these fields every year. . . . We are compelled to go forward. Never did the providence of God, working in harmony with the revealed word, and with the clear and widely-felt promptings of the Holy Spirit, call more clearly or in louder tones to any people to engage in any specific line of Christian duty." Two chapters besides treat on life in India and on Indian music, which latter is a monograph upon an interesting topic too little known or studied. Three chapters more set forth the claims of Malaysia, as Bishop Thoburn calls that part of the East Indian Archipelago occupied by the Malay races; and here is told the story, reading like one long romance, of our work in Singapore. We know of no better vindication of the superiority in foreign mission work of that form of church government which includes episcopal supervision than this book, so imperial in its scope and apostolic in its spirit. A second edition might well provide maps, without which the book cannot be the most intelligently read. Its twenty-seven illustrations are superior in execution, and, having been made expressly for the work, really illustrate the letter-press. The well-known name of its author, who always commands a hearing on both sides of the world, will contribute much to the general introduction of the volume.

Three Episodes of Massachusetts History: The Settlement of Boston Bay; The Antinomian Controversy; A Study of Church and Town Government. By CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS. Two volumes. Crown 8vo, pp. 1067. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, for the two volumes, $4.

While, as Mr. Adams observes, "in a narrow sense this book is a history of the town of Quincy, in Massachusetts," it is so related to general history that, in reality, it is what its title purports. The story of repeated attempts at an established settlement in Boston Bay, by Weston, Morton, and especially Gorges, is told with considerable detail—though these attempts were of little significance, except as Gorges's charter, giving him and those associated with him all the territory from the Atlantic to the Pacific, between the fortieth and forty-eighth degrees of latitude, or practically all the Northern States of our Union, enabled him to make trouble in later years. The coming of Endicott to Salem, and Winthrop to Boston, as governor under the charter of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, made the settlement a permanency. The next sixteen years, whose history Mr. Adams follows, were years of trouble, and included the struggle for the revocation of the charter. This struggle would, beyond question, have been successful had not Charles I, Laud, and Wentworth found themselves so occupied that they had no leisure for attention to a plantation across the sea. Indeed, there was a time when the danger was great; when Winthrop was ordered to send the charter to England, but diplomatically delayed; when a governor-general under the Gorges grant was designated; and when it seemed that there would be a New England without the Puritans. But in the colony the people were of one mind. Partisans of Gorges, like Morton and Ratcliff, were as brutally treated as the Star-chamber treated its victims, and were banished. "What ought

we to do if a general governor should be sent out of England?" asked the governor and the assistants of the assembled ministers of the colony. With one voice they replied, "We ought not to accept him, but defend our lawful possessions if we are able." This episode is vividly described by the author. The second episode of Massachusetts history took in the inner life of the colony, when, in addition to its struggle for existence against the machinations of Gorges, it was for two years in turmoil over the so-called Antinomian controversy. Anne Hutchinson was evidently in perfect innocency at the bottom of it. Coming from England in 1634, only four years after Winthrop, she found the women of the Church in the habit of meeting on a week day and talking over the discourses of the preceding Sabbath. In time they met at her house. She was not versed in theology, but had read her Bible to some purpose, and, more than that, she had drunk of its spirit. Thinking that some of the ministers preached more as the apostles did before the Pentecost than after, she affirmed that they proclaimed a covenant of works instead of grace. Though none of her utterances would create a ripple in the Boston of to-day, yet she was deemed to have spoken disparagingly of ministers! The government, being a Church State, in which harmony of religious belief must prevail, and of that belief the ministers being judges, the upshot was Mrs. Hutchinson's excommunication by the Church, her banishment by the State, and the self-exile of the best people of the colony. The story as told by Mr. Adams is one of the romantic episodes of early New England history. The transition to the building of a church and a town is easy. Accordingly, Mr. Adams next narrates the history of Braintree, of which Quincy was a part, as a typical one. It is the story for two hundred and fifty years, not only of a town, but of a people legislating on the gravest questions, and in their own way carving out their own destinies. The town is the Massachusetts unit. Its work as described in these pages, as also all the history which is outlined, is well worth the study of the political philosopher.

Moltke: His Life and Character. Sketched in Journals, Letters, Memoirs, a Novel, and Autobiographical Notes. With Illustrations from Drawings by Moltke, Portraits, and Fac-simile Letters. Translated by MARY HERMS. 8vo, pp. 332. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $3.

If there be any value in the study of biography, the scrutiny of such a character as that of the great field-marshal of Germany will yield most satisfactory results. Blessed with a life of ninety-one years, he had been a leader in the martial affairs of continental Europe during the memory of more than two generations. Held also in high esteem upon the American shores, as on the European continent, the publication of his life story, now that he has departed, can only be confirmatory of the convictions as to his greatness which have before prevailed. We should value this biography. Judged by many standards of measurement Von Moltke was one of the first warriors of the century. In his student preparation he gave promise of more than usual success; in his later leadership he consecrated to

Germany that intellectual vigor, that skill in strategy, and that bravery in battle whose record is gathered in the present volume from various authentic sources. But Von Moltke was more than a warrior. Over the romance of his love and marriage the reader lingers with tender sentiment. Into the retirement of his old age we follow him with reverent inquiry as to the right use of the closing days of life. Though attaining an extreme age, as already remarked, he never grew superannuated in thought. Simple in his habits of life, industrious in practice, optimistic in spirit, and a Christian in his religious belief, he has left a noble example, not only for German admirers, but for the world. The omission of his portrait, as known in elder life, is the one seeming blemish in an otherwise exceptional biography. Although appearing in another number of the series, yet it seems to be needed here. It is pleasant to read in the volume the commendation of William I to Von Moltke that his name "will be recorded in the history of all times." Because he was truly a great man, not only in deeds, but much more in character, he belongs to all continents and centuries.

The Bishop's Conversion. By ELLEN BLACKMAR MAXWELL. Introduction by JAMES M. THOBURN. 12mo, pp. 384. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, $1.50.

This is a story of missionary life in India, written by an Indian missionary. There has long been need of such a book. For several years past it has been the fashion for tourists, official and unofficial, after three months' travel in India, to enlighten the American public from the platform, the pulpit, and through the press as to everything in that vast country, including the methods of mission work, the success or failure of missions, the home-life of the missionaries, and the character of the native Christians. The result has been to create in some quarters the impression that the cause of missions was not making much headway, that the converts were but little better than the heathen, and that the missionaries were leading lives of luxurious ease. It was high time that these impressions should be corrected, and this book does so most effectually. Under the guise of a story—in which there is, of course, a love episode—the sorrows and joys, the risks and felicities, the failures and successes of missionary life are delineated with great vividness and power. To those who are at all familiar with the gifted author's life the book possesses a peculiar pathos. She has paid a great price to be able to write as she does; and she is entitled to speak with authority. It is well that the defense of Indian missions should come from a woman. The women of India have suffered most grievous degradation from both Hindoos and Mohammedans. The Christian women who go down into their lives to lift them up must sacrifice themselves correspondingly. They touch the inner circle of the Inferno called heathenism. And much of the work which they do for their dusky sisters is so completely shut in by the walls of the zenana that the general public finds difficulty in understanding its extent and its utility. This book contains the most vivid, and, in some

respects, the most valuable description of some of the phases and difficulties of that work which has appeared in print. The only criticism which one would venture to make upon the picture here painted is that the trials and infelicities of missionary life have been collected from a wide field and from the experiences of many missionaries, and are concentrated in the city of Lucknow and brought within a single year. The result is that the brighter colors in the lives of the missionaries are obscured. There is a bright side to mission life and work. This book should be read by every minister before he takes his missionary collection. It should be perused by every one who has thought lightly of the sacrifice made by those who go to the foreign field. It ought to be weighed by every Methodist who has doubted as to the correctness of the policy of the Church in carrying on missions among the heathen. It will especially enlighten those who have been inclined to complain of the slow growth of self-support, and should be an inspiration to heartier sympathy with and support of the cause of foreign missions.

Records of Tennyson, Ruskin, Browning. Illustrated. By ANNE THACKERAY RITCHIE. 8vo, pp. 190. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, fancy cloth, $2.

For those who are not in personal relations with the great authors of the world the reminiscences of friends are always valuable, as well as the special records that are gathered concerning the characteristics of such noted writers and their methods of work. Of this character is the present volume. The author writes as one who has been in touch with Tennyson, though the poet has passed to the spirit world since this composition. From personal and pleasant associations with Ruskin and the Brownings, also, the writer describes some of their graces of life and habits of work. We must be grateful to Mrs. Ritchie for thus lifting the curtain which hides the private lives of these prominent leaders in modern literature. For what she has said, no less than for the charming manner in which the publishers have issued her volume, the reader will feel his indebtedness.

Henry Martyn, Saint and Scholar, First Modern Missionary to the Mohammedans, 1781–1812. With Portrait and Illustrations. By GEORGE SMITH, C.I.E., LL.D., Author of *Life of William Carey*, etc. 8vo, pp. 580. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, $3.

The subject of this memoir was no ordinary missionary worker. In turning the pages of the volume the reader feels much of the reverence that moves him when standing in the very presence of a great leader in Christian work. Not only was Henry Martyn the first in chronological order of those who have gone out to teach the Mohammedans of India the way of life, but in all that constitutes missionary self-denial and heroism he has set the example for those who have since carried the Gospel to that heathen land. The extreme conscientiousness of Martyn, with his entire dedication to his chosen work, is a feature of the present biographical review which Dr. Smith makes very clear to the reader. Like a maxim that could only have been born of introspection and wrestling prayer was the watchword with

which the great missionary entered India, "Now let me burn out for God." Greater zeal for missionary labor on the part of the lukewarm should be the result of contemplating such passionate enthusiasm as this. For the first time the story of Lydia Grenfell, and the unrealized love between herself and Martyn, is fully told. One cannot but feel in the reading of the sad story that their union would have repressed some of the morbid and almost ascetic tendencies of Martyn, would have lengthened his days, and would have increased his usefulness. That he could have effected so much and have died so young is one of the permanent lessons of the present biographical notice. Since Sargent's *Memoir of Martyn*, in 1819, and Wilberforce's publication of *Martyn's Journals and Letters*, in 1837, an adequate life of the great missionary has not appeared until the present volume. It is a most worthy book, and in its fullness of information deserves a place in all Christian libraries.

The Duchess of Berry and the Court of Louis XVIII. With Portrait. By IMBERT DE SAINT-AMAND. Translated by ELIZABETH GILBERT MARTIN. 12mo, pp. 301. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $1.25.

Whoever feels that the life of royalty is free from the ills and sorrows which beset ordinary life will have the illusion dispelled in the reading of this historic volume. Shade and sunshine alternated with one another in the life of the Duchess of Berry. A Neapolitan by birth, she became a French woman by adoption and wedded the Duke of Berry at the early age of seventeen. Her married life began under auspices most favorable. The genuine welcome which she received from the royal family of France, and the sincere love of her estimable husband during their brief wedded life, were the bright features in her experience. The loss of her infant children and the cruel assassination of the Duke, leaving her in widowhood at the early age of twenty-one, are the somber colors in the royal picture. But the book is not only a narrative of the tragedy that filled a woman's life. From her relation to the public affairs of France one will naturally expect in this memoir glimpses as well of the political agitations of her day and of many of the doings of the court of Louis XVIII. So far as the limits of the volume allow, these views of public life are also given and cannot but add to the information of the student of history.

The Youth of Frederick the Great. By ERNEST LAVISSE, Professor at the Sorbonne, Paris. Translated from the French by MARY BUSHNELL COLEMAN. 12mo, pp. 445. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Company. Price, cloth, $2.

The childhood experiences of great men constitute some of the most interesting as well as the most important chapters of modern history. In the case of Frederick the Great the tragic incidents of his youth and early manhood lose nothing by their frequent repetition. Miss Coleman has now translated from the French of Professor Lavisse the familiar story of the younger days of the great king. The boorishness and tyranny of Frederick William, the love of Wilhelmina and her brother, the efforts of the younger Frederick to escape from his irascible father, his imprison-

ment, and the execution of Katte, all receive their adequate notice in the volume. Though narrating only the youthful career of the great Frederick prior to his assumption of the throne, and seeming to close abruptly, yet this is all that in the outset the book proposes. Without particular feature in translation, the author reopens an important chapter in Prussian history.

MISCELLANEOUS.

On Wheels: and How I Came There. A Real Story for Real Boys and Girls. Giving the Personal Experiences and Observations of a Fifteen-Year-Old Yankee Boy as Soldier and Prisoner in the American Civil War. By Private W. B. SMITH, of Company K, 14th Illinois Volunteer Infantry. Edited by Rev. JOSEPH GATCH BONNELL, of the St. John's River Conference, Florida. 12mo, pp. 338. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, $1.

The title of this book is its sufficient explanation. The story is one of march and bivouac, skirmish and battle, freedom and imprisonment, hope and sadness. It might be the story of many of the volunteers who marched out to war in the late rebellion. It is the record of a hero who bears the life-long marks of his patriotic service in the physical disability that has come to him as the result of his army life. The generation which have become readers of our war literature since the great struggle finished will find much profit in these thrilling reminiscences.

Quest and Vision. Essays in Life and Literature. By W. J. DAWSON, Author of *The Church of To-morrow.* 12mo, pp. 233. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, 90 cents.

This is a valuable series of papers in their vigor of thought and grace of diction. The author has written on Shelley, Wordsworth, Longfellow, George Eliot, and George Meredith, besides essays on "Religious Doubt and Modern Poetry" and "The Poetry of Despair." The latter paper has more particular reference to the work of Matthew Arnold and James Thomson. All that Mr. Dawson writes is popular on this side of the Atlantic. In the present case his essays are alike stimulative to thought and provocative of relish for the higher literature.

Practical Hints on Junior League Work. By WILBERT P. FERGUSON, B.D., of the New York East Conference. With an Introduction by Rev. J. F. BERRY, D.D., Editor of the *Epworth Herald.* 16mo, pp. 103. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, 30 cents.

With the Epworth League have come the origin and development of the Junior League department. Such a result is not strange. No radical movement for the help of the young people of the Methodist Episcopal Church could arise that would not indirectly include the children of our communion. It would seem that the Junior Leagues are calculated to take the place of the "children's class" so long known in Methodism. Yet, if so, it is one of the unavoidable evolutions of the day. Such literature as the present handbook certainly has its value. The author has seem-

ingly given much attention to the Junior League work. His book is filled with "hints" that seem most "practical" on the organization and conduct of such children's associations. It should have a general use.

Sharp Eyes. A Rambler's Calendar of Fifty-two Weeks Among Insects, Birds, and Flowers. By WILLIAM HAMILTON GIBSON, Author of *Strolls by Starlight and Sunshine*, etc. Illustrated by the Author. 8vo, pp. 322. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, ornamental, gilt tops, $5.

The introduction to this unusual volume has been entitled by Mr. Gibson "Through My Spectacles." Sharp, indeed, has been the vision with which he has explored the different departments of natural history and brought to light the mysteries of the insect, bird, and plant creation. With such a practiced guide as he, the most careless and indifferent could not "walk the woods and fields" and find nature a sealed book. Corresponding to the four periods of the year, the author has entitled his general divisions "Spring," "Summer," "Autumn," and "Winter," and therein considers many of the wonders of nature belonging to these separate seasons. The book is altogether unusual. Not only is its subject matter valuable, because of the high reputation of its author, but also in its print and illustration it is exquisite beyond description. Harper & Brothers have fairly outdone themselves in the issue of so superlative a work.

Christmas Every Day, and Other Stories. Told for Children. By W. D. HOWELLS. 12mo, pp. 150. New York: Harper & Brothers. Cloth.

This book is written by one of our best-known authors, and in a style to charm the ears of childhood listeners.

In His Own Way. By CARLISLE B. HOLDING, Author of *Her Ben*, etc. 12mo, pp. 296. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

That Boy Mick. By ANNIE FRANCES PERRAM, Author of *Go Work*, etc. 12mo, pp. 193. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

Thrilling Scenes in the Persian Kingdom. The Story of a Scribe. By EDWIN MACMINN. 12mo, pp. 323. Price, cloth, $1.10.

A Knight That Smote the Dragon; or, The Young People's Gough. By EDWARD A. RAND, Author of *Deeds Worth Telling*, etc. 12mo, pp. 189. Price, cloth, 90 cents.

The above are safe and profitable books for younger readers. The third is a chapter in important history, clothed in interesting form. The fourth is a sketch of John B. Gough which is most readable. All the volumes are among the later publications of Hunt & Eaton, New York, and Cranston & Curts, Cincinnati.

Select Notes. A Commentary on the International Lessons for 1893. Explanatory, Illustrative, Doctrinal, and Practical; with Illustrations, Maps, Pictures, Chronology of the Old Testament, Chronology of the Acts, Suggestions to Teachers, Library References. By Rev. F. N. PELOUBET, D.D., and M. A. PELOUBET. 8vo, 340. Boston: W. A. Wilde & Co. Price, cloth, $1.25.

In spite of strictures the International Lessons for Sunday schools still maintain their place in the preference of the Christian world. Among the many "helps" to the understanding of these lessons a wide and deserving

recognition has been given to the *Select Notes* of Dr. Peloubet. The volume for 1893 is now issued and fully maintains the standard of previous issues. In the excellence of its maps, illustrations, and practical helps to teaching it is superior.

The Bunny Stories. For Young People. By JOHN HOWARD JEWETT. With Seventy-eight Illustrations by CULMER BARNES. 8vo, pp. 210. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. Price, cloth, $1.75.

Among the readable stories for the little folks this book deserves mention for its narrative and its illustrations.

Blasts from a Ram's Horn. Also an Account of the Author's Conversion. By Rev. ELIJAH P. BROWN, Editor of *The Ram's Horn.* With an Introduction by Rev. H. A. BUCHTEL, D.D. 12mo, pp. 388. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, $1.20.

Unusual in style and clear in its discernment of human peculiarities, this vigorous criticism of men and of Christians is not always astray from the truth. All who are acquainted with the trenchant method of the author will recognize the practical value of much that he has here written.

Wordsworth's Grave, and other Poems. By WILLIAM WATSON. 16mo, pp. 94. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. Price, fancy cloth, $1.

The Wit and Wisdom of Charles Lamb. With Anecdotes by His Contemporaries. Selected and Arranged by ERNEST DRESSEL NORTH. 16mo, pp. 261. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price, fancy cloth, $1.

The Desire of Beauty. Being Indications for Æsthetic Culture. By THEODORE CHILD. 16mo, pp. 178. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, fancy cloth, 75 cents.

Rings and Love Knots. By SAMUEL MINTURN PECK, Author of *Cap and Bells.* 16mo, pp. 149. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. Price, fancy cloth, $1.

Children: Their Models and Critics. By AURETTA ROYS ALDRICH. 16mo, pp. 158. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, fancy cloth, 75 cents.

Some of the above handbooks are in prose form, some are poetical. All belong to the higher order of general literature. Each of them may be read with profit in a leisure hour.

The Berean Senior Lesson Book on the International Lessons for 1893. 16mo, pp. 202. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, boards, 15 cents.

The Berean Intermediate Lesson Book on the International Lessons for 1893. 16mo, pp. 188. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, boards, 15 cents.

The Berean Beginner's Lesson Book on the International Lessons for 1893. 16mo, pp. 198. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, boards, 15 cents.

These are the familiar and popular lesson helps for the younger scholars of the Sunday schools of the Methodist Episcopal Church. They have been prepared with much care, and are replete with all necessary instruction on the several lessons. None are superior, and none should be given the preference by the schools of our denomination.

A Skinner

METHODIST REVIEW.

MARCH, 1893.

ART. I.—AMOS SHINKLE.

THE subject of this sketch was born August 11, 1818, on White Oak Creek, Brown County, O., and died in Covington, Ky., November 13, 1892. These dates represent the beginning and end of an extraordinary life, worthy of study and permanent record. He was the son of parents who came as children from Pennsylvania in 1797 to what was then known as the Northwest Territory. His boyhood was passed amid plain and unimpressive scenery, located between the settled East and the undeveloped West; and, as the sunrise of marvelous material prosperity kindled all the land with its glow and called to quickened labor, he challenged the brightness and claimed a part of it as his heritage. He availed himself of such educational advantages as those days afforded, and after completing its curriculum was counted quite competent to teach the school in which his early training had been secured. But ambition turned toward active pursuits rather than studious meditation. At seventeen years of age he kept his father's books, and soon afterward engaged in the lumber business in eastern Kentucky, cutting trees and making the timber into furniture and carrying it for sale on rafts down the river as far as New Orleans. Money acquired in these ventures was invested in the grocery trade, which ended in failure because of too great confidence in [illegible]dit system then in general use. The liabilities thus incurred were discharged as soon as possible to the last dollar, although under the law, since he was only twenty years of age, he could not have been held for their payment. Thus early

did integrity become the corner stone of the edifice of his prosperity. He builded wisely at the outset, and the years brought symmetry and strength to the structure.

While living in Higginsport, from 1838 to 1845, he took an active interest in the military matters of the State, and was commissioned by Governor Shannon as first lieutenant of artillery in the eighth division of the Ohio militia. He offered himself and company for service at the front in the Mexican War, but, going to Cincinnati to be mustered in, was disappointed in his patriotic purpose, as no more volunteers were needed. November 10, 1842, he was married to Miss Sarah Jane Hughes, and in 1846 his only child, Bradford, was born. In August of the same year he settled in Covington, Ky., with a hard-earned capital of fifteen hundred dollars, considerable experience in business, and a keen desire to achieve fortune in this new and broader area.

His training in the Ohio militia served him happily when afterward, as Colonel of the Kentucky Home Guards, he was commandant of Covington during the Kirby Smith raid; and the lessons he had learned in the little store, in the forests of the Big Sandy, and in trade along the Ohio and Mississippi were to be utilized in vigorous and enlarged commercial competitions. His removal to Covington opened his real business career, distinguished to the last for farsighted wisdom and stainless integrity. He engaged at once in the coal trade on the river from Cincinnati to New Orleans, gaining each year large returns, until he retired from it in 1864, already a capitalist. The Covington and Cincinnati Bridge was conceived by him in 1856, and in manifold discouragements he never lost faith in its final success until its completion ten years later. He was president of the bridge and gas companies, was the founder and president of the First National Bank, and was associated, either as director or president, with other corporations too numerous to mention. He was for a long time prominent in Odd Fellow and Masonic circles, was interested in local politics, was a member of the school board and, for a time, president of the city council. A man must think of something outside of himself or stagnate; hence Mr. Shinkle's public-spirited endeavor that Covington should be no mean city was a strong and constant impulse, efficient in outward result and also in the enrichment of

his own character. His connection with the school board inaugurated a change in the architecture of the school buildings, an improvement tending to beauty and utility. Many of the financial enterprises which eventually contributed to his own fortune were conceived in a large-minded desire to benefit the city of his adoption. Few men have ever more thoroughly commanded public confidence. His name was a bond, and his fellow-citizens gave no thought when his vigorous vigilance was in control of their interests and institutions. On every hand can be seen substantial proofs of his disinterested, sagacious activity, in the betterment of the social and material condition of the community in which he lived.

In certain periods there has been a restricted recognition of capacity. Society has turned to a few departments for its ideals of eminence. The man on horseback, sword in hand, marching to conquest, has won and worn the laurel. The orator, thinker, philosopher, statesman has been in turn counted as eminent, while others equally worthy have been overlooked. The notable development of this country in recent years has introduced another class of men, conspicuous in their ability and work, as candidates for favor and fame. The new continent, which our fathers settled, offered an opportunity in its virgin soil and undeveloped resources for the exercise of brain and brawn such as the fields of chivalry never suggested. Amos Shinkle, in the secular aspect of his character, was a business man; he was not a scholar or a statesman, but a man of affairs, judicial in his mental quality, studying events in their germs, working for years among present, practical forces until his mastery over them was complete and the acknowledgment of his power was unquestioned. He had to make his own way; no strong friendship threw over him its shield of protection, no ancestral fortress invited him to its security. He fought for and won his footing. When the difficulties inhering in the problem of life are considered, limited success—even the earning of an honest livelihood and the maintenance of an average position—entitles to praise; but when the barrier of hostile fate is overcome by far-reaching deed the achievement becomes extraordinary. Amos Shinkle has passed away, and the wide vacancy made by his loss is a witness to the manly merit by which he won private fortune

and public station. He could boast no titled name, but he belonged to that aristocracy of service which has helped to lay in this country the munificent material groundwork on which the structure of our Christian civilization is to be reared. Somehow, by a sort of intuition, he saw the golden side of opportunities, and with eager wisdom availed himself of the sight. His success was not an accident; it had its reason in his ability and his diligent application to the duties of each hour.

A crisis was approaching in the life of Mr. Shinkle which was destined to revolutionize his standards of thought and action, and to make him essentially a new and different man. The air was full of the shrill alarms of civil war, when hostile theories of government were to meet in battle. Covington was on the border, and a dominant section of the community believed in the doctrine of State rights whose consequences would be a broken and bankrupt nationality. He shrank from the thought of social chaos with instant and absolute aversion, and at the outbreak of the rebellion, when Kentucky was trembling in the balance and multitudes were halting as to which side to take, he promptly called for volunteers, raising for the defense of the city "The Shotgun Company," which speedily grew into a regiment. This challenge to wavering minds defined at once the position of many, and a rallying center was provided for the vacillating Union sentiment.

All this while he was an occasional visitor at public worship and was a pew-holder in one of the prominent churches of the city; but this came from a sense of the outward proprieties of good citizenship and a conformity to decorum, rather than from inward conviction. The churches shared and expressed the prevailing feeling as to the great question which engrossed public attention, and he was not satisfied with their attitude. There was, however, to this an exception; the Methodist Episcopal church located on Greenup Street, unpretending in appearance and limited in resources, represented unhesitating loyalty to the nation, and to this church Mr. Shinkle was drawn by patriotic considerations, and also by the attraction of some strong personal friendships among its members. He threw himself at once into the new work without reluctance or compromise. The plain building soon gave way to a new and stately edifice, taking the name of the Union Meth-

odist Episcopal Church, and, that there might be no question as to the flag which the congregation honored, the windows and woodwork were painted in red, white, and blue. Association with this society had sprung from motives more than usually deep and controlling, and soon the voice of the personal Christ was heard by him calling for allegiance, and he was not disobedient to the heavenly vision. In its initial stage his connection with the Church was a business adjustment, a recognition of an obligation exact and definite in its form of statement. Clearer insight transformed this into a positive spiritual relationship. He established, contrary to his first intention, a family altar, and, as the prayer of faith was offered at the time of the evening sacrifice, God, for Christ's sake, spake peace to his heart, and then his Christian life had its birth—a life destined to grow and ripen into a rich experience.

The Sunday school invited him, almost as soon as he entered the Church, to become its superintendent, and he continued in its active charge until his death. This work was a blessing to him; it gave grace, charm, and a tender tone to his religious experience such as nothing else could afford. He was an ideal superintendent. Business capacity and spiritual fervor were united in his qualifications for this delicate trust. His executive skill and thoroughness in detail were of incalculable advantage. Nothing escaped him; everything was under his eye. No great manufacturing establishment could have been organized and operated with a clearer perception of means to ends than the Union Sunday school; and when to this accuracy of operation was added his distinctive religious purpose, the results in the shaping of youthful character cannot be overestimated. For one third of his life he stood in this official relation, watching the development of hundreds of young people whom Providence had intrusted to his tender care. The superintendent loved and was beloved. The contact between him and the school was always close and cordial. One Sabbath, at the close of the morning sermon, a little ten-year-old girl out of a new and sincere impulse asked the pastor, "Am I too young to come to Christ?" The superintendent, standing by his side, took the answer from the pastor's lips, saying, "No, my child, you may come now. I was too old when I came to him, and I have to make up lost time."

By force of circumstances, his natural ability, and social position he became the leading man of his church. Farsighted in his own views of policy, he was considerate of the opinions of others; a strong-willed man, intense and masterful in his personal judgments, he allowed people to differ with him, even radically, and there came in consequence no sense of coldness or separation. He recognized that society, to endure in peace, must be a compromise, and thus freely accorded to others that which he claimed for himself—the right of private opinion.

Very early in his Christian life Amos Shinkle faced the question as to the extent of consecration—asking whether it included sentiments and opinions only or also the use of one's substance for the cause of Christ. The dedication to the Master of what men have is essential to true discipleship, and those who desire to serve the Lord must make this inevitable decision. Some meet the obligation by munificent bequests when they die, and their names are garlanded with the praise of the multitude. Others will choose the even tenor of daily service, and, acting as their own executors while they live, will use beneficently what God has given them. The accumulative habit had been formed in Mr. Shinkle's case by a course of swift and successful acquisition, and religion met this intrenched disposition with an imperative summons for the recognition of its claims. He was already in middle life, the scope and tendency of his manhood had been determined, and yet, like Saul of Tarsus, hearing the voice of Jesus, he said, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" His piety was not an amalgam of commonplace platitudes and average sentiments. It was more than a mere emotion; it was a primary and inwrought conviction. It would be contrary to his desire, if it could be expressed, and to the modesty of those who bear his honored name, to enumerate the gifts to various causes which signalized the period of his religious life; but it is simple justice to his memory to say that, after meeting the Lord in the way, he gave grandly and continuously until he was called from labor to reward. The Protestant Children's Home, a royal building dedicated to noble uses, was his gift to the city of Covington. More than twenty years ago, during the session of the Kentucky Conference at Union Church, he said to his pastor: "The sight of these poor unpaid preachers moves me. I want to help them out a little.

Will you ask Bishop Scott to arrange for the distribution of five thousand dollars for their aid in some way so that my name will not be mentioned?" Years after the same pastor, visiting at Mr. Shinkle's home, sat one morning writing at a side desk of his private office in the First National Bank, while its president was attending to many duties. A number of callers came soliciting his help for causes which they represented. The mail, also, was heavy with letters of appeal. As the noon hour came and the two rose to leave he said, "You have heard what has passed. Look at these," pointing to the letters, and then seriously added, "This is about a sample day. I want to do right with my money." There was something more than ordinary in the emphasis of these words; they expressed the governing purpose of his life, and the grave and beloved face, crowned with its winter crest of snowy hair, grew beautiful with a light such as does not shine on sea or shore. Later than this, as if in continuation of the same conversation, he said, "I have given away fifty thousand dollars this year. I found I had to; it was getting too strong a hold on me." Very touching is a paragraph in the *Northwestern Christian Advocate:*

> A little girl in the Protestant Orphans' Home in Covington, Ky., which Amos Shinkle founded, was giving expression to her delight and gratitude, when the matron asked her if she had thanked God for the Home. To which the child instantly replied, "Yes, I thanked God, and asked him to thank Mr. Shinkle."

The divine plaudit, "Well done, good and faithful servant," will thus echo in its spoken blessing many voices of childhood as well as of age. Honestly, reverently, day by day, Amos Shinkle did try to do right with his money. That which he did, or declined to do, represented always a conscientious decision.

Very soon after his conversion and identification with Methodism a general desire became apparent for the admission of laymen to the highest council of the Church. The old exclusive method seemed undemocratic and contrary to the liberal policy of our institutions. His keen sense of the fitness of things was in harmony with the spirit of the times, and he at once perceived the importance of a broader basis for the management of church interests. He was actively engaged in the preliminary movement which led to the introduction of lay representation, and in 1872 and at each succeeding session he was a

member of the General Conference. The same clear-eyed perception of the thing to be done and how to do it, the same grasp of principles and appreciation of the value of details, characterized him here as elsewhere, and he found himself, without any seeking on his own part, at the front in the management of general interests. His speeches were short, sharp, incisive. His opinion always commanded respect, because it was the view of a man fearlessly honest and intelligently conversant with the subject in hand. Devoted to the interests of the Book Concern, watching its growth with a peculiar pride, thoughtful of the Freedmen's Aid Society and its wide benevolent work in the South, busied with schemes for the poor preachers of the Kentucky Conference, the pillar and pride of the local church, he was a noble specimen of a devout, God-fearing, diligent Christian. The Methodist Episcopal Church needs the brain power of its laity to fashion its policy and direct its institutions. It is comparatively easy to give money, sparing a fragment from the edges of abundance, but to give life is more difficult. Freely and with grateful joy Amos Shinkle for years gave his disciplined business intelligence to the Church of his love, and in this respect is a conspicuous example for imitation by his associates.

Those who have been his pastors know the fine fiber of his personal loyalty. He was anxious, from time to time, as to the man who should fill the pulpit of Union Church, and in order to insure a wise selection asked many questions and closely studied the matter of availability; but when the selection was made the questioning period had passed, and thenceforward he gave complete allegiance to the pastor chosen. No word except of praise escaped his lips, no service was too constant or costly for him to render; he was faithful to the man as the representative of the cause. There was a touch of chivalry in his fidelity. The one who carried for the time the ensign of Christ was associated with the Master, and the standard-bearer became identified in his mind with the standard itself.

Not only character but capacity also is a growth; time is essential for the ripening of power and its adjustment to its chosen ends. The young tradesman in the retail store, the boatman making voyages down the river, passed these preliminary stages and soon became a controlling spirit in great enterprises, the

founder and representative of large and influential institutions. There must be something marked in a manhood which can create such a career. Opportunity has much to do with success. The chances that came to Mr. Shinkle out of those rich and rapidly changing years were varied and inspiring. It was a formative condition in which he found himself, one full of visions and voices; and to these he gave instant and earnest heed. His faculty was clear and strong, and an imperial will was ever ready to do its bidding. The gift of insight and the skill of executive control blended perfectly in his mental structure. He could discern the future, and this foresight was the herald of his enterprises. He had the causative power; he could bring things to pass. He never floated idly with the tide, but breasted adverse currents as gallantly as some would sail on a summer sea. His thoroughness was a marvelous trait in his character. A friend asked him late in life, "What has been the chief reason of your success?" "Well," was the quiet answer, "I do not know, except that I try to do everything well, even the small things." He provided against hostile circumstances before their existence; and so calamity rarely interfered with his plans. Patience and hope, or rather the patience of hope, were always present in his disposition. He never was in a hurry; he had the capacity for deliberation. He never sought to skip a season, but considered the year as a whole, and recognized the necessary contribution of each season to success. It was not his habit, in petulant interference with orderly processes, to investigate the seed in the soil in order to discover the state of its progress; he was willing to await the harvest, and all the while was confident, because his conclusion was formed from a study of principles, and he knew that the relation of cause and effect was irreversible. Faculty, on which so much is pivoted in every man's career, was in his case of the highest order, and he adapted it to its special exercise with an unerring discrimination. Much of his unusual ease in action came from inheritance, and much also from close and constant application. Great business men might in certain conditions be great commanders, and, changing the terms of the equation slightly, they might be great statesmen: the basis of faculty is the same in all the instances. They note from afar the strategic points and hold them. They hear the footfall of coming

events, faintly echoing on distant corridors, and, recognizing it through the swing and tumult, they are always sure of the issue. There is an element of the intuitional in every eminent success. "Poets are born, not made," has passed into a proverb; but it has a much wider meaning than that expressed in its restricted terms. All high capacity is a matter of original endowment—a perfect germ placed by the angel of the dawn in the cradle—and all of after life is only the growth and expanse of this into fruit and flower.

But there is something more than either opportunity or faculty to be recognized in the analysis of any man's character. If there is a lack in the quality of moral fiber the loss is fatal beyond repair. More or less all men are misjudged. Manner goes further in certain circles than manhood. The decorum of the drawing room is counted as more important than force in field or forum. But more and more society is beginning to consider men, in its final estimate, with reference to that interior disposition which is the real center and soul of life. Amos Shinkle was always practical, dealing in definitions and first principles. He kept to the main current, discarding both eddies in the stream and incidents on the shore. The word "ought" was the dominant word with him in the settlement of every question. He approached all matters for decision from the ethical side. Righteousness, in his conception, was religion. A man who constantly studies life from this point of view may make occasional mistakes, from partial light and infirmity of judgment, but cannot go far astray, for his general course is according to law, and obedience is power. Those who were near enough to Mr. Shinkle to hear his heart-beats were never in doubt as to his invincible intention to do right under all circumstances.

Ex-Governor Fisk, of Kentucky, a business associate and friend of long standing, in a recent letter thus estimates him:

> I have seen Colonel Amos Shinkle almost every business day while we were at home during the last thirty years, and often two or three times a day. We have been directors in numerous corporations almost as long, and in all of these Colonel Shinkle was the guiding mind; his judgment was always approved. A man of strong will, outspoken, frank, honest, in fact, a man of wonderful mental versatility, yet never arrogant or supercilious, he always sought in the kindest manner the views of his associates, yielding

to their suggestions without hesitation; and thus harmony prevailed in all of these associations, and each of them prospered during his connection with them. His commanding abilities brought him to the presidency of every one of them except the Kenton Insurance Company, and that he declined to accept. In all my intercourse with Mr. Shinkle I never heard him utter an improper word or expression, and never knew him to do an act which could be criticised. He was a Christian gentleman without an effort, always exemplary, discreet, and wise in speech and deed. The confidence of his associates in the integrity of his judgment was supreme, and the results of his various administrations fully justified this trust.

Dr. Cranston, senior agent of the Western publishing house, from a different point of view expresses a similar judgment:

In his relations with the publishing agents he was never autocratic. He never dictated in what pertained to our direct responsibility, never hampered us; always ready to counsel, he never patronizingly counseled. He watched the drift of things as shown by the books, observed the methods employed, and gave commendation or caution as he deemed fit, and was always open to conviction rather than tenacious of opinions made up with only partial data. In administration he often deferred to our judgment, while absolutely inexorable in insisting that everybody should keep to the Discipline and the General Conference directions. He stood squarely upon the law as to Book Committee prerogatives, but was just as firm for the rights of other officials. It was a delight to work with him; his intense loyalty to the Church was contagious and inspiring. His presidency of the Book Committee was especially commended by all our Eastern members and the New York agents as absolutely impartial. In the Executive Committee of the Freedmen's Aid Society he was especially useful. Sentiment rarely dictated his vote. He was jealously conservative in the interest of the ever-drained treasury. In matters of policy he was often in the minority; and here is a marvel. Strenuous in advocating his views, when outvoted he never lost his equanimity, never sulked, never evinced the slightest personal feeling toward the opposition, as men in his circumstances, accustomed to being deferred to, are apt to do. The short of it is, Amos Shinkle was a Christian; with all his positiveness in affairs he was considerate, submissive, ever humble in his church and official life. If I write more I shall be unfit for business the rest of the day. My heart weeps over his absence.

A man of his clear-cut, definite opinions would often awaken antagonism. Prosperity, sometimes in the contrast it institutes, excites hostility. He was always magnanimous toward those who from time to time were opposed to him, and even

when the victim of unkindness and discourtesy would only say, "I am sorry." He carried no sword in his hand; he was broad and kindly in his judgments. He had, besides, the power to draw men to him in the charm and warmth of the tenderest friendship, and hearts ached when he died because of the overwhelming sense of personal loss.

There is a bit of poetry about almost every man. He may seem cold and prosaic, but somewhere there is the song of birds and the bloom of flowers. The home life of Amos Shinkle was a poem. It was picturesque in its beginning. The wedding journey was taken on a flatboat down the Ohio, and, profitable as a commercial adventure, it was delightful in its promise of increasing domestic joy. He respected and loved his wife with the devout intensity of his strong nature. His only son, inheriting his own sterling character, was a constant pride and joy; and the daughters-in-law and grandchildren as they came were welcomed to the same interior affection. No distrust or suspicion shadowed that ideal household. Sorrow and death, as they entered the charmed inclosure, only tuned into deeper cadence the harp of life, which love took up,

> And smote on all the chords with might,
> Smote the chord of self, that, trembling, passed in music out of sight.

The last months of Mr. Shinkle's life were active and cheerful. He intrusted, early in 1892, the presidency of several boards to younger men, and sought something of a respite from exacting responsibilities, but it was not his nature to rest; he was eager and tireless to the last. In the General Conference at Omaha his interest in the proceedings was keen and constant, and his influence was as commanding as at any previous session. Until the end he studied civil and financial problems as carefully as in the past; but his thought chiefly turned in love toward the domestic circle and in gratitude to the kind Providence which had thus far kept him in health and strength. There was no thought, perhaps, of the nearness of the goal, but an unusual gentleness was present in his bearing, a mellow light like the glow of sunset on the hills.

Husband and wife had been long together; they had climbed the hill hand in hand, and stood now on the summit. Half a century of joy and sorrow was behind them. Therefore, de-

ciding to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of their marriage, cards of invitation were sent to friends to visit them November 10, 1892. The evening was as merry as a marriage bell.

> Golden bells!
> What a world of happiness their harmony foretells!

The stately home, embodying in its noble proportions the results of victorious enterprise, never seemed more spacious and splendid than on that hour when the hundreds gathered from Covington, Cincinnati, Louisville, and distant cities to do honor to those who had lived and loved so long, and lived and loved so well. The fragrance of flowers was still lingering in the broad halls, and the echo of friendly salutations had not altogether died away, when two days afterward another visitor, uninvited, crossed the threshold of the good man's home, bearing a summons whose inexorable authority could not be disputed. For a few hours love and skill ministered to his sufferings, while he shielded his wife from the full knowledge of the sharpness of his pain. But nothing could resist the inevitable, and death conquered. He said, "I cannot see," and then, as the unseen glory came near, tenderly added, "Never mind, Jennie, it is growing light."

It was the earthly end of the man who had been so much to family, friends, and the Church of God. On a perfect November day, while the courts of justice in the city of his residence adjourned in honor of his memory and commercial activity paused to think of his merits, they laid him away with his kindred in Hillside Cemetery to await the resurrection of the just. He was no ordinary man, studied on all sides; truth, courage, fidelity, appear everywhere in his character. He lived each day according to his best light, always devoutly anxious to find and fulfill God's thought; and his works do follow him.

Henry Baker

ART. II.—OUR LARGEST SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY.

THE principal and by far the largest school for theological training in the Methodist Episcopal Church recorded, for the year beginning with the Fall Conferences of 1891 and ending with the Spring Conferences of 1892, a membership of 3,545 students, with a faculty of 1,700 "examiners." The students were distributed as follows: First year (on trial), 835; second year (continued on trial), 1,046; third year (deacons of the first class), 993; fourth year (deacons of the second class), 671. The school is a nonresident institution, and the functions of its faculty are limited almost entirely to the conduct of annual examinations.

The conditions of matriculation in the Annual Conference course of biblical and theological study in the Methodist Episcopal Church are: 1. An examination before the local Quarterly or District Conference. 2. A "recommendation" from this body. 3. A satisfactory examination by a committee of the Annual Conference. 4. A recognition of the candidate by the Annual Conference as a probationer, or as "on trial" in the Conference. The candidates thus admitted after two examinations (the first before the Quarterly Conference, and the second before the committee of the Annual Conference) are enrolled as "preachers on trial," and begin a four years' course of study, two of these years as probationers and candidates for the diaconate, and two as full members of the Conference. During these latter two years they prepare as deacons for ordination as presbyters or elders at the end of the full four years' term.

The course of study embraces biblical introduction and exegesis, encyclopedia and methodology, natural, biblical, systematic, historical, comparative, and practical theology, homiletics, and ecclesiastical law, together with studies in universal history, rhetoric, logic, psychology, and political economy. As the young preacher has already been licensed to preach he is employed in regular pastoral and pulpit work, finding in this ample opportunity for practice and experiment, utilizing the results of his studies in the varied work of his office. The laws of the books he transmutes into the habits of professional

life. The theological discussions with which he becomes familiar as a student he turns into discourses for the edification of the people.

In the beginning of the modern Methodist movement the leaders were men of scholarship. Several of them were fellows of the university, engaged in postgraduate study. They were men of fine culture, deep spirituality, and held the true idea concerning the subordination of all learning to the great ends of spiritual life. The Oxford Club has entered into ecclesiastical history, and to its germinal thoughts we owe the best features of modern Methodism, and in it we have the best prophecy of the possible Methodism of the twentieth century.

After years of study and experience under the leading of the divine Spirit, the most of these Oxford Methodists came into "a large place" and began to proclaim a Gospel new to the age in which they lived. The new putting of the old truth stirred up the world in the old way. It turned the world upside down. The Christian Church to-day owes as much to Wesley as to Luther. The growth of the Methodist movement in the British Isles and in America was marvelous, and the demand for men to tell the old story in the new age was so great as to compel Mr. Wesley and his coadjutors to lay hold of others than accomplished scholars for the service. There were not educated men enough to meet the demand of the great revival, and fishermen, colliers, carpenters, as in the first century, were commissioned to go about with the good news from heaven to men.

Mr. Wesley, reluctant, but compelled to recognize this new condition of things, made provision from the beginning, by courses of reading, by lectures, and by class studies, to educate in biblical and theological matters the men on whom he was thus forced to lay his ecclesiastical hands. They could not read Greek and Latin; of physical science they knew little; in *belles-lettres* they were altogether deficient; but in the knowledge of God and of his Gospel, the ethical standards, and the experimental verities, in their unquestioning acceptance of the exceeding great and precious promises, in gifts of persuasion and exhortation, they were qualified in an extraordinary manner. They were men of practical power, to whose convincing logic even the scholars yielded as with penitence they turned to the

Christ whom these rude men of the times proclaimed. What was a necessity at the beginning became later on a settled policy. Neither classical education nor the professional education of the schools was required. Provision was made simply for readings and studies in connection with practical service; and thus sprang up the system of theological training which has characterized the Methodist Church.

The same policy has for centuries obtained in the departments of medicine and law. Men who know medicine or who know law, even though they lack classical scholarship, are commissioned to practice by the proper authorities. The Baptist Church has to some extent adopted the same policy, although it is among the foremost representatives of the highest ministerial culture through the theological seminary. The Presbyterians, always famous for theological education, are beginning to recognize the same necessity, and committees have been appointed by the General Assembly to take into consideration the practicability of adopting shorter courses of preparatory study, that in exceptional cases men of power, manifestly called of God to the work, may, without the formal processes of professional education, be employed in the regular ministry.

It is not to be denied that the policy of nonresident work has its perils. A Methodist would be untrue to fact were he to deny that the plans for ministerial preparation in his own Church have been abused. False views of human agency and divine operation in the work of grace have led to unwisdom and fanaticism. Certain Methodist ministers have been known to depreciate "culture," to deprecate formal ministerial education, to excessively glorify the evangelistic or revival side of church work, and in more than one case to boast of the want of "taste," "culture," and "refinement" on the part of her ministers. In 1852, when Dr. D. D. Whedon edited the *Methodist Quarterly Review*, the writer heard the Rev. Mr. Caughey, at that time a famous evangelist, express great regret that instead of giving his talents to evangelizing work Dr. Whedon, as editor of this great organ, should be devoting himself to doctrinal, philosophical, and literary studies. Too many of our earlier ministers shared the same absurd prejudice against culture. The Methodist Church lost immensely by all this. It lost the highest respect of leaders in other Churches, clerical and

lay. It lost the confidence of our own wisest and strongest people. It was unable to keep its hold upon our best families. High school girls and boys looked with contempt upon men who, occupying the pulpit, violated the most ordinary laws of English speech, betrayed an inexcusable ignorance of history and science, and sometimes ridiculed the Christian people who took these things into account in forming their estimate of a minister. As low standards in the ministry betray themselves in low standards among the officiary of the Church, it came to pass that men without social standing, without stability, emotional and fanatical, and men ignorant withal, were set to represent the Church as "laymen" before the community.

A course of study was indeed provided for Methodist ministers, but it was inadequate. The superficial examinations by which untutored youth and men of middle life were clothed with the full authority of the Christian ministry excited the scorn of thoughtful and cultivated men, and of necessity lowered the moral tone of the men themselves who were admitted by such light and careless processes into an office which, if it be worth anything at all, must always stand for thoroughness, honesty, and righteousness.

Through all the years of Methodism the best ministers and laymen have stood firmly and uncompromisingly for the highest standards. Through their appeals and efforts a change took place in popular thought. The Church returned to its original platform. Institutions for biblical and theological training were established. The Conference course of study was strengthened. In many Conferences the examinations were improved; and to-day there are able and scholarly ministers in our own Church, and ministers, who are the products of our present out-of-school system of theological education, who have found a hearty welcome as permanent pastors to the best pulpits of other denominations.

From the very necessity of the situation, the majority of ministers in the Methodist Episcopal Church must, for years to come, be educated by this method. Every year, every quadrennium, the theological schools and the biblical and theological departments in Methodist colleges will multiply. Every year the number of students in these institutions will increase. But the Church will still continue to employ and ordain men

who have never been graduated from either literary or theological institutions; and the great question which we are bound to consider, and which should long ago have been more thoroughly considered, is this: How shall the Conference system of ministerial training be made more effective? how shall we modify the defects we deplore, extend the functions of the examining committees, elevate the standards of examination, increase educational facilities, and give to candidates for the ministry the advantages of the best instruction and the best criticism while they are engaged in the Conference course of study?

In the number of the *Methodist Review* for January, 1890, the writer discussed this subject at some length, and proposed "The Itinerants' Club" as a temporary device for calling the attention of the Church to the question of ministerial education. It was urged in that article that those in authority should insist upon the value of the college and theological seminary for men who think of entering the ministry. While not even a majority of our young men might secure these advantages, it was suggested that the various academies and colleges should provide biblical and theological chairs, to anticipate to some extent by studies and lectures the Annual Conference course of study. An appeal was made to the bishops to improve the course required. The Conferences were urged to appoint their best men as examiners. Plans were suggested for ministerial meetings of two or more weeks each year in neighboring colleges and seminaries; for cooperative work in the critical reading of standard theological books; for the establishment or recognition of a periodical to aid students for the ministry; for postgraduate studies in philosophy, literature, science, ethics, politics, and history.

After the article in the January (1890) number of the *Methodist Review* was in type the writer corresponded with seventeen foremost educators of the Methodist Church on the subject of theological education in our Church, eliciting from them a number of wise suggestions, among these the following: Greater care in the selection of committees; the continuing of the same committee for four years; frequent meetings of candidates for close study under competent instructors; examinations several days or weeks before the sessions of the Annual Conference; the giving of special certificates each year and of a full

certificate at the end of four years; the placing of young men under the care and direct supervision and weekly instruction of a competent senior preacher in their neighborhood; the insistence on written examinations; the requiring of a discourse to be delivered before the committee in addition to the written sermon now expected; a careful inquiry into the personal and pastoral habits of every candidate—as to his success in revivals, in Sunday school work, in the management of finances, in the conduct of class meetings, etc.; the examining committee of each Conference to be presided over by a scholarly, competent, and thoroughgoing chairman, who should take special supervision of the class during the entire four years' course of study; the preparation of helpful outlines and analyses; a series of general questions on professional topics, the answers to be written and forwarded to the committee during the year; more care and conscientiousness in the reception of men on trial in the Conferences; and the holding of presiding elders responsible for the care of candidates on their districts.

The "Itinerants' Club" was the name proposed by the writer for the temporary institution or device designed to promote permanency and intensity of conviction as to the necessity of ministerial training, and to aid in developing the Conference system to further this end. It aims to bring together the undergraduates of a Conference, or of contiguous Conferences, as frequently and for as long a time as possible during the Conference year, that under the care of wise advisers and competent lecturers and teachers the mastery of the Conference course and the development of ministerial power may be promoted. These meetings may be held in a church, by small groups of undergraduates who live in the same neighborhood; in literary institutions within a Conference, where such young ministers may have a taste of college life while they are pursuing their courses of study under the Conference examiners and other teachers. The "Itinerants' Club" may be held in connection with summer assemblies, or as "Itinerants' Clubs in camp." It was hoped at the beginning, and suggested, that the "Itinerants' Club" idea might develop into a permanent biblical, professional, nonresident school for those who have enjoyed the theological seminary and for those who have not, giving to both more practical views on the work of the ministry, and

inciting those who have never enjoyed the benefits of the schools to seek them if within the limits of possibility.

It is not to be expected that everybody will approve of the title "Itinerants' Club," or any other title which can be given to it; nor is it a matter of very much importance what it is called. This the writer has insisted upon. He has called the plan a "temporary device" for stimulating interest in the work of ministerial education. The title—"The Itinerants' Club"—is of course thoroughly descriptive. It represents the men who constitute it and the distinctive system of ministerial supply obtaining in their Church. It conveys the idea of conversation and of discussion, scientific and practical—the very feature most needed in these days in the work of ministerial stimulation and education. This is an age of "clubs," of "literary clubs," of "social science clubs," of "tourists' clubs;" and the modern movement we glorify as Methodism began with the "Holy Club" at Oxford. While the societies first called "clubs" about the middle of the seventeenth century, meeting in coffee houses and taverns, gave to the "club" the idea of conviviality, Dean Swift himself, in his letters, said, "The end of our club is to advance conversation and friendship." And so widespread has been the club movement that in the latest and most trustworthy English dictionary the very first definition of "club" is: "A company of persons organized to meet for social intercourse, or for the promotion of some common object, as literature, science, politics," etc. Plato's *Academia*, where men of scholarship met for conversation and discussion, is that far a good model after which to frame this meeting of ministers in the interest of higher personal and professional culture. Let us not, however, be hindered in a good work through indecision as to a name. Whatever the movement may be called it will be a club, and so long as Methodist ministers constitute the majority it will be an "Itinerants' Club," let us call it what we please—a "Christian Institute," a "Church Assembly," a "Ministerial Institute," a "Conference School of Theology," a "Conference Institute of Theology," the "Christian Academia," or any one of a dozen possible titles besides.

Let us state the precise objects of the proposed plan for promoting ministerial education, through the club or institute, under Annual Conference auspices.

1. The Itinerants' Club should train our junior preachers in the principles and methods of true study, showing them how to think, talk, and write; how to fix attention; how to reason; how to see two sides of the same subject with judicial impartiality; how to form the *habit* of thinking. It seeks to guide them in the study of the actual problems, personal, social, religious, ethical, political, which they encounter in everyday life—problems to which, as never before, the highest scholarship and the most acute critical faculty are now addressing themselves—problems which the common people are everywhere pondering. Ministers must be trained to think as ministers, on all subjects which relate to the individual, the family, the community, the nation, from the biblical, the Christian point of view, weighing men, not as materialists do, but as Jesus did, taking in their full spiritual endowment, responsibility, and destiny. To know men is worth more than to know books; and to know the times in which we live is of supreme importance. Ministers must know what the world is thinking about; what the men and women whom they address every Sabbath are reading; what literary and religious horizon opens about them; what plays are rendered at the theater in the hearing of five or ten times the number of people who are to be found in the churches; what editorial influence immediately affects them; what doubts and difficulties annoy or imperil them; what relief we may find for them. The minister should be familiar with the struggles the Church has had during the centuries with these same forms of error. Crude ideas in the pew, and outside of the Church among the very large number of people who now rarely occupy the pew, need on the part of the preacher positive convictions, clearly defined, with the ability on his part, in a master's way, kindly, wisely, sincerely, authoritatively, to state what he firmly believes to be the divine truth. We are in the midst of popular superstitions, laxities, bigotries, falsities, all of which we ought to know and to know well, to know their place in the history of opinions, their frequent recurrence through the centuries, their changing forms and novel names, and their radical defects. We should be no strangers to Christian Science, Theosophy, Faith Healing, Spiritualism, Socinianism, Agnosticism, hyper-Calvinism, Perfectionism, and all other one-sided puttings and perversions of the truth.

Books will not suffice to set forth the grievous evils of these various forms of heresy and unbelief. Since these exist in the concrete we must see them in the concrete, talk with their living representatives, and investigate as ministers by scientific methods the forms, developments, and baleful effects of these human vagaries. We should be able in a broad and generous way to deal with such deflections from the truth. Ignorance on our part, or superficiality, is inexcusable. Dogmatic denunciation is contemptible. Thus we have, as ministers, a great work to do in the study of local schools of religious thought; and, whether our men come from farms or college halls, they need to be thoroughly schooled in these human and intensely active forms of antagonism to the Gospel. It is in such investigations that the Itinerants' Club may prove a splendid agency. It is a day for careful thinking—with intense solicitude, with profoundest wisdom, with helps from all available sources. Ministers are more likely to study the books and turn them to good account when they have been stimulated and stirred by the exciting problems which are moving the people everywhere. And the discussion of these living themes—the themes of to-day—in club or institute, will spur the ministry to diligence in the investigation of them.

2. The occasional club or institute should present in a helpful way the subject-matter of the Conference course. Conference studies are a means, not an end. The knowledge of the books is not of so much importance, but it is important that we have a living conviction as to the great truths they contain and a determination to understand them in their wide relations. In the Annual Conference course we have provision for studies in natural, historical, biblical, systematic, comparative, and practical theology. Our text-books are helps to the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, which, according to our creed, "contain all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of faith or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation." Our Methodist theological manuals are the human statements of our reading of God's word. The studies of our preachers must be in these manuals and in the holy authority to which we appeal. What a field for study! What a privilege it is to be

able intelligently to canvass such questions as suggest themselves while the course of study passes before us! Here the Itinerants' Club has opportunity. Two or three young ministers meet together under the guidance of a cultivated and experienced senior; the candidates of a single district or of a Conference convene for a term of days under the instruction of lecturers and teachers; a series of lessons in the various departments of theology, extended through a term of four weeks in a seminary or college, will aid ministers who have not enjoyed the advantages of systematic theological training to get helps in the methods of study and in the subject-matter of study, which will enable them in a most thorough way to self-help as theological students.

3. The Itinerants' Club should bring together in a kind of academic fellowship the various classes of our ministers—the men of sense and experience, who, although lacking collegiate culture, are often men of genius, with judgments disciplined by the contacts and conflicts of real life; our young men from the schools, who know more of literature, science, and the systematic theology of the text-books than of human nature and society; and the men of years, prestige, and power, who, in responsible positions in the Church, have a knowledge of books and men and experience in educational institutions, first as pupils and then as teachers. These classes of brethren in the ministry, meeting to hear discussions, to ask and answer questions, to compare the results of observation and experience, constitute a truly scientific club and may follow the scientific method of collecting and classifying data, deducting general principles, and comparing the results of human logic and hypothesis with the teachings of the Holy Scriptures. By such fellowship we make it possible for each man to contribute his best to the helping of the rest, to cultivate the *esprit de corps*, stimulate intense activity, develop what is equal to the class rivalry of the schools, illustrate methods of inquiry and methods of discussion, discover laws of adaptation, promote frank and thorough criticism, and train examiners for their important work. Thus iron sharpeneth iron. The spirit of independent investigation is developed, and when high and holy religious motives permeate such convocation the words of the Lord Jesus are fulfilled, "Where two or three are gathered together in

my name, there am I in the midst of them." Ministerial education should carry with it in all its processes faith, fervor, and vital experience.

4. The Itinerants' Club should devise ways and means of local work; a system of correspondence between the examiners and the candidates in a given Conference; a system of postgraduate study, including reviews of the Conference course, collateral readings, advanced studies in philosophy, theology, and the practical topics of the times; the full discussion of the social problems of the day in their relation to the Church. The Protestant Episcopal Church has organized a Christian Social Union, a "social university," with courses of readings, leaflets, lectures, branches, conventions, lectureships, professorships, all with a view of making the ministry familiar with the great industrial, social, political problems of the age, problems which, above all other men, ministers should thoroughly understand.

5. The club or institute should discuss in courses of lectures and after-talks the great questions of systematic theology—the idea of God, the Trinity, the Christ, the Holy Spirit, the atonement, the inner life, eschatology, the Holy Scriptures, the ministry, etc. What a help to the study of the books would such a course of oral lectures prove! Having heard for ten mornings a series of talks on the subject-matter of the books to be studied, the candidate would return to his private library with both hints and inspirations to guide in personal work among his books.

6. The club should present series of biographical lectures by men who have given much time to the study of the great characters of the Jewish and Christian systems. What splendid examples for the young Christian minister will be found in the proper presentation of the distinctive views, experiences, and achievements of such men as Chrysostom, Savonarola, St. Bernard, Luther, Calvin, Wesley, Edwards, Asbury, Simpson, and Spurgeon!

7. One of the most important elements of the club will be the actual class-work. It is possible thus to conduct recitations in Hebrew and New Testament Greek, in order to put young men in the way of self-training in these important languages; in the English Bible—the history *of* the book, the history *in* the book, the doctrine *of* the book (as to canon, inspiration, etc.),

the doctrines *in* the book, the book in the Church; in exegetical studies, and how to pursue them, especially those prescribed in the Conference course on the Pentateuch, Isaiah, the gospels, and the Pauline epistles; in the study of the Discipline, parliamentary law, and voice culture; and in music, in order to revive if possible an intelligent enthusiasm in this great agency for captivating the people in the interest of Christian faith and life. All these and other class exercises may be conducted in these club or institute sessions.

8. The soul of the Itinerants' Club will be in the *praxes*, with criticism, which constitute the chief advantage of the theological seminary. Definitions (written at the moment) of theological and ecclesiastical terms; topical analyses of the great subjects of theology; forms of prayer and benediction; the reading of hymns and Scripture lessons by a number of students; the preparation of sermon outlines on texts given at the time; the extemporaneous delivery of addresses and sermons, followed by written and oral criticisms; the use of illustrations; actual practice in committing to memory certain passages; the framing of questions on a given topic; the answering in writing of test questions; methods of teaching children and youth in Bible history, geography, ethics, doctrine. There is literally no end to the devices for affording practice under criticism to the young men who attend these occasional conventions.

9. The Itinerants' Club gives opportunity for conversations, in brief sentences or in addresses limited to two minutes each, on such themes as the following: "Ministerial Education," "Systems of Examination," "Music and the Church," "Ordering of Public Worship," "Pulpit Blunders," "Liturgical Elements in Worship," "Young People's Societies," "Needs of the Sunday School," "Prayer Meetings," "Class Meetings," "How to Visit the Sick and Afflicted," "How to Deal with the Question of Popular Amusements," "Young Men's Christian Associations," "Brotherhood of Christian Unity," "The Woman's Christian Temperance Union," "The Cause of Temperance," "The Parish Hour" (a plan for giving religious instruction in the church one day in the week), "Church Finances," "Church Records," "Church Benevolences," "Church Letters," "The American University," "Our Nearest College,"

"The Home Power of the Church," "Mothers' Meetings," "Relation of Baptized Children to the Church," "Book-Concern Concerns," "What the People are Thinking About, and What They Think About Us as Ministers," "Revivals, Revivalists, and Reactions," "The American People and Other Peoples in America—How to Find, Know, Evangelize, Educate, and Elevate Them," "The Connectional Idea in a Single City," "The Women Workers of the Church," "How to Carry Our Best Plans of Work to Country Places," "The General Rules—How Far to Follow Them Literally in Life and Administration," "Why We Lose So Many Ministers and Members," "The Law of Adaptation in the Methodism of the Twentieth Century," "The Higher Criticism," "The New and the Old Theology," "The Substance of Doctrine," "The Sacraments—Their Signification, and the Order of Administration," "The Presiding Elder at His Best," "Little Things that Mar a Minister's Influence," "The Church and Chautauqua," "The American Public and the Roman Parochial Schools," "The Ballot Box and the Church," "Bad Books," and "The Sacredness of Marriage." To a great extent these topics may be selected with a view to the training of our young men in leading doctrines and duties of the ministry.

10. There are many miscellaneous exercises by which the tension of study may be relieved and in many cases the spirit of devotion promoted. It would be well, for example, to have from a layman a pleasant talk on "A Word About the Pulpit from the Pew;" from a good sister in Israel, "A Woman's Word to the Preacher;" from the examiners, "A Bit of Counsel to the Candidates;" from a candidate, "Words from the Candidates to the Examiners." One of the most delightful and almost recreative exercises in an Itinerants' Club would be free reminiscences, limited to three minutes for each speaker, on "The Best Sermon We Ever Heard," or "The Severest Pulpit Experience We Ever Had." If during the sessions of the Club there could be an hour each day given to the representative of some other Christian denomination, to set forth in his own way the distinctive views and policies of the Church which he represents, we should be able to understand each other better and in all probability to do greater justice to each other. Why should not a Roman Catholic be invited to tell us from his own point

of view what his Church believes? Why not grant the same privilege to a Unitarian, a Presbyterian, a Baptist, a Congregationalist, a Swedenborgian, a Jewish rabbi, etc. A Methodist minister should learn the views of all other schools of theological and ecclesiastical thought from representatives of such schools. If theological seminaries would more faithfully set forth to young students the real opinions of "heterodox" and other "orthodox" teachers there would be less surprise in the after years, as these pupils come to see in another light the misrepresented schools of their earlier years.

11. The chief object of the Itinerants' Club should be the presenting of higher ideals of manhood—broad, well-balanced, earnest, and cultivated manhood—in which we have the best human guarantee of ministerial efficiency. It matters little what fervors of feeling are kindled by a sermon if he who hears lacks confidence in and respect for the man who speaks. Manhood, high, generous, self-possessed, righteous, gentle manhood —this is the demand of the hour! Meditations about, aspirations after this lofty ideal form fit end for a special service in every ministerial institute, club, or conference. There are those besides the writer who will long remember the solemn meeting for hymns, scripture readings, and silent prayer at the Spokane Itinerants' Club two years ago, and especially that "early service," when, before daybreak, a company of fifty earnest ministers met in the church to celebrate the holy communion, to make consecration of every faculty and possibility to the blessed Saviour, whose "real presence" that morning no one in that room for a moment doubted.

12. The temporary club or institute must develop into a permanent and fully organized school of theology, with the board of bishops as its controlling council, the senior bishop as its president, and with possibly a secretary, elected by the General Conference, who shall conduct correspondence with the "examining committees" and the "faculties" of the several Annual Conference departments. The time may come when a scheme containing many of the suggestions submitted to the last General Conference, and by that body referred to the bishops, may be adopted. The most active advocate of the proposed scheme, the Rev. Dr. C. M. Heard, of Minnesota Conference, in his paper of reference to the bishops, closes his appeal with the admirable

words of President W. F. Warren, of Boston University, written twenty years ago, in describing the Methodist Episcopal Itinerant Theological Seminary: "There is in this country one theological school of special interest. It is the largest in the world. Its last freshman class numbered seven hundred and ninety-three. The entire number of students now in attendance is about three thousand. While other theological institutions have required but a brief three years' course of study this one from the beginning prescribed four years. . . . Its alumni are already numbered by tens of thousands. Its compass is broader than the continent."

Let us hope and strive for the full recognition of this magnificent institution and its development into vigorous life by Annual and General Conference action, by college, university, and theological seminary cooperation, by a sytem of correspondence study, by regularly appointed sessions of institutes, theological classes or clubs, by quarterly or at least semi-annual examinations, and by rigid tests at the door of every Annual Conference, that men called of God to be exhorters, local preachers, or "supplies" be not crowded through the carelessness of men into the ranks of the regular traveling ministry. Let none be ordained preachers and pastors whom God has not called as such.

The suggestion of the Rev. B. A. Kemp, of Indiana, is worthy of careful examination. It provides for the simultaneous study of the Conference course, by which ministers of the four years' classes may pursue the same studies at the same time, just as in the International Lesson System and in the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle. It is only at first thought that the plan appears impracticable or out of harmony with a progressive course of studies. What a stimulus to the schools of all grades, to the church press, to the lecturers on all biblical, theological, and ecclesiastical subjects, and to all students of the four years' and of postgraduate courses would this scheme prove to be! What a promoter of religious study among our laymen!

Whatever general institution the Church may in her wisdom finally organize for the promotion of ministerial education, we should, as Methodist ministers, one and all resolve,

1. To be students ourselves, whether we be old or young—reading, thinking, conversing, preaching, lecturing, and attend-

ing, whenever practicable, institutes, clubs, or conferences which aim to exalt the standards of ministerial culture.

2. In every possible way to guard the doors of the Conferences against weak, untrained, incompetent men, yielding to no claim of pity on account of their personal needs and to no argument based upon temporary "success" in church building, debt-raising, or revivals. We want men to preach, to visit, to win men, women, and children to the love and service of Christ, men who know and who are eager to know more, and who seek knowledge to use it for God's glory in the building up of his kingdom. Such men will study diligently and prayerfully. These are the only men needed to-day in the regular ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

3. To persuade young men of parts and piety to consider well the claims of the ministry upon them; to hold themselves in readiness for the call of God; to account collegiate and professional training as included in the divine summons, and to abandon this preparatory process only where, in the judgment of wise men in sympathy with the highest ministerial standards, it is made clear that the divine Providence indicates exceptional conditions. Students—consecrated, persistent students, and only such—are needed in the Methodism of the twentieth century. With the improvement of our public school system, the multiplication of Chautauqua and University Extension agencies, the opening of correspondence classes all over the country in every department of learning, the increase of colleges and of college students, the wide discussion through the ablest magazines and on the rostrum of the profoundest questions of religion—that pulpit must fail to command public respect and attention which does not present in a thoughtful, wise, and forcible way the great and glorious teachings of our holy religion.

John H. Vincent.

Art. III.—BALAAM AND HIS DAY.

Nothing in the story of the Exodus is more fascinating than the episode of Balaam. Its chief actor arouses for the occasion an interest as lively as does Moses himself. Who is this personage that with meteoric splendor sweeps into Israel's horizon, and, vanishing in blood and darkness, leaves such trails of light upon the sky—before whose sudden glow the steady beams of the familiar luminary, which after forty years of guidance now draws near its setting, seem suddenly to lose their luster and warmth? Men gaze and wonder and feel that the solution is beyond them. The most wide and careful search fails to reveal the personality of Balaam, and one must finally exclaim, with regret, "How little is known of him!" We may, however, profitably gather and arrange what little is known, may find a few analogies, and may fix the limits of the unknown and unknowable.

Balaam rises at once and unheralded, as Elijah "stood forth" unannounced before Ahab. He is seen far northeast of Moab and Canaan, probably among those mountain ranges so well made known to us a thousand years later by the experiences of Xenophon. Balaam is a warrior and chieftain of his tribe, a man of greed and vanity, but of force as well, and of sagacity so marked that he is among men a prophet and an oracle. His reading of men is unusually correct, and his forecast of an enterprise is singularly accurate. "Whom thou blessest, is blessed." Balaam's opinion in favor of a man or a scheme weighs much. But in this is nothing supernatural; it is no more than the Delphic oracle, by arts which one cannot explain, held and practiced with fair success for a thousand years. Fame and influence like his do not grow in a single night, nor do they stand at all without a basis of real ability in him that has them. One may say that, like many a nobler—because willing—servant of the divine purposes, Balaam, by talents native and acquired, is come to be "a chosen vessel" fitted for a special service on a great occasion.

Upon such a man comes for one day the overmastering energy of the Holy Ghost. The noblest of men's capacities is this, that a spirit is in them, and "the inspiration of the Almighty giveth

them understanding." The Spirit usually strives with man, or "is straitened" in him (Gen. vi, 3), urging or restraining him with a force clearly felt, but which may also be resisted. This Spirit may enter into a man on special occasions only, as into Saul, King of Israel, putting him for the hour among the prophets, or into that other Saul near Damascus, overpowering his body but not enslaving his will. To Jesus alone was the Spirit given, "not by measure," but in absolute fullness, and that not to control him, but as a demand of the lofty, mysterious, eternal harmony of the divine nature. The Spirit in Balaam takes entire control of his intellect, but does not—cannot—constrain his affections; and he is perfectly aware of his condition. He is in the divine hand as a trumpet, sounding strains which he cannot modify, "to do less or more." He is under more constraint than the ass that he is riding. Lofty thoughts are framed in his mind; great conceptions of life and duty, far-reaching prophetic visions come suddenly to a darkened heathen understanding and emerge in rich poetic utterance. Yet spiritual dominion so complete, though found in this case only, is really no more hard to understand than the daily striving and struggling of the Spirit in mortal souls.

That the divine consent, which Balaam suddenly feels so needful, is given after it had once been refused, is notable. Yet it is in line with the divine treatment of Israel when, because of their importunity, God granted their request but "sent leanness into their soul." A curious analogy may be taken from classical history. A man from Ionia brings to Glaucus, a Spartan, for safe-keeping a sum of money and some tokens like the checks given for baggage on modern railways. This money Glaucus promises to restore whenever duplicates of these tokens shall be presented. After many years the man's sons bring these duplicates and demand the money. Glaucus roughly answers them and goes to Delphi to ask if he may swear that he never received such money. The oracle says in effect, "Yes, swear and make prize of the money, but remember the son of the oath-god!" Glaucus, alarmed, asks pardon for his question, but the answer comes that to put to the oracle such a question is as bad as to do the deed proposed. Glaucus restores the money, but he and his house sink in ruin before the oath-god's anger. So the divine disapproval is manifest, though

Balaam is almost in irony bidden to go; and it darkens all the doings of that day. His persistence in going, even with this stringent limit put upon his speaking, shows that he half hopes the restriction may yet be relaxed, and "the rewards of divination," Balak's silver and gold, may after all come to his itching palm.

Preliminaries being disregarded, the narrative first becomes intense when the chief personages meet, as told in the choice fragment framed into Micah's prophecy. Balak hurries to him with agonizing inquiry as if willing to sacrifice even the heir to his throne if he may thus turn away the divine displeasure and save himself and his kingdom. In answer Balaam's lips are opened to speak the duty of universal man, "to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God," a rule so brief, so comprehensive, and so undebatable. What can be added to it? what can be taken from it? It seems so easy, yet who could do this unaided by the energies of the Holy Ghost and the powerful personality of Christ? Thus opens an historic day, ever memorable for its deeds and speakings. One looks to-day from Jerusalem across to Moab's purple range, as if he might now discern Balaam and his train climbing wearily from point to point to find some favored spot where a worthy sacrifice may persuade the divine mind and Balak's hot desire be gratified. As if, forsooth, in face of his opening words, the Lord would be pleased with "thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil!" But, at this first high place of sacrifice, "bless and curse not" is the law set upon Balaam's lips, though his heart be far from it. Sincere, indeed, is he—who would not be?—at least in his last words, "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his!"

Then on the top of Pisgah this fruitless effort is renewed. But all is in vain. "God is not a man, that he should lie; neither the son of man, that he should repent" and mar the fulfillment of an enterprise—the Exodus—now nearly complete, and a line of blessing long assured by ancient covenant. The prince and the prophet are met by the hard, unanswerable statement of one aspect of the divine nature, its inflexibility. "Hath he said, and shall he not do it? or hath he spoken, and shall he not make it good?"

On the summit of Peor the drama ends. In this, its last un-

folding, Balaam is spellbound and helpless, while through his lips, as through the far-sounding silver horn of the sanctuary, the breath of the Almighty proclaims in exultant strains the coming fortunes of Israel. His mind is aglow with visions which he cannot choose but see, and speak that mind he must, though it lose him Balak's gratitude and gold. He is more than helpless; he turns to do an inexorable task, which he would risk his life to shun. Where is such another instance of absolute divine control of the intellect, despite the strivings of the heart?

Balak, vexed and baffled, speaks reproof and sharp dismissal; but lo! now opens before Balaam's wondering eyes a vision such as no mortal had before been allowed to see. The movements of nations for more than a thousand years proceed before him. What the slow-rolling centuries should bring to pass within a circuit of a thousand miles he sees at once—the remoter in time and space rising in perspective as by mirage, like an horizon to the near and the present. Balaam gazes

> As one who deep in heaven some airy pageant sees.

His tongue would first mention that on which his eye first rested. He must have looked westward from Peor, where amid the acacias the tents of Israel lay, "from Jordan toward the sunrising," almost at his feet. The lanes of the camp seemed to him as "the rivers of water" that fertilized Mesopotamia's plains, and the tent-squares as gardens shaded with the fragrant aloe and the spreading cedar. Just in front of him across the Salt Sea was Engedi with the strongholds of the Kenites; and to his left stretched the wilderness of that Amalek who had so fiercely made stand against Israel, breaking eastward into the ravines and rocky fastnesses of Seir and Edom. Beyond Jordan stretched the goodly land, with valleys green with growing corn and hills crested with the battlements of towns, as Moses soon after saw it from the kindred summit of Pisgah, and over all rose Hermon as guardian, and "that goodly mountain," Lebanon. Beyond these and "the silver streak of sea," unseen but by prophetic vision, Chittim, Citium, Cyprus, was the utmost limit of Balaam's view—to him the representative of Greece and the vague, unhistoric European world, now first named in Holy Writ or any other. Behind him spread the great desert, and beyond its brown edge

far away were the Euphrates and his Assyrian home, from which he had come to meet these strange experiences. Better might this place of a vision so sweeping be named the Field of Zophim, the Watchers! Let natural scenery be ever so excellent, it gains some higher quality when it has become associated with great transactions affecting the welfare of mankind. Marathon and Gettysburg would be but tame without such associations; the view from the Acropolis takes from them a new enchantment. And, if historic memories are so effective, what must prophetic vision do but clothe the landscape with glow, color, and movement inexpressible? Man is "the measure of all things," and his part within this wide horizon fills the mind of Balaam.. He might say, as Coleridge says of Mont Blanc:

> I gazed upon thee till thy visible form,
> Still present to the outward, bodily sense,
> Had vanished from my thought.

His eye is open, but he sees only nations and peoples rise and break like waves that chase each other upon the shore. The "giant forms of empires on their way to ruin" fill all his horizon boundary. "One by one they tower and are gone." Israel enters, and is among the peoples holding or bordering Canaan as a great lion. Woe to them that stir him up! Then arises, "not now" but more than four hundred years later, a star from Bethlehem, a scepter that shall do valiantly, and all these tribes go down before the sword of David. A few more centuries after Amalek has perished and the Kenite is wasted, the Assyrian comes down "like a wolf on the fold," and sweeps all "with besom wide" into captivity in Balaam's own land beyond the river.

Once more he takes up his parable and declares the last act of the drama before him. "Alas, who shall live when God doeth this?" "Ships shall come from the coast of Chittim." Alexander and his conquering Greeks cross the western sea to crush Asshur and crush Eber—Assyria and the beyond—and these also perish forever. Balaam's vision covers the destinies of these tribes, nations, and empires for more than a thousand years. At the limit of his outlook rises the young man of Macedon, flushed with energy, to build the new East, and the old is swept from the stage forever.

Cyprus, indeed, might well bound his westward vision, so

long was it the threshold, the portal line, between the East and Europe. No historic land has so many times changed owners, and each owner, from the Phœnician to the Englishman, has there left traces of his ownership. As one in the Metropolitan Museum of New York studies the Cesnola collection of Cyprian antiquities, he finds them not only rich and various, but distinctively marking more eras of government, society, and art than can be traced in any other territory on earth. Cyprus was then an island, rich and fair. For a hundred miles along its highlands were noble forests which gave the Phœnicians timber and tar for their shipping, and from these forests ran perennial streams to sustain the verdure of the regions below. The copper, nearly pure in its bed, furnished the metal first used by the Greeks in the arts of peace or war, while iron was yet intractable. Ages later, even in Venetian hands, Cyprus was in itself a kingdom. Its forests are now gone, its mines neglected, and the goodly days when it was in the forefront as representative of the European world are never to return. Its early wealth and splendor are known but by scanty record and allusion. Yet these are confirmed and enlarged by the process that is now adding whole chapters to Levantine history, the process of excavation.

Could the seer but have looked farther on that rippling western sea! Copious excavations and careful scrutiny have lately shown that before the Dorians came there must have been in the Peloponnesus a thousand years of vigorous Achæan civilization. This was not only prehistoric but prehellenic even; and when Balaam looked westward it was at its zenith, full of life and splendor and joy. The Dorians came, like the Saxons upon England, to waste and scatter this civilization and build upon its ruins historic Greece; and it is preserved for us only by the Homeric records, which are confirmed by the relics rescued from decay by the shovel and pickax of Schliemann and his company. Argos and Mycene, the center of this old Greek life, were not more distant from Chittim than Chittim was from Moab. Yet to Chittim, and no farther, might the vision of Balaam extend. Around and behind this civilization of the kings before Agamemnon, who to the classic poets were in voiceless night, hover the great legendary figures at which tragedians grasped—the house of Labdacus and the host of

shadowy personages who aroused in later ages, as even in our own, lofty and imperishable emotions of the sublime.

One great event, a long stride forward in the progress of our race, was now occurring within the limits of Balaam's westward gaze. Phœnician merchants, devising a shorthand for their bills of lading, had reduced to twenty-two vocal symbols the utterances of "speech-dividing men," and thus invented the true alphabet. No other than this, devised for the needs of busy men, has met the world's demand, and it went soon to Greece, to India, and now to the ends of the earth. The Moabite Stone may be the oldest instance of its use, but there is reasonable probability of its development in Phœnicia in Balaam's day, seven centuries before the date of the venerable stone. And in man's literary history what greater deed than this was ever done?

How, in his sublime trance, were Balaam's eyes narrowed and limited in their range! The glory of Egypt, reviving under Amenophis III and now near the great days of Rameses II; behind him the Accadian Empire now declining; the Hittite, just rising beyond Lebanon; and those Achæan achievements which scholars are now tracing with a glow of energy and gladness well-nigh to an agony—all these are passed in a silence as unbroken as that in which Xenophon led his men over the site where the ruins of Nineveh were hardly yet cool underneath. But what were all these to Balaam? What had these forces of the Gentiles to do for ages yet with the fortunes of Israel?

So it was appointed to this man on his one illustrious day to see far down the line of Asiatic destiny, and glance upon the Greek, and thus upon the Gentile, the modern, world. And now his work is done, and it is with him as when iron, luminous and plastic with heat, returns to its cold, dark, normal hardness. "And Balaam rose up, and went and returned to his place"—to his own tricks of sorcery, to his own reckless greed, to his own unhindered ways. He is now at liberty to sate his hunger for gold, though it be "the wages of unrighteousness." He can now by the vilest arts damage that Israel upon whom he has just spoken blessings so clear and copious. Indeed, the last state of that man is worse than the first; for to evil he now gives himself, and with low, unclean policy will ruin Israel, through the women of Midian. Had he forgotten his own "parable?" Fiercely as an angry lion Israel springs upon this,

his last wayside enemy in the Exodus, and Balaam's poor misled creatures pay a dreadful penalty. "Balaam also the son of Beor, the soothsayer, did the children of Israel slay with the sword." Those whom he hated have by divine bidding generously spread upon the sacred page these wonders of a day when a heathen, an enemy of Israel and capable of deeds unspeakable, utters lofty sentiments and unfolds wide visions second only to those of Moses himself—a heathen who, from the panorama on which soon after, at his departure from this world, rested the clear eye of the great leader, reads so far down the page that is never dull, the page of human destinies.

As one lingers in thought over this day's doings serious questions will recur and press themselves upon the attention. If all human duty can be compressed into three brief rules, and these can be stated as simply as they came from Balaam's lips; if this statement be owned as true by every human being to whom it is presented, then why is this duty so hard to do? so left undone? What need should there be of line upon line, of the wealth of revelation, of the manifested Saviour, and of Pentecost? Some noble heathen, Solon, Socrates, Virgil, may have kept this law; but what are they among the millions? The theologian can here muse on man's weakness, on his bent to wrong, on the alliances needed to work in and with him for virtue.

The moralist here finds the mirror accurately held up to nature. The struggle between good and evil in Balaam's character is portrayed in true dramatic unity. His greed is like Macbeth's ambition. He struggles by sacrifice to reconcile with his conscience and the divine will some grasp of the honor and the gold now so near his hand. Conscience he can stifle, but the divine will yields only enough to make its reserve of firmness the more conspicuous. Balaam has set himself intensely to get on in the world. His feet are on the tottering stairway of promotion; by born gifts, by skillful service, and even by the sorcerer's arts he has achieved some upward progress. In all this affair before us his craving for what Balak can give is a disturbing force, pushing him from a base of truthfulness and for the nonce restrained by divine power alone. This craving degrades Balaam's noble gifts; it darkens his great occasion and cripples all his lofty aspirations. Worldly wealth and fame he must have, though won as the wages of unrighteousness. He is a

Macbeth whose way is effectively shut, but in whose heart struggles remorseless ambition, and who, if unhindered, would not be infirm of purpose.

Here, too, is a pure and perfect creed, the very mind of God as to human duty, held in constraint and abeyance by unrighteousness of desire. The affections are hostile to the intellect; the law of the members wars against the law of the mind; the obedience to the divine will is compulsory and brief, and passes with the setting sun. In our own day, thirty-four centuries of human experience intervening, the same phenomena abound, and "the error of Balaam" with its sequel of disaster goes on before our eyes.

Nothing even in the marvelous rhetoric of the Greek outdoes the literary excellence of this presentation of Balaam. The dramatic form is complete, and the unities of time, place, and action are regarded. The actors are even fewer than in "Œdipus Tyrannus," yet the characters, the environment, the thought and movement are clear and simple, while the range is grand beyond all classic conception. Especially the action is rapid and various, and the play of emotions is intense. Balaam, with his eye "fixed on futurity," his hair floating in the wind, his passions beating against the barrier set by the Eternal like waves against a sea-girt rock, scanning to-morrows as they unfold adown the long vista; Balak, fearful of doom, toiling in travel and sacrifice, listening to catch some word of cheer from those prophetic lips, then breaking down in bitter grief and rage of disappointment—these are great tragic characters.

And the quiet close of it all—one's hard-strained attention relieved by the noiseless departure of the angry prince and of the tongue-bound, tongue-loosened prophet—leaves one in calm to ponder as when evening's crimson fringes are let gently down upon a much-meaning, mysterious, weary, anxious day. How often do the flowers of genius bloom and brighten over the ruins of innocence! But nowhere in all literary record is the moral and spiritual contrast between the speaker and the speech greater than in this case of the man whose eyes the Lord opened, but who so madly loved the wages of unrighteousness.

A. B. Hyde

ART. IV.—"THE SUNDAY SERVICE."

THE Wesleys, as Church of England clergymen, were from childhood perfectly familiar with the English Book of Common Prayer. The same is true of most of the early Methodists, for they generally attended the established churches during "church hours" and engaged in the parts of the service appointed for the people; and, indeed, it may be asserted that from the liturgy of the State Church they obtained their idea of responses during divine worship. From the frequent "amens" and "glorias" laid down in the formal service it was an easy transition to the freer, and more earnest, though more irregular, ejaculations heard in many a Methodist meeting.

It was quite natural that Mr. Wesley should have a strong attachment to the Prayer Book, around which clustered so many sacred associations connected with his childhood and his maturer life. Born and bred in a liturgical Church, his love for the essential parts of the Anglican liturgy never was broken. In his field services, his early morning meetings, and in his chapel gatherings his ordinary form of worship was exceedingly simple; but he regarded these simple forms as supplemental to the elaborate liturgy of the Establishment, and assumed that the members of his societies generally attended the State Church and took part in the service according to the Book of Common Prayer. In 1766 he said:

> But some may say, "Our own service is public worship." Yes, *in a sense;* but not such as supersedes the church service. We never designed it should. We have a hundred times professed the contrary. It presupposes public prayer, like the sermons at the university. Therefore, I have over and over advised, use no *long prayer*, either before or after the sermon. Therefore, I myself frequently use only a collect, and never enlarge in prayer, unless at intercession, or on a watch night, or on some extraordinary occasion. If it were designed to be instead of church service it would be essentially defective; for it seldom has the four grand parts of public prayer: deprecation, petition, intercession, and thanksgiving. . . . But if the people put ours in the place of the church service we *hurt* them that stay with us and *ruin* them that leave us. . . . I advise, therefore, all the Methodists in England and Ireland, who have been brought up in the Church, constantly to attend the service of the Church, at least every Lord's day.

Ten years after making this utterance City Road Chapel, London, was projected, and a year later (1777) the corner stone was laid by John Wesley. John Pawson states "that the plan proposed was to build an elegant chapel, such as even the lord mayor might attend, without any diminishing of his official dignity," and that "the liturgy should be read at both morning and evening service." The liturgy was regularly used in City Road Chapel, and there is reason to think that prior to this it was used in other chapels—for example, that in West Street; but Mr. Wesley was ripening for a change even in this respect.

American Methodism was demanding his most serious thought. Appeals came to him for some measure of relief that would give the American Methodists regular ministers and ordinances of their own. The colonies had gained their independence, a new nation had been formed, and the relation of American Methodism to the Church of England had been radically changed. In 1784 he decided to act, first, by sending ordained ministers; secondly, by giving them a supervisional ecclesiastical government under ministerial superintendents, and, thirdly, by furnishing them with forms of service. At Bristol, England, on the first day of September, 1784, assisted by two of his episcopally ordained presbyters, he ordained Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey as elders. On the 2nd of September he set apart the Rev. Thomas Coke, LL.D., to the position of superintendent, and designated the Rev. Francis Asbury for the same office. On the 9th of September he wrote the preface to a service book for the use of the American Methodists. On the 18th Dr. Coke, with Whatcoat and Vasey, sailed for America, carrying with him the new service book in sheets.

The making of this service book for the Methodists in the United States of America is one of the noteworthy incidents in early Methodist history. Not only is the work interesting in itself, but also because of the light it throws upon Wesley's relation to the Church of England and his intention in regard to the ecclesiastical status of his followers in the new transatlantic nation. It is, therefore, not merely a literary curiosity, but at the same time a valuable historical production, and worthy the attention of the student of ecclesiastical history. As a study in history we present it for a brief consideration.

When Wesley began the preparation of this service book is not certain. It would seem almost incredible that he could have prepared it between the date of the preface and the time when Dr. Coke and his companions sailed. The preface shows that Wesley's work on the book had been completed when the preface was written; so that the editorial work was finished by the 9th of September. The question therefore arises as to whether Wesley could have done this work between that date and the first day of the month, when he ordained his new elders. Mr. Wesley was a very rapid worker, and, as the new book was mainly an abridgment of the Book of Common Prayer, much of the work, doubtless, was done by drawing a pen through a printed copy of the English Prayer Book. Mr. Wesley reached Bristol on the 28th of August, several days before the ordination, so that he could have used that time. But we need not limit him to such a short period. It is evident that before he met with the British Conference on the 27th of July he had decided on the new departure for American Methodism, and there is reason to think that coupled with the determination to ordain ministers was the purpose to give them a form of worship; and he may have put the book in the hand of the printer about that time. In the book itself there are evidences of hasty preparation, and yet it is probable that many changes had been thought about for a long time. However that may have been, the unbound copies of the book were on board the vessel with Dr. Coke by the 18th of September.

The title-page is as follows: "The Sunday Service of the Methodists in North America. With other Occasional Services. London: Printed in the Year MDCCLXXXIV." The preface is as follows:

I believe there is no liturgy in the world, either in ancient or modern language, which breathes more of a solid, scriptural, rational piety than the Common Prayer of the Church of England; and though the main part of it was compiled considerably more than two hundred years ago, yet is the language of it not only pure, but strong and elegant in the highest degree.

Little alteration is made in the following edition of it, except in the following instances:

1. Most of the holy days (so called) are omitted, as at present answering no valuable end.

2. The service of the Lord's day, the length of which has often been complained of, is considerably shortened.

3. Some sentences in the offices of baptism, and for the burial of the dead, are omitted; and,

4. Many psalms are left out, and many parts of the others, as being highly improper for the mouths of a Christian congregation.

BRISTOL, *September* 9, 1784. JOHN WESLEY.

In his circular letter to the American Methodists, written the next day, Mr. Wesley says:

I have prepared a liturgy little differing from that of the Church of England (I think the best constituted national Church in the world), which I advise all traveling preachers to use on the Lord's day in all the congregations, reading the litany only on Wednesdays and Fridays, and praying extempore on all other days. I also advise the elders to administer the supper of the Lord on every Lord's day.

We may now note some of the particulars in which Wesley's Service Book varied from the Book of Common Prayer. It will be noticed that even in his day complaint was made concerning the length of the English service, and Wesley anticipated by at least a century recent efforts to curtail their length. Wesley's book has the Morning and Evening Prayer; but whereas the English service has the title, "The Order for Morning Prayer, Daily throughout the Year," Wesley's title is, "The Order for Morning Prayer, every Lord's Day." Both open with sentences from the Scriptures, but some of the prayers Wesley omits, while others he abbreviates. In every instance he strikes out the word "priest" and inserts the word "minister." He strikes out the English rubric: "The absolution, or the remission of sins, to be pronounced by the priest alone, standing; the people still kneeling," and instead of the absolution inserts a simple petition, "O Lord, we beseech thee, absolve thy people from their offenses," etc. Wesley omits "The Creed of Saint Athanasius" and uses only the Apostles' Creed. He omits many of what he terms the "so-called" holy days, retaining Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension Day, Whitsunday, and Trinity Sunday. In the body of the work he omits a number of special services, including "The Order of Confirmation." In the form for the baptism of infants he strikes out all reference to godfathers and godmothers, and the question, "Dost thou, in the name of this child, renounce the devil and all his works?" From the old form he struck out

the word "regenerate" in the sentence, "Seeing now, dearly beloved brethren, that this child is regenerate and grafted into the body of Christ's Church." When he came to the ordinal he made sweeping changes. First, he entirely eliminated the Preface, which said: "It is evident unto all men, diligently reading the Holy Scripture and ancient authors, that from the apostles' time there have been these orders of ministers in Christ's Church: bishops, priests, and deacons." Then in the several services he made vital alterations. For "priest" he substituted "elder," and for "bishop" he substituted the title "superintendent," while the title "archbishop" he eliminated without even suggesting a substitution, as though he did not believe in an ecclesiastical officer of such rank. His knife did its sharpest work among the Articles of Religion. The thirty-nine articles were cut down to twenty-four. Out of some articles he cut portions, while other articles were entirely eliminated. Thus from Article VI he struck out all reference to the apocryphal books. Article VIII, which declared that "the three creeds" "ought thoroughly to be received and believed," was omitted. Article XVII, "Of Pedestination and Election," with its alleged Calvinism, was cast aside.

These instances will indicate the character of the changes made in the Anglican Common Prayer. Tyerman, the English Methodist historian, says:

> Upon the whole we regard Wesley's expurgations as emendations (except in the case of the Psalms). His Prayer Book is purged from popish and Calvinian errors, and in that respect is superior to the Prayer Book of the Church of England.

Dr. Abel Stevens, the American historian, declares:

> Wesley's abridgment of the Common Prayer was exceedingly well done; superior to that adopted by the Protestant Episcopal Church. It includes the very quintessence of the English liturgy in the best possible form.

However, we care less for the rhetorical skill which is manifested than for its indication of Wesley's doctrinal views and ecclesiastical intentions. Those who consider Wesley's service book as identical with the Anglican Book of Common Prayer make a great mistake, for its variations are vital. Wesley's changes in the book reveal changes in his own mind. The once high churchman had become antisacerdotal. The elimination

of the word "priest" and the substitution of "minister" or "elder" is only one proof out of many showing that he had become a low churchman. The change in ecclesiastical views is quite as evident as his change in doctrine. Some persist in saying that Mr. Wesley never intended that the Methodists in America should become a distinct Church, and that he never sanctioned their attempt at church organization. Such objectors seem to be blind to the fact that Wesley gave the American Methodists an ordained ministry and a supervisional government, and they seem oblivious to the meaning of his Prayer Book. He did not send them the Anglican Common Prayer, but *The Sunday Service of the Methodists in North America.* They were not to use the book of the English Church, but to have their own, and their own was radically different from that of the Church of England in many vital points. The Methodists in America were, therefore, according to the intention of Mr. Wesley, to have their own service, and not that of the Anglican Church, and they were to receive the ordinances from their own ministry, and not to depend upon the clergy of other denominations. The book provided by Mr. Wesley had services for ordaining deacons and elders and setting apart elders as superintendents; so it was manifest that he intended American Methodism should make its own ministers. Further, Mr. Wesley's book furnished the American Methodists with Articles of Religion which differed in many respects from those of the English Church. These things could not mean that Mr. Wesley thought the American Methodists were, or that he intended them to remain, in the Church of England or to enter a Church essentially the same as the Church of England. He provided an ordained ministry, a creed, a service, and a government. These things meant a Church, and a Church differing from the State Church of England as these features differed from the peculiarities of the Anglican Church; and Wesley's Prayer Book, *The Sunday Service of the Methodists in North America, with Other Occasional Services,* is overwhelming proof that Mr. Wesley intended the American Methodists to be an independent Church—a complete Church, with its own Articles of Religion, its own regular ministry, its own services, "in which the pure word of God" should "be preached, and the sacraments be duly ministered."

Some may ask whether this service book was used by the Methodists in the United States. In view of slanderous assertions made by a Protestant Episcopal clergyman in a book called *A Methodist in Search of the Church*,* this question should be answered. The author of this effusion makes one of his characters, who is engaged in proselyting, declare that the Methodist Episcopal Church "suppressed it," and goes on to say:

> Our tradition is that the whole edition of Mr. Wesley's Prayer Book fell into the hands of Bishop Asbury (perhaps was directed to him from England), and that he, judging it injudicious, destroyed the whole, with the exception of a few copies which were accidentally mislaid.—Pp. 103, 104.

This is either a brazen falsehood, invented for the purpose of misleading, or it is a revelation of inexcusable ignorance, for no one who does not know the facts should undertake to write history, even for the purpose of making proselytes.

Less than two months after Dr. Coke landed in America the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America was organized, and that before the Protestant Episcopal Church was formed; and at the Conference where the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized it was agreed to use "the liturgy as presented by the Rev. John Wesley," and the Minutes of that Conference declare that the ministers were to be set apart "according to the forms of ordination annexed to our liturgy," and the ministers were "to read the Morning and Evening Service out of our liturgy on the Lord's day." This action does not look very much like suppression. After this time the service was promptly introduced into the churches, as Jesse Lee tells us, "in the large towns and in some country places."

In less than two years another edition was printed in London, by Frys and Couchman, Worship Street, Upper Moorfields. The title-page of the edition of 1786 is a little different from that of the first, as it reads: "The Sunday Service of the Methodists in the United States of America," instead of "in North America." The new nation was recognized, however, in the first edition, for in it Mr. Wesley had a prayer for "the Supreme Rulers of these United States." In the edition of 1786 also

* *A Methodist in Search of the Church.* By the Rev. S. Y. McMasters, D.D., LL.D., Late President of St. Paul's College, Palmyra, Mo.

appeared the new article of religion as agreed upon by the organizing Conference, namely, "Article XXIII, Of the Rulers of the United States of America."

In the same year, with the imprint of the same printers, appeared another edition, entitled *The Sunday Service of the Methodists in His Majesty's Dominions.* It was a bold move to publish this Prayer Book for the use of "the Methodists in His Majesty's Dominions," where the State Church existed, and yet this was done five years before the death of Mr. Wesley. If this was not "separation" in form it was a departure that meant separation in fact.

That Mr. Wesley's Prayer Book was used in England is a matter of history. An English author observes that "when circumstances arose which compelled the Methodists to hold services during church hours Mr. Wesley took care that the form of worship should be assimilated to that of the Church as much as possible; and he, therefore, compiled an abridgment of the Book of Common Prayer." As we have seen, however, the assimilation "as far as possible" meant a radical difference. The English minutes of 1788, about three years before Mr. Wesley's death, have the following order:

> The assistants shall have discretionary power to read the Prayer Book in the preaching houses on Sunday morning where they think it expedient, if the generality of the society acquiesce with it.

In 1795, about four years after the decease of Mr. Wesley, the Conference Minutes contain the following:

> Wherever divine service is performed in England, on the Lord's day, in church hours, the officiating preacher shall read either the service of the Established Church, our venerable father's Abridgment, or at least the lessons appointed by the calendar. But we recommend either the full service or the Abridgment.

Similar action was taken in 1806. In 1815 a new edition of the Abridgment was ordered, one size for the pulpit and another for "individual accommodation." The order for the use of the full service or the Abridgment was repeated in 1839, and the writer has an English print of *The Sunday Service* published in 1842. One remarkable feature of the English edition is that it is essentially the same as the editions used in America, even including the ordination services, the provisions for dea-

cons, elders, and superintendents, and also the Articles of Religion. Instead, however, of the prayer for "the Supreme Rulers of the United States," there are prayers for the sovereign and all the royal family.

The later editions are not of so great historic interest; but what must be inferred from Mr. Wesley's re-issue of *The Sunday Service* for "the Methodists in His Majesty's Dominions?" Is it not a fair interpretation to conclude that he intended them to use it in place of the Church of England Book of Common Prayer, and that he was looking forward to a time when all the British Methodists would have their own service in "church hours" and no longer be dependent upon the Establishment? When he gave them a service book differing so radically from the established Common Prayer was he not sanctioning or actually making a separation from the State Church? Subordinate acts sometimes indicate quite as much as avowed decisions.

But we turn again to Wesley's Prayer Book in the United States. Dr. McMasters, in the book before mentioned, again makes one of the characters in his marvelous fiction, which is a stranger to fact, say that it is his "honest and clear conviction that the book was destroyed or suppressed" (p. 106), and that "to all appearances the Methodist Church was guilty of a *suppressio veri*" (p. 108). We will not assert that the author was knowingly guilty of the same thing, but if not it is very manifest that he was ignorant as to the matters upon which he wrote. Instead of being suppressed it was formally adopted by the Methodist Episcopal Church, and, as we have seen, a second edition was printed. The Disciplines of 1788 and 1789 refer to the use of "the liturgy," and there is a record of its use in 1788 by Bishop Asbury at Uniontown, Pa., when "the morning service was read as abridged by Mr. Wesley." There are also evidences of its use at later periods. *The Sunday Service*, as Dr. Abel Stevens observes, "has never been formally abrogated," but after some years it fell into gradual disuse. Why it was informally abandoned is a question of some interest. Jesse Lee says that "some of the preachers who had been long accustomed to pray extempore were unwilling to adopt this new plan." Dr. Stevens attributes the gradual disuse of *The Sunday Service* to the encroachments of preliminary services,

which infringed upon the hour for preaching and so compelled the omission of the liturgy. He remarks:

> It was used for a few years, in both cities and country, in the principal churches; but Sabbath love feasts, or other extra services, frequently preoccupied the time allotted to it, and, from being occasionally omitted, it at last fell into disuse.*

Possibly there were other reasons. Thus, it is more than probable that many of the churches of that period were too poor to buy a sufficient number of books to supply the members of their congregations, and many of the people were too poor to provide themselves with the service. Then the difficulties of transportation through woods, over mountains, and across unbridged rivers made it difficult to supply the people, especially in sections where the services were held in school buildings or private houses. A further explanation may be found in the frequent shifting of preachers after very short pastorates, thus sending preachers who knew the service to congregations where it was not used, or sending preachers who were not familiar with it to churches where it had been used.

Commenting upon the abandonment of "The Sunday Service" Dr. Stevens says:

> I am not aware that any effort has ever been made, in the General Conference or otherwise, to revive its use. The expedience of its restoration has occasionally been discussed in the church papers. Some Methodists have supposed that its use in our large communities might be desirable, and that, as the Methodist Episcopal Church, rather than the Protestant Episcopal Church, was, by its precedent organization, as well as its Articles of Religion, its ritual forms, and its numerical preponderance, the legitimate successor of the English Church in the United States, its continued use of the liturgy would not only have attracted to it most immigrant communicants of the parent Church, as well as other persons and families who prefer liturgical services, but it would have enabled it to supersede more effectually than it has the Protestant Episcopal Church in this country. It cannot be questioned, however, that a large majority of Methodists believe that any such advantage would have been more than counterbalanced by many disadvantages.†

As to this we have no opinion to present, since at this time our work is purely historical.

* Stevens's *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, vol. ii, p. 198.

† *Ibid.*, note, p. 199.

The morning and evening prayer, the litany, and various special prayers disappeared from the services of the churches, but all the matter of Wesley's Prayer Book was not lost. In 1790 the Articles of Religion were printed in the Discipline, and in 1792 the formal services for baptism, the Lord's Supper, matrimony, the burial of the dead, and the forms for setting apart the ministry were bound with the Discipline. These services have been modified from time to time, and especially by the General Conference of 1864, which also added new services for the reception of members, the laying of a corner stone, and the dedication of a church; but in the older forms the essential features of Wesley's service book still remain.

In 1792 action was also taken providing "for the establishment of uniformity in public worship amongst us on the Lord's day," which reveals the fact that there was lack of uniformity. The regulation enacted required "the reading of a chapter out of the Old Testament and another out of the New" in the morning, and, in "the afternoon service," "one chapter out of the Bible," besides singing, prayer, and preaching. In 1804 it was ordered that in the afternoon service there should be "one or two chapters out of the Bible." In 1824 a new paragraph was introduced, as follows:

> In administering the ordinances, and in the burial of the dead, let our forms of Discipline invariably be used. Let the Lord's Prayer also be used on all occasions of public worship in concluding the first prayer, and the apostolic benediction in dismissing the congregation.

In 1864 the directions were amended so that it was specified that the congregation should join in the "audible repetition" of the Lord's Prayer; "a doxology was to be sung at the conclusion of each service;" the apostolic benediction was to "be invariably used;" and the people were exhorted "especially to respond to the prayers of our Ritual." The General Conference of 1888 inserted a permission for responsive reading of the Scriptures. This brings us to the order of service for the Lord's day as it now stands, for the law in the Discipline of 1892 is substantially the same as that of 1888.

All these changes from 1792 to 1892 were for the purpose of securing "uniformity in public worship," and yet perfect uniformity has not been secured. There is a general desire for

uniformity, but this desire exists where there are divergent ideas as to the proper form. In some quarters there is a demand for greater elaboration, while in other places the people insist upon severe simplicity; but in almost every section there is variation from the indicated order, while some professedly strict constructionists omit parts and insert new items at pleasure, but, with remarkable inconsistency, cry out against others who do the same thing in a different way.

Perhaps those who do not adhere strictly to the form in the law take cover under the qualification "as far as possible," which did not appear in the order until 1888. It may be held that this allows latitude. The enactment of 1888 read: "Let the morning service be ordered, as far as possible, in the following manner," etc.; and the Discipline of 1892 reads: "As far as possible the following shall be the order of the morning service," etc. This, some may claim, permits considerable variety according to circumstances, the judgment of the pastor, or the tastes of the people; but, if so, it does not "establish uniformity in public worship among us on the Lord's day," as was the intention of the lawmakers. That some degree of uniformity is desirable will be admitted by all; but many will dissent from the idea that there must be a cast-iron rule from which there can be no variation. Our twenty-second Article of Religion says:

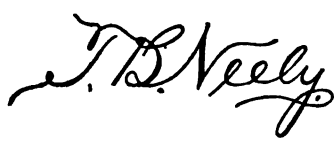
> It is not necessary that rites and ceremonies should in all places be the same or exactly alike; for they have been always different, and may be changed according to the diversity of countries, times, and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's word.

Yet, while Methodism implies flexibility and practical adaptation to differing and changed conditions for the purpose of most effective church work, it must be admitted that everywhere its Sabbath services should have sufficient uniformity to give them a familiar denominational cast.

Our purpose, however, is not to show what ought to be done in regard to the present order of worship, but merely to call attention to a few fundamental points of an historical character connected with what has been termed Mr. Wesley's Prayer Book. The great value of this study in Methodist history is in the direct light and the side light which this

investigation throws on the early history of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Wesley's book, called *The Sunday Service of the Methodists in North America, with Other Occasional Services*, is one of the foundation stones of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America. It was the first formulation of doctrine and polity for American Methodism as a distinct Church. In its Creed and Articles of Religion was presented the doctrine of the Church, and the polity of the new Church was suggested by the distinctive titles given its ministers, namely, deacons, elders, and superintendents. It has value as showing by comparison with the English Book of Common Prayer not only what Wesley rejected, but also what was rejected by the American Methodists, for the eliminations from the old Prayer Book imply quite as much as the new service book expressed.

The Sunday Service, in connection with the "Circular Letter" written by Wesley and subsequently bound with the service book, conclusively answers the objector who claims that Wesley never intended the American Methodists to be separate from the Church of England, and proves that he intended the Methodists in the United States to be independent of all other bodies and to be a Church with its own ministry, with full services conducted and sacraments ministered by its own clergy, and with a complete ecclesiastical organization; and in these particulars what was manifestly intended was freely agreed to by the American Methodists, who had a right to decide for themselves.



Art. V.—CITY MISSIONS AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

It is a noteworthy characteristic of current discussion that even secular minds are seeing, amid the forces which have made our century one of progress, the figure of the foreign missionary. To find the record of his service it is no longer necessary to take down from our shelves the quaint and frequently ill-written volumes of pious biography. We go as often to the treatises on ethnic and linguistic science, to the works of travel and exploration, to the commercial reports, to the scientific journals, and even to the columns of the daily press. Men who are careful to minimize his motives cannot afford to depreciate his influence. Weary as the world is of the rage for centennializing, it is constrained at this reflective epoch to admit that William Carey and his successors have had not only an intense zeal to save human souls, but a profound influence toward the betterment of human life.

It is not equally clear that the world has discovered the city missionary. The Christian worker in foreign fields has made notable contributions to government, language, commerce, art; to the circle of sciences—geography, ethnology, geology, botany, zoology, comparative religion; to the higher pursuits of philosophy and of philanthropy. But the missionary in the cities is at present quite generally supposed to be but slightly concerned with what the world of literature and science and statesmanship regards as important and dignifies for its own thought as the problems of the age. His special function is to visit the poor, to distribute tracts, to hold small prayer meetings, to preach to the sodden and the sad from the vantage point of a street corner or in an obscure hall, and once a year at some anniversary in the wealthy districts to tell the benevolent "better class" what they are doing by proxy "to reach the masses." He is in popular thought characterized, physically, by a capacity for living by faith on starvation wages, with the meal always at the bottom of the barrel; mentally, by an intense but narrow conception of the value of the human soul, especially if concealed in a diseased and degraded body under a scant garb of rags; spiritually, by a Christlike but ineffective renunciation of self and trust in God, a self-devotion which barely misses

being fanaticism. But that he has a relation to human progress in its broader sweep, at all similar to that of the missionary to foreign lands, has only just begun to dawn upon the world's consciousness.

Beneath the thought of this decade are two postulates. The first declares the supreme importance of the questions of society. The problems of government, of social and economic relations as bearing upon the welfare of the race, are given the right of way in every avenue of thought. The chief concern of humanity is not discovery or science or art, but—humanity. The second postulate asserts that the city is the playground, or, better, the battlefield, of these tremendous social forces. Here they center and combine and contend. It is like history, not repeating itself, but transferring itself into another realm and reproducing Troy and Alexandria, Rome and Paris, in the fierce and far-reaching conflicts of the social world. Where are the problems of society and, specifically, of the city not held to be paramount? In England the semi-socialistic reforms of the London County Council are watched as closely as are Mr. Gladstone's home rule proposals for Ireland. Germany busies herself with plans for workingmen's insurance, and state socialism receives the careful attention of her entertaining and versatile emperor. The most striking feature of our own last census is the transfer of population from the rural to the civic life. Congress appoints a commission to investigate the slums of great cities. The best minds are studying, in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, the difficult problem of municipal government. In thousands of halls each week workingmen are discussing the gravest social questions. The late political campaign was a conflict between economic theories. The most popular lecture rooms in our colleges and universities are those of political economy, history, and sociology. The lengthened calendars of the courts tell constantly the story of new theories and interpretations of the fundamental principles of the laws of property and of personal rights. The press, secular and religious, double-leads its sociological dissertations, and its news columns are a catalogue of the deeds of great cities. A few men—and the world honors them—are mapping the heavens, seeking the frozen secret of the pole, measuring the crust of the earth, and hunting in laboratories the elusive laws

of matter; but the age as such has turned its search-light upon the people, and its revealing rays are focused upon the centers where they live and toil and sin and play and weep and die.

Into the city comes the man whom God has sent to preach his Gospel to the people. He finds himself at once in actual contact with the problems which other folk are discussing. With them facts melt into theories, with him theories congeal into facts. Observe the discoveries of his practical life, the realities which confront him in a single day's experience.

1. Here is the rum traffic. It thwarts him at every turn. He is familiar with the drunkard's home. The children whom he gathers into his Sunday school are the heirs of vice. In New York, a block or two from one of our mission churches, is a public school. Within four hundred feet of that school are *seventy-seven* legalized saloons. Next door to that church is a saloon, in the back yard of which the empty beer kegs on Monday morning are heaped in great piles, and in summer the preaching is accentuated by the stroke of the mallet which taps the barrels. A converted drunkard recently said, that on his way to the mission, which was his spiritual birthplace and to which he nightly goes, he must pass one hundred and sixty dramshops. When the city missionary reads in the laconic phrase of the Bishops' Address concerning the liquor traffic, "It can never be legalized without sin," he knows as few others can the terrible truth of that statement. He is obliged to ponder the physical and moral effects of alcohol, to note the relation of its manufacture and sale to the peace of communities, to the enforcement of law, to the propagation of vice, to the sources of government. The serpent whose sting is in the wine draws its slimy length across the thresholds of the homes this man seeks to brighten, and poisons with its venom the very cup of cold water he would give to the thirsty. Who better than he can study the problem of rum?

2. He confronts poverty everywhere. The hiss of the serpent is no more familiar to him than the growl of the wolf. There is a poverty which is a spur to ambition and impels to better deeds. There is a poverty which means privation, hunger, filth, moral inertia, vice, death. Notwithstanding the constant discussions of the problems of poverty, few understand their horrible import. Professor Böhmert, the Director of the

Bureau of Statistics in Saxony, states that over seventy-six per cent of the inhabitants of that kingdom are living on incomes of less than two hundred dollars per annum. A recent authority estimates that in Great Britain thirty thirty-eighths of the population possess in actual property on the average thirty dollars per head, and have an average annual income of eighty-five dollars. Mr. Frederick Harrison said in 1886:

> Ninety per cent of the actual producers of wealth have no home that they can call their own beyond the end of a week; have no bit of soil, or so much as a room that belongs to them; have nothing of value of any kind except as much as will go in a cart; have the precarious chance of weekly wages which barely suffice to keep them in health; are housed for the most part in places that no man thinks fit for his horse; are separated by so narrow a margin from destitution that a month of bad trade, sickness, or unexpected loss brings them face to face with hunger and pauperism.

In London, in 1888, out of 79,099 deaths 17,663 occurred in public institutions. "In the richest city in the world one out of every five persons, or probably one out of every four adults, dies a pauper's death!" The remarkable conclusions of Mr. Charles Booth, based as they are on the most systematic and scientific investigation, show that at the present time in London one person in three is in the thraldom of poverty. "But," it will be said, "there is no such poverty in America." This is true of the country at large. In some cities, however, and in some parts of all large cities on these shores, the poverty varies little from that beyond the sea. In New York, for years, of all who have died one out of every ten has been buried in Potter's Field. Mr. Jacob A. Riis, an expert authority, estimates that "twenty to thirty per cent of our population are always struggling to keep the wolf from the door," and shows "that we have an army of four hundred thousand persons receiving alms in the past ten years, of whom eighty-five per cent may be safely estimated to be still in the slough, or where they may be swamped in it by the first misfortune, idleness, death, or loss of work. The other fifteen per cent worked out of it, died, or moved away." Practical mission workers know that here is no exaggeration. Spread your table with sandwiches and coffee anywhere below Fourteenth Street or on the extreme east or west side, and your room will be filled with guests

so gaunt and scarred and famished that your wonder will outrun your pity. It is said that one hundred deaths from starvation were recorded last year. But no record is made of the thousands to whose death hunger was a contributory cause, nor of the scores of thousands who are physically dwarfed and morally debased by the horrible experience of continual semi-starvation.

But hunger is not the only incident of poverty with which the city missionary must deal. The homes he enters are ever emphasizing the crime of overcrowding the poor. In many a parish not only has no family a single house, but very few have a single floor, and the majority live in two or three rooms, of which one at least is never touched by either air or sunlight. It is said that there is one square mile on the lower east side which contains two hundred and twenty-six blocks, where the population exceeds three hundred and fifty thousand, or fifteen hundred and fifty to the average block. One block at least contains nearly five thousand people. Do families from choice share their front door with from fifteen to thirty-one other families? Are parents so dull of wit and hard of heart as to desire for their children the temptation to crime, the contact with vice, the indifference to decency which such conditions of life surely entail? No; a thousand times, no! But poverty, under the grinding necessities of what we proudly or devoutly call our Christian civilization, leaves the multitudes of New York no alternative. And the reality of poverty is central in the work of the missionary to the city. He knows the facts which statisticians tabulate; he faces the foe which political economists describe; he shares the burden philanthropists are striving to weigh and to lift. Who better than he can study the problem of poverty?

3. But rum and poverty do not furnish the only questions which enter into the daily experience of the city missionary. The child scorched with scarlet fever or choked with diphtheria, at whose bedside he kneels, dies and is buried; but the foul abuse of the laws of health declares the necessity of the gospel of sanitation. The scientist who is hunting microbes and experimenting with "lymph" and "cultures" finds no truer ally than the man whose commission drives him into the very centers of contagion. The laws of heredity constantly illustrate themselves before his eyes. He is forced to appreciate racial distinctions. In a cosmopolitan city he must minister to the superstitious Italian, the

simple-hearted Scandinavian, the phlegmatic German, the restless Frenchman, the long-suffering Russian. In New York mingle the peoples of the earth in strange confusion. Aryan and Semite shoulder each other on the streets and in the shops. Greek Christian and Romish Christian, Protestant and Jew, trade, argue, sin, vote, laugh, grumble, and sometimes pray together. Here are an Italian city nearly as large as New Haven, a German city surpassed only by Vienna and Berlin, a colored population equal to the number of people in Poughkeepsie, Bohemians enough to occupy Bridgeport. Every third person is a Roman Catholic, and out of every ten one is a Jew. In a large section on the east side one is continually reminded of Evelyn's description of his visit to the Jews' quarter in Rome or of scenes in *Daniel Deronda*. He reads over the door of a synagogue, "Incorporated 5643 Hungarian Congregation, Bet Hamidrash Hagodol," and over that of a shop, "Budapester Wurst Geschäft," and reflects that the ends of the earth have come hither To reach these varied peoples requires not only the Holy Spirit but the gift of tongues. With their children swarming about his path the problems of education become startlingly important to the thoughtful man. He must form opinions touching the function of the State in the training of citizens. Industrial education, the primary, parish, and public schools must be objects of his solicitude. The relation between the religion he is sent to inculcate and the morality upon which citizenship must rest demands his consideration. In a word, there is no question growing out of the distinction of races, no problem of heredity, no principle of education that does not root itself in the very soil which it is his to cultivate for the great Lord of the vineyard.

4. There is one other phase of current agitation with which none can be more familiar than the city missionary. He is the companion and sometimes the confidant of the workman. He feels the throb of the great and burdened heart of labor. The hall of the socialist who preaches anarchy adjoins the chapel where he preaches Christ. He is accustomed to the red flag. Few so well as he comprehend the meaning of such novels as *Murvale Eastman* and *Metzerott, Shoemaker*, and *Alton Locke*. The contentions of the labor unions, the hopes and miseries of exasperated strikers, and the horrors

of the sweating system and child labor are the food of his daily thought. The grievous injustice, sometimes open, sometimes subtle, which flouts in the face the righteousness of the Bible and diminishes to the minimum the possibility of the individual to master life; the barbarism of a competitive system which reduces men to machines and buys and sells their labor as a commodity in the market place; the mockery of law and custom which produces and perpetuates the unnatural inequality of possessions and organizes into social institutions gross infringements of the decalogue—these are the facts which stir his indignation, move his tears, and burden his heart. It is impossible for a man to walk through Mulberry Bend or to fraternize with the denizens of the Fourth Ward without coming to conclusions touching *laissez faire* and the new political economy. When he looks for the landlord who secures twenty per cent from his wretched tenants, yet never repairs the premises and exposes scores of lives to the perils of defective sanitation, and after most industrious search cannot even find out who the rich rascal is, he is bound to have readjusted views of what is called the sacred right of property. Miss Kate Field, who uses a pen with a sharp nib, says in a recent number of her paper:

> In fact, they [the rich landlords] often fatten on the misery of less fortunate fellow-creatures, as many tenements belong to them, and the rents collected therefrom are so much greater than those collected from high class dwelling houses in proportion to the capital expended as to make them desirable investments. Take New York, for example. I have tried in vain to find out who owned filthy tenements swarming with humanity. The owners are represented by agents who will not divulge the names of their employers. It is the business of these agents to do the dirty work of well-to-do citizens, who no more concern themselves with the welfare of their tenants than they concern themselves with customers buying from them dry goods and groceries. In the latter case customers get their money's worth; in the former they are at the mercy of landlords, and must pay what is asked or be turned into the street.

The landlordism of Ireland creates a national issue and makes and unmakes administrations. The landlordism of our great cities is a menace to the peace of communities, and urges on to its crisis what may easily become revolution if it be not diverted by reform. Certain it is that, whatever opinion concerning personal and property rights a man may hold, there is

no such opportunity for applying the logic of facts and testing theory by observation as that offered by a life among the teeming peoples of a great civic center.

If now the position assumed be secure, that the work of city missions is inextricably intermingled with the problems which are throbbing in the heart and brain of humanity, a further truth may be justly urged, namely, that the application of the new forces and methods developed by the very emergency of the case is to be made in the same field and in a large degree by the same hands. How close to the questions involved Providence has placed the solutions! No man yet has seen them all, but some of them are already within reach.

When, fifty years ago, Froebel opened in the German village of Blankenburg the first kindergarten, he little thought what his system would mean to the polyglot myriads of New York's children. Even now few of us appreciate the divine fitness of need and instrument. But, on the basis of the kindergarten, children whose languages vary but whose instincts are one can find the best powers of their minds and the highest uses of their bodies. There are to-day Christian men and women, fast increasing in number, who are giving money, talents, life itself, to the unschooled children of the slums, convinced that the Christian kindergarten will sow seed and develop convictions which can never be destroyed.

To many university extension is the fad of a few educational zealots. The worker in large cities welcomes it as an ally of great power. Every religious center should offer a stimulus to mental life. The so-called lower strata of society are seamed with the precious metals. Workingmen think. The beershop is often chosen, not as an alternative, but because no alternative is offered. The avidity with which the public has grasped the opportunity to hear the excellent lectures provided by the New York School Board during this winter is significant. Instructive exposition of the facts of nature and history and of current thought will find hearers where the people seem most reckless, and many a student whose greasy cap covers an active brain.

And that most humane form of university extension—the college settlement—is in the beginning of a great career. Before a decade has passed among the most useful missionaries in

our cities will be many of the brightest scholars of our universities. The course of theological training will be incomplete without months of personal contact with the people. The sociology of the books will be supplemented by that of the life. The great point in reaching men is the point of contact. The convictions which are establishing chairs of social science in every institution of respectable repute are issuing also in the consecration of some of the best students who throng the lecture halls to practical, hand-to-hand efforts for human welfare.

Then, too, there are new orders of Christian service whose characteristics are determined by the demands of our cities. The meaning of such gatherings as the convention of the United Christian Workers in Boston a few months ago is becoming more clear. The development of independent rescue missions, with their splendid corps of lay workers, the revival of the order of deaconesses in the Protestant Episcopal and Methodist Episcopal Churches, the activity of the King's Daughters, of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, of the Christian Endeavor Society, of the Epworth League, and the self-denying service of the Salvation Army are all indications that the Christian Church is responding to a new conviction and is concentrating upon our cities as the strategic points.

The specialization of charity, also, is not only a sign of the sanity of modern philanthropic effort, but is a first concern of city missions. Through no mediation can the facts of need so surely reach the heart of mercy as through that of the wise missionary. Generalized benevolence has had its day; the man who is commissioned to preach the Gospel to the poor is likely to be expected to declare what the poor need.

Many, too, are urging the practical experiment of Christian socialism. The term is obscure and the practice difficult. Yet must we not with a jest or a sneer dismiss the deepening convictions of men everywhere that some reconstruction of the social order is at hand. Less than many other servants of the Church does the city missionary realize the sacred prerogatives of capital and the supreme necessity of preserving the traditional social order. He should not be an alarmist, and surely not an agitator; but more than other Christians he is apt to perceive that God cares as much for the personal rights of each man in the million who have not a bank account

as he does for those of each man of the hundred who have. The possibilities of the applied Gospel in curing social iniquities seem to him less distant and the socialism of Christ more reasonable than to many who are following the Master and studying his teachings where the crowds cannot jostle thought or disturb complacence. If any changes are to come in the relative privileges and obligations of men this messenger of the cross will prove an agent of immense influence in shaping human practice to the ideals of the Gospel of Christ. Verily, let the "if" be stricken out. Such changes must come. Says Locke: "Every one ought to have as much property as is necessary for his support." Fichte declares:

> Christianity yet carries in its breast a renovating power of which we have no conception. Hitherto it has only acted upon individuals, and through them on the State indirectly. But whoever can appreciate its power, whether he be a mere believer or an independent thinker, will confess that it is destined some day to become the inner organizing power of the State; and there it will reveal itself to the world in all the depth of its ideas and the full richness of its blessing.

Christianity must accept the challenge thrown down to it by the spirit of this age and become the antagonist of all evils, the protector of all the unfortunate, the avenger of all the wronged. It must wipe out the fine distinction between iniquity and inequity. It must not lag in secular philanthropics nor leave to others the initiation of movements which should have upon them from their inception the imprint of the cross. No organization or order of men on the face of the earth must be permitted to usurp the place of the Church of Christ as the champion of human rights. The pride that despises labor must be crucified. The selfishness which seeks men simply to use them must die. The customs which put the silken glove upon the iron hand of human greed must be abolished. The laws which ennoble riches and degrade manhood are to be abrogated. The wealth which belongs to all must be held for all, and the rights which belong to each must be withheld from none. The rivalry which begets hate and issues in death must be supplanted. The avarice which buys up virtue for gold and makes merchandise of vice must be foiled. Entailed poverty and enforced starvation must be prevented by the community which

now barely relieves them. For each soul there must be a living chance in this world and a reasonable opportunity to secure in the world to come "life everlasting." Verily, changes must come, so fundamental and wide-reaching that there will be in the social world a new heaven and a new earth. And let it be repeated with stronger emphasis that, in this process of social transformation, no man can better serve God and humanity than he who stands as the apostle of Jesus amid the surging crowds of our great cities.

If the facts and inferences thus far set forth be conceded they make their own plea. They urge, in the first place, that the ideals of Christian work among the masses be changed, ceasing to be chiefly *ecclesiastical* and *edificatory*, and becoming more truly *evangelistic* and *humanitarian*. The need of to-day is not the Church of the disciples but the Church of the apostles. The Church must seek men, not wait for them. Its commission should put it, not upon its foundations, but upon its feet. And the object of Christian solicitude should be *human need of every kind*. To that Church which solves the difficult problem of harmonizing the most intense and spiritual evangelism with the broadest humanitarianism the future belongs. They who are asking what the mission of Methodism is to the twentieth century will find it here.

But the plea goes beyond ideals and asks for men. It requires of the Church, in its press, its administrative officers, its schools, that it influence its best men and women to prepare themselves for this new day. Specialized service means a specialized ministry. If intellect seeks a wide field, if humanity pleads for multiplied opportunity, if culture desires its own highest uses, if the modern spirit demands free play for its formative influence, the adequate domain for all lies waiting where human life, with its baffled but unslain hopes, with its desperate yet immortal needs, lifts and falls, advances and recoils, as with the mighty movement of the storm-swept sea. Just as the pioneers and organizers of opinion have made a beaten track for the hosts who would save the ends of the earth, so also let them reiterate in all the circles of thought and devotion the demand now made by our cities upon the very best ministry of our day. It is too late for untrained zeal to take the world. The unarmored ship is quick to sink under the enemy's fire. If the

"undevout astronomer is mad" the unintelligent missionary is his fellow. As the mysteries of the skies yield themselves to no man whose keenest vision is not interpreted by his faith, so the real secrets of humanity are withheld from him whose faith is forced to act through a sightless brain.

Christ's command of the future is conditioned upon his conquest of the cities. That conquest is impossible unless the spirit of the Gospel penetrates into every ideal and institution of human life. That spirit can find access to the multiplied forms it would control only through the contact of hearts that know Christ and understand humanity with the hearts which yearn for both without comprehending either. The first need of this decade is that men and women of culture and godliness, disciplined equally in mind and heart, who can be indifferent to nothing that concerns human welfare, shall with profound devotion to Christ consecrate themselves to the life of contact with the multitudes in our cities over whom the Master weeps. The signs multiply that God is calling many to this glorious service. It behooves the Church to give voice to that inward persuasion. Her faith must inspire, her wisdom direct, the awakened servants of Christ. "Prepare ye the way of the Lord" is no obsolete command. That way is not alone "in the sea," "through the desert," or "upon the mountains;" it runs through "the streets and the lanes" of the city, and as "beautiful" upon the crowded thoroughfares of teeming human life are "the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace," as upon the sacred mountains of the prophet's vision. It is the glad privilege of the Church to hasten the time when the cities of men shall become the cities of God, when the promise to Israel shall have its broader fulfillment, "I will also make thy officers peace, and thine exactors righteousness. Violence shall no more be heard in thy land, wasting nor destruction within thy borders; but thou shalt call thy walls Salvation, and thy gates Praise."

Frank Mason North

Art. VI.—THE REVIVAL: A SYMPOSIUM.

THE PREPARATION FOR THE REVIVAL.

By preparation for revival I do not mean merely the wise human arrangements which are requisite, but also some great facts, faiths, and convictions which inspire, propel, and secure revivals.

1. *The Pastor Must Become the General.*—Allowing all due credit to the labors of the laity, and demanding the largest, most incessant cooperation, nevertheless the revival must center in the pastor. It must dominate, inflame, and impel him. It must be as fire shut up in his bones. Then he cannot, will not, rest till his contagious faith and zeal have set others on fire. He must be a walking revival. It will be felt in his grasp of the hand. It will be heard as an undertone in *all* his conversation as the season for special services draws near, and will break out as hidden fires in all his prayers. His sermons will take shape and intensity from the consuming passion that burns within him. His pastoral visits will breathe a profound solicitude for the unsaved. All this, spontaneously outgoing from the pastor, will be seen and felt. Others will become aroused to a kindred interest. The revival influence is spreading.

Obstacles are seen, but they only stimulate the pastor to more heroic determination. The coldness of many only intensifies his zeal. The doubt of some that a revival is possible challenges his faith to laugh at impossibilities. The indifference of his Laodicean members redoubles his earnestness. His closet echoes with burdened prayers and is sprinkled with scalding tears. He is the center of the courage, real faith, and omnipotent energy of the revival. He must be the leader. As general he must march his forces into the battle and hold them to the contest with unflinching courage and faith. Too strongly cannot be impressed the necessity of the pastor's standing before his people as the informing genius of the revival. Often it will require great pluck and prodigious work to bring a cold, factious, backslidden, amusement-loving church up to the work. But there is nothing else to do. A revival is the stark neces-

sity of such a church. Nothing less will save the day. A revival or death. There is no self-recuperation in such a church. God must come in the power of the Holy Ghost and quicken the dead. Nor must the pastor wait till the whole church is aroused. Aroused himself, aflame with the revival spirit, let him inaugurate special meetings and sound the trumpet. Some will be found to rally to his side. With these begin the battle. Let it be felt that it is no skirmish, but a siege till the enemy surrenders. This is tremendously important. "Hard pounding, hard pounding, sir," said Wellington at Waterloo, "and he who pounds longest wins." Often I have seen the first three weeks utterly discouraging, but persistent pluck has been rewarded with a glorious revival. Once we stayed all night in prayer with a few heroic souls, and within three days the work of God was moving grandly. There must be a strong hand on the helm, and that hand should be the pastor's hand. He must be in the revival spirit if he would have a revival, and stand as the center of its revolving fires.

2. *The Deck Cleared for Action.*—Naval commanders before a battle clear away all incumbrances on deck. This is necessary to the best service of the men and guns. The pastor must clear his decks preparatory to revival meetings. He must beware that he has no engagements to take him away a single night, and no literary work that absorbs an hour of his time and strength. He must keep himself undivided in interest and devotion. The pastor must allow nothing to divert or divide him in his supreme work. His hand must be steadily on the helm.

Again, he must see that the church is free from distracting influences. Things proper or admissible at other times must be switched on side tracks now, to give the revival the right of way on the main track. Hence, it is important to plan that no entertainments, lectures, concerts, suppers, financial schemes, nor anything else be allowed to distract thought or divide interest during the season set apart for special services. The Christian Endeavor, and Epworth League, and all other week-night meetings must be adjourned for the time. The people must be urged to forego all social visiting and defer all parties during the evenings of the revival meetings. Besides the benefit of the absence of distractions this course calls serious

attention to the chief concern of the hour and puts the church in an attitude of expectancy. The interruption of the regular order of things challenges interest in the extraordinary. It sets the members thinking and talking about the revival. This helps the work. Even if some dislike the interruption and get angry, this helps the revival. The devil always makes a mistake when he gets mad. So do cold church members. The reaction comes, and in the meanwhile their anger has agitated interest in the revival. Indifference is more to be dreaded than opposition. Hence, let the pastor clear the decks for the revival as Episcopalians do for Lent.

3. *A Revival the Supreme Object.*—Until the pastor feels this as a profound conviction there will be no revival, or he must send for an evangelist who has this conviction. For this kind goeth not forth except from men of conviction that this is the supreme work. Mark that I do not say that it is the *only* work, nor *all* the work that is important. I know there are many other lines of imperative and indispensable work in the ministry of a well-rounded pastorate. But the conversion of men is so fundamental and imperative that without it there would be no other work to do. This precedes all else, and all else is built upon this. Bishop Foster, in his *Centenary Thoughts* (page 78), says, "The fundamental work is to build men into God." But men cannot be built into God until they are converted. Hence the supreme work of the pastor is to bring them to Christ.

The pastor must feel that his great business is to save souls if he would have a revival; and to secure their conversion is the only way to save them. Therefore it is his supreme work. Feeling this, he will direct his highest energies to its attainment. He will crib all the waters of his life and pour them on this wheel. This is the emporium toward which all his fleets will sail; this is the capital into which all his treasures of toil are gathered, in which all lines of study terminate, and into which all caravans of rich thought and perfumed acquirements bring their wealth.

The tenth rule for a preacher's conduct, in our Discipline, which every Methodist minister vows he will keep for conscience' sake, declares, "You have nothing to do but to save souls; therefore spend and be spent in this work." Either let

us take down that sign or do business under it. Nothing to do but to save souls? Then they must be converted. And the conversion of souls is a revival. I am not arguing for excitements and abuses and shams, but for genuine revivals, wrought by the Holy Ghost and conducted by careful, sober, sane pastors. The majority of Christians in the Methodist Episcopal Church to-day have been converted in revivals. The majority of her bishops and educators and governing minds were converted at her altars in revivals. And the majority of the millions she has fitted and sent to heaven were trophies of revivals. We have always been a revival Church, and when we drop this characteristic we shall lose our Methodist character. Poor friends of Methodism are they who decry revivals.

In his travail of soul for the lost the pastor will come into the fullest sympathy of the mind that was in Christ, and of all the truths that revolve around the cross and its infinite sacrifice. There will be unity, concentration, enthusiasm, and persistence in his ministry. When thus the pastor burns with the conviction that saving souls is his great work, and all his aims, studies, and labors are dominated by this central purpose, he will not need an evangelist. The evangelist is born in him, and the revival is as sure to follow as effect is to follow cause.

4. *Conviction that Success is Sure.*—On this dictum we are to build. We postulate the help of God as assured. Then we believe that the faithful labors of the pastor and church are sufficient to secure the salvation of souls in individual cases and in manifold conversions or revivals. Often when pastors have the conviction that the conversion of souls is the supreme work of the ministry they lack confidence in the sufficiency of the local church and pastor to accomplish the results, even when the help of God is assured. Desiring, yea, anxious for the glorious work, they turn their eyes from the word of God and the promised power of the Holy Ghost and begin to sweep the horizon in search of some flaming evangelist. This paralyzes any hope of success through their own labors. The pastor discounts the possibility of a revival under his own ministry who turns his thought to extraneous help. Doubting himself, he doubts God through himself. Of course he cannot have a revival. He thinks he cannot. The nerve of victory is cut. His faith is gone, and he will not use the God-ordained means that

will promote a revival, because he has no confidence so to do. Or if he makes a feeble, pantomimic use of the best methods, he has no heart, no vim, no faith in the work, and consequently fails. All this time he has been conferring with the church about the work of the Lord, and has communicated to them the idea that if they only had the right kind of an evangelist there would be a revival. His lack of confidence becomes contagious, and the church begins to look for success only in some foreign aid. The faith of both is now dead. They see a land full of Anakim, but do not see the God of Israel who has promised to give them the land by victorious conquest over the giants.

Thus we see how good men paralyze the arm of the Lord. He cannot do many mighty works among them because of their unbelief. Would that I could thrill my brethren with the faith that the pastor and the local church are able, by God's blessing, to secure a genuine revival! Until this conviction is a granite fact in their faith and labors there is little hope of a revival without an evangelist. I speak it reverently, but confidently, that any pastor and local church that will pay the price can have a revival. United in purpose, faith, and hard work along God's lines, they are certain of the times of refreshing.

Why not? I know the reply of many, so often reiterated: "I have no gift or adaptation for this work." Bishop Foster replies: "This kind of remark may have one of several paternities. No doubt in some cases it represents modesty; sometimes it is an affectation of modesty, but more frequently it means simply, 'I have no taste for that kind of work.' . . . But are you sure that you lack this gift of awakening power? Or may you not have unconsciously fallen into one of many snares which the adversary has spread about this point? . . . I cannot doubt that many pass through years of their ministry without seeing any visible effects from one or other of these reasons, rather than because God has withheld from them the requisite gifts. . . . Now what, under the circumstances, is the plain duty of the minister? Can he, therefore, give up the idea of awakening men, and as many of them as possible? Surely not. Such a course would bring the Church to an end. He must simply proceed, with all the power God has given him, in a legitimate and sensible method to warn, entreat, and arouse his hearers to

accept the invitation of the Gospel and be saved; and when his awakening appeals have produced their proper effect he must, in every proper way, guide the awakened and penitent soul to his Saviour in the most direct manner possible." He who made Aaron's rod bud and blossom can make all our dull gifts flame with divine power. But, so long as we think we cannot, we cannot.

Let me encourage any troubled young pastor by a word of personal testimony. No one ever began the ministry more diffident, easily embarrassed, trembling from head to foot, afraid to speak to persons and ignorant how to do it, than the writer. I often became so confused that neither the people nor myself could make any sense out of what I was saying. Frequently I was tempted of Satan to feel that I had no call nor adaptation to the work. At last I determined to be a soul-saving pastor by the help of God. It cost me ten years of hard work to get fairly started in understanding some of the methods of success.

There are two distinct agencies engaged in promoting all genuine revivals: the divine agency and the human agency. The divine agency is a constant, invariable power working toward the salvation of men; not arbitrarily, as the old theory of revivals taught, but in coordination with his appointed agents. The human agency is an inconstant, variable power, sometimes working to the same end, and sometimes inactive; working, too, in different degrees of efficiency in different persons. God is unchangeable in love, mercy, and power, without variableness or shadow of turning, yesterday, to-day, and forever the same. And yet he has conditioned the manifestation of his love and power in human agency. The failure to have a constant revival is not in the will of God nor in the law of the Spirit, but in the human conditions. Whenever the human agency meets the divine agency in cooperation there always follows a revival. It may be daily, as in the early Church, or annually, or decennially; but whenever man fulfills the human condition as a coworker God giveth the increase. Hence, it is philosophical and scriptural to labor for a revival at any time. And what intelligent men mean by laboring for a revival is simply to use the means which God has appointed to this end. Then he stands pledged to honor the means. Perpetual re-

vivals are the ideal, but they have never been realized any more than perpetual motion. Theories of both have been propounded, but the actual realization has not been attained. Hence, we are glad to have revivals occasionally or part of the year.

Believing in this philosophy that the divine agency is always ready to cooperate with man, it is reasonable to work for a revival at any time when the pastor and church are willing to come up to the help of the Lord. Luther's epigram is true: "The Lord is a good worker, but loves to be helped." When, therefore, man is prepared to meet God in cooperation a revival is in sight.

These convictions of which I have spoken are fundamental in the preparation for a revival. When the pastor is himself a burning bush of revival; when he clears away distractions and holds all his forces steadily to this one work; when he feels that the salvation of souls is his supreme work and determines to concentrate all powers on its attainment; when he is convinced that the local church and pastor are able to go up and possess the land, and determines to take it; and when faith in God's invariable readiness to save impels pastor and people to do their part in hearty, hard work—then is a revival sure to come. It will come from God as his blessing on the legitimate use of the appointed means. It will not be gotten up, but will come down.

Now, when all things are prepared, strike with conviction that you are ready; strike with conviction that the Gospel of Jesus Christ will conquer; strike with faith in God for his blessing upon your prayerful and persistent efforts. Success is guaranteed in the certainty of God's promise, and in the infallibility of the forces which he wields under his promise to fulfill his will. Only unyielding faith and unfaltering toil on our part are necessary, and God will crown our labors with glorious victory.

J. O. Peck

THE PROSECUTION OF THE REVIVAL.

Assuming that the way for the revival has been thoroughly prepared, the questions arise, "How shall it be successfully prosecuted?" and, "How shall it be conducted so as to secure the largest available results?" In answer to these inquiries let it be said with all possible emphasis:

1. *The pastor must keep himself at a white heat of enthusiasm in and devotion to the work.* This may be accepted as the paramount condition of success in the prosecution of any revival movement. It will be understood that we speak here of revivals conducted by the pastor without the aid of an evangelist. If an evangelist is to be employed many changes will need to be made in the suggestions contained in this article. But in every revival prosecuted by the pastor, aided only by the local church, the enthusiasm, faith, and devotion of the pastor must ever be the prime and all-important element of success. The revival must inhere in him, spring from him, be the mighty power of which he is the head and center, so far as human instrumentality is concerned. Every revival must have in it a human personality, a center around which its forces rally, a head from which they derive inspiration and courage. That personality should be the pastor. So emphatically should this be true that if he were away from a single service he would be missed. All would feel that something was wrong. He must never be discouraged, but ever full of hope and zeal. No matter how many discouragements he may encounter, they must all be conquered alone before God. In the presence of his people he must ever be the heroic, undaunted, uncompromising leader. He must be deaf to all calls or solicitations to go anywhere or to do anything other than this one work. To all such inducements he must be ready to say with Nehemiah, "I am doing a great work, so that I cannot come down: why should the work cease, whilst I leave it, and come down to you?"

Now, in order to insure and maintain this absorbing interest on his part, several things are necessary. One is, *he must spend much time in prayer.* Would that the importance of this thought might be impressed deeply upon the mind and heart of every pastor! God challenges us to present our cause before him and to press it to the uttermost. We are assured in his

word that he "will be inquired of by the house of Israel;" that if we call upon him he will answer us, and show us great and mighty things, which we knew not; that "the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force." We learn from the past history of the Church that the men who have been preeminently successful in winning souls have been men of earnest prayer. The walls of John Knox's study were stained with the breath of prayer. Wesley and Whitefield often spent entire nights in prayer. Many of the most successful evangelists of the present day tell us that their mightiest agency and weapon is persevering prayer. O what fervor, what zeal, what power, what hope, what courage, what assurance of ultimate victory come to the soul while wrestling alone with God in prayer. Let the pastor go from his closet to the revival service, and from the revival services to his closet, and marvelous results will follow.

Furthermore, if he is to be kept at a white heat in his work *he must give time to meditation.* What an aid to prayer is found in this exercise! Christ, before performing his mightiest works, was wont to retire alone into the solitude of some mountain fastness and there spend the entire night in meditation and prayer. It is alone through prayer accompanied by meditation that we can be prepared to do the still greater works which he promised we should perform. Let the pastor meditate upon the character of God, upon his holiness, his purity, his justice and mercy; upon the sinfulness of man, his ingratitude, his rebellion, his moral corruption, his unlikeness to his Maker. Let him meditate upon the shortness of life, the solemnity of death, the certainty of judgment, and the awful issues of eternity. Let him thus meditate until his heart is melted into tenderness before God and his soul overawed in the presence of these mighty themes, and he will be prepared to plead with men to be reconciled unto Jehovah.

Finally, if his enthusiasm and devotion in the work are to be maintained *he will need to give himself to reading.* First of all, to searching the word of God, especially the life of Christ. Let him read of the Redeemer's wondrous love for sinners, of his infinite compassion for the erring, of his intense yearning over lost men, until his own soul is stirred with a profound longing for the salvation of the sinful around him. Let him also

read books upon revivals and aggressive Christian work. Dr. R. W. Dale said to the divinity students at Yale, in his lectures on preaching, "Read every book on preaching that you can buy or borrow." Such has been the practice of the writer for years with reference to the subject of revivals. As a result a large number of volumes bearing specifically upon this topic have been accumulated. Among these are Finney's *Lectures on Revivals*, Harvey's *Manual of Revivals*, Porter's *Revivals of Religion*, Watson's *Helps to Revivals*, Pierson's *Evangelistic Work*, Vincent's *Revival and After the Revival*, Banks's *Revival Quiver*, Moody's *Sermons* (3 vols.), Mrs. Booth's *Works* (3 vols.), Caughey's *Revival Miscellanies*, and *Methodism in Earnest*, and numerous magazine and newspaper articles carefully preserved. Now, during a revival, before entering upon the labor of preparation for his evening service, let the pastor take up one of these volumes and read of the methods, trials, and triumphs of other men in the work of winning souls, until his own zeal is quickened and his faith, hope, and courage stimulated. Then in the evening, just before going to his service, after his preparation is all made, let him read for a few moments the burning words of such workers as Finney, Moody, or Mrs. Booth, until his whole being is set on fire with love and enthusiasm for souls, and then go to the church and in tender and tearful accents pour out his heart upon the congregation. Through such means as these the pastor may keep himself at a white heat of enthusiasm and devotion in the work.

2. And this will naturally lead him to *earnest evangelistic preaching*. By this I mean preaching which bears distinctly upon the work of saving souls. Now, the reason why some pastors are not successful in prosecuting the work of revival is not because they do not desire revivals, nor because they are not consecrated to their calling, but because they do not preach so as to promote a revival. Their preaching is good, in a sense spiritual, and doubtless edifying to believers, but has no direct bearing upon the obligation resting upon Christians to labor for the salvation of men, nor upon the imperative and immediate necessity upon the part of sinners of fleeing from the wrath to come. There is a vast difference between preaching about the Gospel and applying the Gospel to the case in hand. The

preaching during a revival, therefore, should partake largely of the hortatory character. One of the most successful soul-winners of the present day never preaches, in the ordinary acceptation of that term, but by exhortation, warning, persuasion, and entreaty seeks to bring the sinner to an immediate decision. He assumes that the unconverted before him have knowledge of Christ and his salvation sufficient to have saved them a thousand times; hence his great aim and effort is to get them to act upon their knowledge and conviction. Such should be the assumption and aim of the pastor in revival work. His preaching, therefore, should be direct, pungent, sympathetic, and persuasive. His themes now should be such as deal directly with sin, repentance, confession, judgment, heaven, and hell. He should become, for the time being, an advocate pleading for an immediate decision. All his powers of mind, heart, and soul should be brought to bear upon the one work of getting the sinner to yield now. Let such be the character of his method and preaching, and souls will be saved and the revival go forward with power.

3. Furthermore, such a condition on the part of the pastor will lead him to *inaugurate and maintain continuous services.* This is absolutely essential to success in revival work. Some pastors assert that they can have a successful revival without doing this, by simply emphasizing the work of soul-saving in the regular services of the church. But in all such cases investigation will discover that, while the few earnest souls, such as are to be found in every church—those who sustain the class and prayer meetings and are always ready for a revival—are earnestly laboring for the salvation of the lost, the larger part of the membership are entirely submerged in worldliness. If the church, as a body, is to be reached and the community aroused, continuous services must be held. As to the best time for holding such services much will depend upon the environments and conditions of the individual church. In large towns and cities no better time can be found than during the weeks immediately following upon the holidays. The evenings are then long, business is not so pressing, the "week of prayer" calls public attention to sacred things, and the solemnities attaching to the closing of the old and the opening of the new year are helpful in arousing the consciences of men. In these services

there should be preaching most of the time. A careful study of the comparative value of preaching and what are known as "social services" in this work will reveal the fact that, while the latter are helpful to Christians, nothing reaches and moves the unsaved like the faithful preaching of the Gospel. The preaching of the word is the divinely appointed means for saving the world. A good plan is to preach on at least three evenings of the week, having a prayer and testimony meeting on Monday and Friday evenings. A meeting of the latter character on Friday evening is of special value, as it affords the converts of the week an opportunity to bear their testimony and gives an impetus to the services of the approaching Sabbath. But it is not wise to have too rigid a plan with regard to the services. Leave a large margin for the promptings and leadings of the Holy Spirit.

The pastor should do most of the preaching during a revival. It is a serious mistake to frequently change the speaker. Many disadvantages arise from such a course. Often the brother who comes into the service is not at the time in the spirit of revival. This is no reflection upon a minister's honesty and devotion. It is very easy to fall behind the spirit and movement of such a service. In a certain charge in the West one of the most devoted of the official brethren was called away from home during the progress of a great revival in his church. Upon the evening of his return his pastor called upon him to pray. He was much embarrassed, and had but little liberty. At the close of the service he came to his pastor and said, "You know I am willing to do anything I can to help in this work, but after this, when I have been away, please do not ask me to pray until I have caught up with the meeting." Sometimes the visiting brother chooses an unfortunate subject, one not at all in harmony with the occasion. Then through this method curiosity is constantly aroused, criticism is on the alert, and the people are more occupied in determining which of the strange brethren preached the best sermon than in seeking to honor the Holy Ghost. All these unfortunate results may be avoided by the pastor's doing the preaching, if he is physically able for the work. By this means, also, he gains that indescribable something which we, for the want of a better term, call momentum. True, this is hard work, but the

saving of souls is hard work—the hardest in the universe. The Son of God was a living testimony to this fact. It was said of him, "His visage was so marred more than any man." The nearest guess at his age made during his earthly life was when the Pharisees said to him, "Thou art not yet fifty years old." He died when he was but thirty-three. When he hung upon the cross the mob cried, "He saved others, himself he cannot save." The same inexorable law applies to you and me in our work; if we would save others we cannot save ourselves.

After the sermon let the altar service follow at once—mark you, not the after service nor the inquiry meeting, but the altar service. Methodism gives up much when she surrenders the old-fashioned altar service. There is something in the warm appeal following immediately upon the sermon without break or interruption—the hushed condition of the audience, the eager expectancy that some one will start, and in the penitent's kneeling with other penitents at the altar, surrounded by an atmosphere of earnest prayer and faith and helped by encouraging words from the pastor and other Christian workers—which mightily assists the unsaved in taking the first step toward the kingdom of heaven, and in finally "getting through" and triumphantly entering into that kingdom. After the altar service let a few moments be given to testimony, endeavoring, if possible, to get any who were saved and all who were seeking to utter a few words of thanksgiving or desire.

4. Finally, such a condition on the part of the pastor will lead him to *earnest personal work with the unsaved.* Nothing can be more important in the successful prosecution of revival work than hand-to-hand contact with the unconverted; yet this is frequently the very thing we are unwilling to do. Hence, every possible effort is made to substitute something else for it; but this cannot be successfully done. Elisha tried it and failed. When he would raise the dead child to life he sent his servant with his staff with instructions to lay it upon the face of the child. It was done, but the child remained dead, and his staff remained a mere piece of wood. Elisha then went into the room where the dead child lay, shut the door upon them twain, and fell upon his knees and cried mightily to God. He then arose and lay upon the child, putting his mouth upon his mouth, and his eyes upon his eyes, and his

hands upon his hands, until the child was restored to life. The world has had enough of this staff religion, this endeavor to save men at arm's length. What it needs to-day is hand-to-hand contact with its sin and degradation. We need to go to dying men and be eyes to them in their blindness, ears to them in their deafness, mouths to them in their dumbness, light and life to them in their darkness and death. We need to go to them personally, and earnestly and lovingly persuade them to yield to Christ. The greatest results which come to an earnest pastor during a revival come in this way. Let him set apart the afternoon of each day to personal visitation—not so much among the members of his church, except in the case of backslidden ones, but among the unsaved of his congregation, and especially among those whom he has reason to believe are in the least serious. Let him plead and pray with these until opposition is overcome and they yield their wills and hearts to God.

This is the way in which to have victory. There can be no other. There is no royal road to a revival. When we get where John Knox was when he cried, "Give me Scotland, or I die," or where Whitefield was when he exclaimed, "Give me souls, or take away my soul," then shall we see the salvation of our God. Let the pastor not wait for a whole church to get ready for a revival. It never will—*it never will.* Let him raise the standard, sound the battle-cry, and a few will rally around him. God has in every church "a remnant according to the election of grace." Then let him push the battle *and hold on until victory comes.* How much this last sentence means! Often the first weeks may seem dark and discouraging. The weather may be bad, the attendance small, the people indifferent, and the devil active and insolent. But let him hold on, pray on, sing on, believe on, trust on, and victory is just as certain as the promise of a faithful God can make it.

William Hart Broadbent

AFTER THE REVIVAL.

This title is a misnomer. Had the union of the Church with Christ always remained perfect, and that devotion continued which characterized the early Christians at Jerusalem, there would never have been an "after" to a revival, for souls would have been added daily to the Church. But, since the lesser interests of this life have so absorbed the time and energy of many Christian professors as to make religion appear of secondary importance, revivals have become a necessity, and the leaders in the Church plan for an awakening at certain seasons of the year, with such helps as shall arrest attention, produce conviction, and lead to conversions. Hence, there is a time before, a time of, and a time after the revival; and of this latter period we are asked to speak.

1. There should be a careful survey of the results and a classification of the persons who have become interested in religious things. Some have been truly converted. The world expects of them strength, wisdom, and grace. They need counsel in learning to live in the light. To prepare them for the duties of the Christian life is a labor to which the Church should at once address itself.

But others have been only awakened. This condition of things calls for a very thoughtful and prayerful study of individual cases. The pastor will find that through the earnest solicitations of friends and associates some have been brought in who are still unenlightened with regard to repentance and saving faith. There is no evidence on their part of that death to sin which precedes a life of faith. They may have sincerely asserted their belief in Jesus as the Saviour of men, but it is only an intellectual assent to a fact never questioned by them; they may have given their names for membership and, like Simon, have said, "Give me also this power, that on whomsoever I lay hands, he may receive the Holy Ghost;" yet there is no evidence that the work of regeneration has been wrought in them. If left in this condition to the ordinary means of grace such souls will either drift away into indifference or attempt to lead a religious life without any change of heart; and, if the latter, their unchanged nature will assert its power and lead them into inconsistencies which bring reproach upon the

Church. To avoid this result the most careful attention should therefore be given to those who have thus become interested, but have mistaken conviction for conversion and are still unsaved. They should not be left until they know Jesus as their deliverer from the law of sin and death. So much is involved at this point that it cannot be emphasized too strongly. It should be the first work of pastors and leaders to guide these honest seekers who have been brought to the altars of the Church into the full liberty of the Gospel. Difficult and delicate as the task may be the Church must not fail here.

During this period a prayer and conference meeting should be kept up, in which seekers as well as converts should be urged to state freely their experiences. Luke tells us (Acts iii) that after the greatest of revivals, in which thousands were converted from the traditions of the Jewish Church to faith in the Messiah, Peter and John went up to the temple daily for prayer. And this they continued to do long after the excitement of Pentecost had subsided. The presence of such enlightened souls in these after-revival meetings is of incalculable worth to young converts and will have much to do with shaping their future lives. In such meetings the leaders should emphasize the importance of the witness of the Spirit to what has been accomplished in the soul; and since so much depends upon this sure testimony great care should be observed, lest in the excitement of the revival services the statement of the leader or the wish of the heart may have been taken for the testimony of the Holy Ghost.

2. Attention should be directed to soul growth. Converts are but babes in the household of faith. They are expected to develop and to be prepared for the conflicts and responsibilities of the Christian life. Hence, as soon as the convert gives evidence of genuine conversion he must be taught that soul-culture and expansion constitute the law of his new life. If a bud fail to blossom and send forth its fragrance on the summer air we conclude that some power has hindered its development; unless the babe grow in stature and wisdom we are disappointed, for its power to grow, its capacity to understand, and its ability to do form the measure of our joy. Yet all converts do not grow alike. Some may have had the understanding

darkened, the vision blurred, the conscience silenced, and the will vitiated by long years of sin; and these form a class who are sensitive to the criticisms of those looking on, and, therefore, need constant and patient care.

But others, who have never fallen into gross sins, are ready to be led out at once into the larger experiences of the Christian life. The first thing to do with these saved souls is to awaken clear conceptions of what the Father proposes to do for them. Paul, in his prayer for the Ephesians, spoke of these divine provisions as follows: "The eyes of your understanding being enlightened; that ye may know what is the hope of his calling, and what the riches of the glory of his inheritance in the saints, and what is the exceeding greatness of his power to us-ward who believe, according to the working of his mighty power, which he wrought in Christ, when he raised him from the dead, and set him at his own right hand in the heavenly places." Under such incentives the convert will come to feel that there are greater heights before him to be gained and greater joys to be secured.

3. Much care should be exercised in the selection of proper literature and other helps for the young convert. In some medical schools more attention is given to the patient's food than to his medicine. Having been saved and cleansed, converts should be instructed with reference to the selection of such soul-food as will maintain a healthy spiritual tone. Their interest should be awakened in God's word. Obeying the command of Him who is the great Head of the Church, they must "search the Scriptures." It is also essential that they become familiar with Church literature, in order that they may be intelligent members of their own denomination, and that they may also exercise that charity which "seeketh not her own" and "is not easily provoked" toward others. It would be well if a course of reading were selected by the leaders, covering the biographies, the histories, and the religious treatises of the universal Church. The church might be thrown open in the evenings and a room appropriately furnished with books and works of art. It would be well if the probationers could listen to a course of lectures on church polity and doctrine, especially on those doctrines peculiar to our denomination. The pastor should also preach on personal con-

secration and loyalty, when all the membership of the church should be urged to renew their vows. In short, the pastor should constantly be guided in the selection and presentation of his subjects by the fact that the convert is before him. He should avoid presenting the theories of philosophers and agnostics, since they have a tendency to divert the mind from the source of spiritual nourishment.

4. Christian work should also be urged. Exercise is essential to growth. It is the price of strength in the spiritual as in the natural world. The plant in the divine economy must gather and assimilate its nourishment, if it strike its roots into the flinty soil and stand firm amid the storms. It would never unfold its summer beauty and send forth its fragrance unless it had replenished its strength by seeking its own nutriment. So is many a professed Christian dwarfed by ease and self-indulgence. Earnestness and activity precede the fruits of the Spirit. God has made provision for the weak to become strong through the labor of the soul. Next to the sin of unbelief is that of spiritual indolence. The broken testimony of the working convert proclaims that genuine growth which should appear in every society of Christian men and women The convert should be enlisted with older members of the church in such enterprise as will call forth his personal exertion. When such a condition is carefully observed converts will grow as naturally as the lily of the field.

H. W. Bolton.

Art. VII.—SONGS OF THE CHURCH.

Methodists have always been noted as a singing people. Theirs, indeed, has not been the solemn psalmody of the Calvinists nor the artistic chanting of the Catholics; but it is the outgushing melody of the soul, much, we fancy, like that which Paul recommended as "hymns and spiritual songs" (Eph. v, 19; Col. iii, 16), and perhaps illustrated when the prison at Philippi shook at his and Silas's voices (Acts xvi, 26). The "hymn" which our Lord sang with his disciples before issuing to Gethsemane (Matt. xxvi, 30) is generally thought to have been part of "the Lesser Hallel," which consisted of the Hallelujah Psalms (cxiii–cxviii), and was sung at the daily offering of the lambs on the altar, as well as during the Paschal meal.

The oldest songs of Zion are of course those found in the Hebrew Psalter, and they have therefore formed the basis or at least the model of all later hymns used in the Church of God; but these are so well known that we pass directly to the religious effusions of the Christian era. Undoubtedly the earliest of the latter productions now extant are the three attributed to Clement of Alexandria (head of the Christian school there at the close of the second century), because found attached to his treatise entitled the *Tutor* (Παιδαγωγός). Of these we select, as the most characteristic and best known, that with the heading "Hymn of the Saviour Christ," which consists substantially of a practical series of epithets designating our Lord's character and offices, in the unrhymed cadence of the primitive Greek meter (irregularly iambic, dactylic, or spondaic dimeter to tetrameter, with the quantity tending to be overborne by the accent); and we present, besides the Greek text, a metrical version as closely following the original as the laws of modern versification allow.*

* It is to be found entire in Daniel's *Thesaurus Hymnologus*, iii, 1, 2; which follows the edition of Potter. Several translations have been published, all more or less paraphrastic. Our Hymnal gives, under No. 885, five stanzas taken from the version of Rev. H. M. Dexter, D.D., which first appeared in the *Congregationalist*, December 21, 1849, of which journal he was then editor. It bears so little resemblance to the original in form, meter, phrase, or sentiment that we are at a loss what part of the hymn it is intended to represent. We have supplied in brackets a few words to fill out the meaning or the meter.

Στομίον πώλων ἀδαῶν,
Πτερὸν ὀρνίθων ἀπλανῶν
Οἶαξ νηπίων ἀτρεκής,
Ποιμὴν ἀρνῶν βασιλικῶν·
Τοὺς σοὺς ἀφελεῖς
Παῖδας ἀγειρον,
Αἰνεῖν ἀγίως,
Ὑμνεῖν ἀδόλως,
Ἀκάκοις στόμασιν
Παίδων ἡγήτορα Χριστόν.
Βασιλεῦ ἁγίων,
Λόγε πανδαμάτωρ
Πατρὸς ὑψίστου,
Σοφίας πρύτανι,
Στήριγμα πόνων,
Αἰωνοχαρές,
Βροτέας γενεᾶς
Σῶτερ Ἰησοῦ,
Ποιμήν, ἀροτήρ,
Οἶαξ, στομίον,
Πτερὸν οὐράνιον
Παναργοῦς πολίτης·
Ἀλιεῦ μερόπων
Τῶν σωζομένων,
Πελάγους κακίας
Ἰχθῦς ἀγνοὺς
Κύματος ἐχθροῦ
Γλυκέρῃ ζωῇ δελεάζων.
Ἡγοῦ, προβάτων
Λογικῶν ποιμήν·
Ἅγιε, ἡγοῦ,
Βασιλεῦ παίδων ἀνεπάφων,
Ἴχνια Χριστοῦ·
Ὁδὸς οὐρανία,
Λόγος ἄϋλος,
Αἰὼν ἁπλετος,
Φῶς ἀΐδιον,
Ἐλέους πηγή,
Ῥεκτὴρ ἀρετῆς,
Σεμνὴ βιοτή,
Θεὸς ὑμνούντων,
Χριστὲ Ἰησοῦ,
Γάλα οὐράνιον
Μαστῶν γλυκερῶν
Νύμφης χαρίτων
Σοφίας τῆς σῆς
Ἐκθλιβόμενον,
Οἱ νηπίαχοι
Ἀταλοῖς στόμασιν
Ἀτιταλλόμενοι

O bit of foals [as yet] unreined,
O wing of birds to fly untrained,
O helm of babes to steer [untold],
O shepherd of a royal fold;
Thy simple children gather thou
To praise [thee] holily [as now];
To hymn [thee] guilelessly [we bow]
With harmless mouths [and kneeling low],
The children's leader, Christ, [we show].
O king of saints, all-taming Word
Of highest Father, wisdom's Lord,
Support of toils, the ages' rest,
Of mortals Saviour, Jesus [blest];
O shepherd, husbandman, [and king];
O helm, O bit, O heavenly wing
Of all-bright flock; thou mariner
Of speech-endowed for saving [here]
[On] seas of ill the holy fish
Of hostile wave, with sweet life's [wish]
Enticing. Lead, the shepherd [thou]
Of rational flock; O holy, [now]
Lead, King of unharmed youth,
[In] tracks of Christ; thou heavenly truth,
On-flowing word, age boundless, light
Eternal, fount of pity, right
Who doest, Jesus Christ, the God
Of hymnists; august food,
Celestial milk from sweetest breast
Of bride of graces wisely pressed
To tender mouth of infant ward
Through [gracious] nipple of the word,
With dewy Spirit all replete:
[For] simple praises [let us meet],
[And] real hymns to Christ the king;
[As] holy wage for life-teaching,
Together let us simply sing
[The] mighty Child; a choir of peace,
Wise, Christ-born, chant the God of peace.

Θηλῆς λογικῆς
Πνεύματι ὁρμισερῷ
Ἐμπιπλάμενοι,
Αἶνους ἀφελεῖς,
Ὕμνους ἀτρεκεῖς,
Βασιλεῖ Χριστῷ,
Μισθοὺς ὁσίους
Ζωῆς διδαχῆς,

Μέλπωμεν ὁμοῦ,
Μέλπωμεν ἁπλῶς,
Παῖδα κρατερόν·
Χορὸς εἰρήνης,
Οἱ χριστόγονοι,
Λαὸς σώφρων,
Ψάλωμεν ὁμοῦ
Θεὸν εἰρήνης.

One of the most noted hymnists of the early Greek Church was Andrew, of Jerusalem or of Crete (A. D. 660–732). We give the original and a metrical version of one of his shorter and most spirited hymns, entitled "At the After-Supper;" that is, the Eucharist (*ἀπόδειπνον*).

Πρόσεχε οὐρανὲ καὶ λαλήσω,	Attend, O sky, and hear, O earth,
Καὶ ἀνυμνήσω Χριστόν,	My praise of Christ your King;
Τὸν ἐκ παρθένου σαρκὶ	Who came in flesh of virgin's birth,
Ἐπιδήσαντα.	With mortals sojourning.
Συνέλθωμεν τῷ Χριστῷ,	Come, let us join with Christ in prayer
Πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν·	On Olivet's dark side;
Μυστικῶς μετὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων	Apostles mystically there
Συναυλισθῶμεν αὐτῷ.	With him and us abide.
Ἐννόησον ταπεινή μου καρδία,	Observe, my lowly heart, the word
Τίς ἡ τοῦ μύλωνος παραβολή,	A lesson has for thee:
Ἣν προεῖπε Χριστός,	Two women grinding, said the Lord;
Καὶ νῆψον λοιπόν.	Watch thou accordingly.
Ἑτοίμαζε σεαυτόν, ὦ ψυχή μου,	Make thyself ready, O my soul,
Ἐπὶ τὴν ἔξοδον·	For thy departure too;
Ἡ παρουσία ἐγγίζει	The threatened moments nigher roll,
Τοῦ δικάστου κριτοῦ.	That bring the Judge to view.

The Latin hymns of the mediæval period exhibit that assonance which links them with the modern rhymed productions; and the acknowledged masterpiece of them is the famous *Dies Iræ*. We have made half a dozen or more versions of this hymn, so difficult to imitate in English, but forbear to add another to the innumerable ones already published.

The most elaborate of all these semi-monkish efforts is that of Saint Bernard, of Morlaix or of Cluny, usually styled "The New Jerusalem," which is of so peculiarly difficult a meter that we attempt but a few of the first stanzas as an illustration.

Hora novissima,	Hour while the latest this,
Tempora pessima	Time now the vilest is;
Sunt, vigilemus!	Let us be waking!
Ecce minaciter	Lo! with great threatening
Imminet Arbiter	Imminent reckoning
Ille supremus:	Soon is God taking:
Imminet, imminet,	Imminent, imminent,
Ut mala terminet,	Evils prevenient,
Æqua coronet,	Equity crowning;
Recta remuneret,	Rights to remunerate,
Anxia liberet,	Anxious hearts liberate,
Æthera donet.	Skies to make owning.

Auferat aspera	May he remove the rough
Duraque pondera	Burdens all hard and tough,
Mentis onustæ;	Souls that are bowing;
Sobria muniat,	Sober things fortify,
Improba puniat,	Wicked things mortify,
Utraque juste.	Justice both showing.
Ille piissimus,	Once most relenting he,
Ille gravissimus,	Now most resenting he,
Ecce venit Rex:	Lo! comes King rather:
Surgat homo reus,	When rises man malign,
Instat Homo Deus,	Then descends Man Divine,
A Patre Judex.	Judge from his Father.

Coming down the stream of time the volume of sacred song swells into an outburst especially in the hymns of Luther, which so materially advanced the cause of the Reformation in Germany; and his notable "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott" has not been altogether displaced from the latest large hymnals. Among English hymn-writers Watts is usually conceded the most conspicuous position, although two recent scholars, eminently qualified by research and impartiality, have unequivocally accorded that rank to Charles Wesley. Be this as it may, Wesley is forever the bard of Methodism; and the revival of true religion which the two brothers effected was very largely promoted by their stirring poetical and eminently evangelical muse.

Our own standard Hymnal, in the improved form issued in 1878, is, we believe, not only one of the very best ever compiled—certainly so for our church purposes—but is in itself a record and monument of the history of hymnology, in our own denomination, at least, for the century of our existence preceding it. We need not here present any detailed analysis or even critique upon it, after the masterly review and interesting particulars furnished by Nutter; but we may be allowed to make a few comparisons, not altogether in the spirit of partisan adulation or self-complacency.

Of the three hundred and twenty-five writers whose names the table of contents exhibits as contributing to our collection, by far the greater number were never members of our own or any other affiliated communion, although naturally the four Wesleys furnished the largest quota—350 hymns (315 by Charles Wesley alone) out of 1,117 in all. But in a truly catholic spirit there also appear hymns by many Calvinistic writers (including

78 hymns by Watts, and seven by the doughty Toplady himself), many by Roman Catholics (among them two hymns by Moore, besides numerous mediæval hymns), and even some by Unitarians or others of doubtful orthodoxy. Prelatical authors (among them Bishops Burgess, Coxe, Doane, Heber, Huntington, Mant, Onderdonk, Wordsworth) have furnished several; and one at least is of a semi-Jewish origin, namely, hymn 163, by Sir Walter Scott, as put into the mouth of a Hebrewess.

The immense importance of hymns, not only to the Church of God in general, but to each denomination and even congregation in particular, as a part of divine service, is illustrated by the popular maxim, "I care little who makes a nation's laws, if I may make their ballads." So one might say that the theology of worshipers is molded quite as much by their hymns as by their sermons. This has been preeminently true of Methodism everywhere. The eminently evangelical, warmly spiritual, and thoroughly practical tone and impulse of their religious songs have imparted and sustained their zeal and animated their labors in public, social, domestic, and private devotion. Many of the effusions of Charles Wesley, Montgomery, and Newton especially are really beautiful and terse expositions of Scripture, and they are saturated with the very gist of the Gospel. Charles Wesley wrote about five thousand hymns. Those published in his collection of *Poetical Works* fill thirteen volumes, containing nearly six thousand pages. His printed hymn books number forty-six, the first being issued at Charleston, S. C., in 1737, and the next at London in 1738.

The great critic, Dr. Samuel Johnson, who wrote the *Lives of the English Poets* and himself composed some poems, is credited with the remark that religious poetry, especially hymnic, does not exhibit and probably never can attain a high degree of literary merit. Perhaps this judgment was too largely influenced by his own experience, or else it was exclusively based upon the lyrics, such as Addison's paraphrase of Psalm xix, "The spacious firmament on high," also of Psalm xxiii, "The Lord my pasture shall prepare," together with the original hymn beginning, "When all thy mercies, O my God;" all of which, although correct in sentiment, beautiful in phraseology, and almost faultless in versification, are destitute of spiritual force and fervor. Certain it is that, from the days of

Luther to the present, religious movements have been largely indebted for their extent and power to the songs which they have originated. Had Johnson lived to the days of the great revival under the Wesleys he would have changed his opinion on this subject; and the present age, which witnesses the powerful effect of sacred song under Sankey and in the Salvation Army, must admit that, however defective much that is sung may be in point of accuracy of language, refinement of taste, and soundness of theology, it nevertheless has intrinsic merits beyond the jingle of rhyme or the rhapsody of style. John Wesley's statement in the preface to his first hymn book, composed almost exclusively of his brother's verses and his own translations, that there was "no botch work" in it, is not absolutely correct; for it contains many violations of prosody, especially false accentuations. For example, the very first line of the opening hymn (No. 1 in all our recent hymnals) begins with a wrong foot, "O fór a thousand tongues, to sing," and the third stanza, where the real poetry commences, must be incorrectly scanned and sung, "Jesús, the name that charms our fears." There are also some extravagancies in doctrine, such as in our present hymn 1030, where the original reading,

> O would he more of heaven bestow,
> And *let* the vessels break,
> And *let* our ransomed spirits go
> To grasp the God we seek,

was justly changed in the revision of 1849, thus:

> O would he more of heaven bestow!
> And *when* the vessels break,
> Let our triumphant spirits go
> To grasp the God we seek;

but has unfortunately been restored in the later revision.* Nevertheless Wesley's book as a whole was then and still is a vast improvement on the old psalmodies, such as those of Sternhold and Hopkins, and even of Tate and Brady, and exhibits no more frequent nor greater instances of "poetic license" than the versification of Watts and others. Indeed, it contains much less

* It is to be hoped that when a fresh revision of our present Hymnal is undertaken, which ought not to be deferred until the expiration of the copyright compels a renewal of so valuable a monopoly, these and similar blemishes in its versification will be remedied, as they easily may be by a slight change in the

violent ones than the average productions of modern hymnists, to say nothing of verse which, under the name of sacred poetry, is written by persons who seem not to know the difference between an iambus and a trochee; for example, the popular lines of Mrs. Adams,

Nearér, my God, to thee!
Nearér to thee,

which moreover is a purely Unitarian hymn, however pretty its figures and well-turned its allusions, and is wholly destitute of Christian experience. The hymns of Charles Wesley, on the contrary, are full of Christ, and rich in religious depth and spiritual knowledge beyond all those of contemporary writers, not excepting Cowper and Doddridge. Indeed, the almost sole objection which has been adduced against them, namely, their personal character, which has unjustly been attributed to sectarian bias and polemical dogmatism, is one of their principal excellencies; for they are not only a vivid portrayal of the real workings of the heart under divine conviction and grace, and thus a genuine exposition of a sound evangelical theology, but they are often highly felicitous in interweaving, interpreting, and illuminating scriptural truth. Methodists have been taught by their hymn book in the deep things of God and his word not less than by the preaching, eminently practical and revivalistic and edifying as this has proverbially been. The only other hymns that largely partake of this lucid scriptural

phraseology, especially the very frequent occurrence of the name *Jesus* as the first foot of an iambic line. For example, in that beautiful hymn, 604, beginning,

"Jesús, and shall it ever be,"

which must be sung with the false accent, as we have marked, however accurately it may be read in violation of the meter, the prosody and the grammar would both be greatly improved by simply saying,

"O Jésus, shall it ever be?
A mortal man ashamed of thee!"

The same thing might with great advantage be done in the third stanza of hymn 1, just noticed, by reading,

"O Jésus, name that charms our fears,"

instead of

"Jesús, the name that charms our fears."

We lay so great stress upon these metrical inaccuracies because lyrical poetry, being designed for and used with music, exhibits every defect of this kind in a much more glaring manner than any other species of verse, and therefore "poetical license" is here less tolerable.

character and earnest experimental tone are those of the other great Arminian poet, James Montgomery, a Moravian, who naturally is in tune with the lofty muse of Methodism. Amid the immense number of Wesley's poems of course some are comparatively feeble, but it is wonderful how generally his flight was sustained. Other hymnists have produced but one or two odes that have attained celebrity, such as Toplady's "Rock of Ages," Heber's "From Greenland's Icy Mountains"—*the* missionary hymn of all time—and Muhlenberg's "I Would Not Live Alway;" while most or all their other hymns have sunk out of sight through their mediocrity. But Charles Wesley, like his great compeer, Isaac Watts, has achieved not only denominational, but cosmopolitan immortality. As to the relative merits of these two rivals for the laureateship of sacred poesy, we adduce the opinion of experts who cannot be accused of partisanship:

It is difficult to handle a subject of such magnitude and one which has been so little studied and appreciated. "The glorious reproach of Methodism" is scarcely yet extinct; the name of Wesley still arouses many old-time prejudices: Calvinists have not quite lost their suspicion of the Arminian teacher, nor Churchmen forgotten to look coldly upon the great schismatic. Can any good thing come out of Nazareth? Charles Wesley was the "bard of Methodism;" and most people, without knowing very thoroughly what Methodism is, judge it to be something quite different from other forms of Christianity, and, therefore, conclude that its poet can hardly be the poet of the Church at large. Mr. Creamer, in his *Methodist Hymnology*, hazards the opinion that the man is not born who should fully appreciate the genius of the Methodist poet. Certainly the day will come when the grateful praise of his own people shall be echoed by the thanks of the whole Christian world; when posterity shall remedy the tardy justice of time, and Charles Wesley be acknowledged as a name great among British poets and *facile princeps* of modern sacred song. It is because the Methodist poet is *not known* that he is not appreciated. The more extensively and closely his writings are examined the more will be found in them worthy to be admired and used. Other hymn-writers have had some measure of justice done them. Of Dr. Watts, especially, the name and writings are household words; his psalms and hymns may be found at every bookstall, and very copious extracts from them in every hymn book. But only a few venturesome persons have explored the vast mine of Wesleyan poetry, and its treasures are as yet unclaimed and unused by the Church at large. Dr. Watts has been commonly considered the most voluminous and powerful of hymnists. Many of our readers will be surprised to hear that

the published Wesleyan hymns are five times as numerous as his, and that of this immense mass the literary standard is far higher than that of the lesser bulk of the more celebrated writer. Set aside one hundred hymns of Watts's and five hundred of Wesley's best hymns, and there will be no comparison between the remainder in style and poetic merit. Dr. Watts was a poet at certain times and under special inspiration; Charles Wesley was a poet by nature and habit, and almost always wrote as such. Of course his effusions are not all equal among themselves; but he established and observed, through all his multiplicity of verses, a standard which no other hymn-writer up to his time was able to approach, and which none has since surpassed.

The above remarks have an air of special pleading. It may relieve our readers to know that the writer of them is not a Methodist, and simply wishes to see justice rendered. He has had inclination and opportunity to study the Wesleyan poetry as few persons have done, and the conclusions resulting from that study are here expressed.*

The Rev. James King, A.M., an English critic, in a recent work entitled *Anglican Hymnology*, carefully compares three hundred and twenty-five standard (that is, most frequently occurring) hymns in the principal hymnals of Great Britain, both ancient and modern; and, in his summarized table of one hundred and seventeen principal authors of them, the following result of classification appears (page 306) of the first seven names:

Authors' Names.	First Rank.	Second Rank.	Third Rank.	Total.
C. Wesley	10	8	4	22
Watts	8	7	6	21
Neale	7	4	6	17
Montgomery	4	8	4	16
Heber	7	2	3	12
Tate and Brady	3	4	4	11
Doddridge	4	0	5	9

As our long-time friend, Dr. Erastus Wentworth, that versatile genius, once piquantly put it: "While Watts is dolefully crying,

> 'Could we but climb where Moses stood,
> And view the landscape o'er,
> Not Jordan's stream, nor death's cold flood,
> Should fright us from the shore,'

* Rev. Fred. M. Bird, D.D., in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1864, p. 129. Dr. Bird, when he wrote the above, was pastor of a Presbyterian congregation in Philadelphia. He subsequently became an Episcopalian and professor in Lehigh University, Pa. He was everywhere acknowledged, in this country, if not in the world, to be the highest authority on modern hymnology in general, at least in the English language.

Wesley comes tripping behind him, mounts to the summit, and cheerfully sings:

> 'The promised land, from Pisgah's top,
> I *now* exult to see:
> My hope is full, O glorious hope!
> Of immortality.'"

Incidentally we may call attention to a fact not generally known, that a convenient *Concordance* to our latest Hymnal, by William Codville, was published in 1880, and may be had at a moderate expense.

A notable feature and a grand improvement in the latest form of our own Hymnal is the marriage of the musical notes with the hymns themselves on the same or adjoining pages. Similar singing books, issued by Bradbury, Sankey, Tourjée, McCabe, and others, had delightfully revolutionized public opinion as to the utility of this combination. In a general church hymn book for the congregation at large, the task of bringing the words and the tunes for all the hymns on or near the same page was greatly increased; but it has been most happily effected in our own "Hymnal with Tunes." We are glad to see that the example has been followed by the other leading denominations, including even the stately Protestant Episcopal, although in most of these communions private enterprise had to supply the absence of concerted authority, so that there is not as great a degree of uniformity in the books employed as with us. Still later the "Epworth Hymnal," extended even to a second series, has supplied a similar want for our week-evening and occasional services; and Sunday school song books are now almost as profusely abundant as choir singing books. The age of church melody is thus fairly inaugurated, both for old and young; and when the effect of this training upon the taste, the science, and the piety of the Churches has become fully developed we may expect a more complete realization of the ideal songs of the Church universal, preparatory to the grand symphony of the heavenly world, when the song of Moses and the Lamb shall swell its jubilant strains in everlasting joy!

James Strong.

Art. VIII.—"THE DESIRE OF ALL NATIONS."

There are three ways of explaining Haggai ii, 7, and they are represented in the following versions:

1. The common English Version, following the Vulgate, reads: "I will shake all nations, and the desire of all nations shall come: and I will fill this house with glory."

2. The Revised Version, following the Septuagint, reads: "I will shake all nations, and the desirable things of all nations shall come, and I will fill this house with glory."

3. A third way of rendering is: "I will shake all the nations, and they shall come to the delight of all the nations, and I will fill this house with glory."

The two principal objections to the first translation are (1) that it can give no sufficient reason for construing the singular noun with the plural verb, and (2) that the context does not favor the introduction of the idea of a personal Messiah, to which this interpretation stands committed. The design of the entire prophecy is to encourage the returned exiles to rebuild the temple. Those of them who saw the house in its former glory felt that the new temple was as nothing in comparison; but they are here assured that in a little time God will again shake heaven and earth and sea, as at the exodus from Egypt, and the latter glory of his temple shall be greater than the former. But the idea of the coming of a person desired by all nations, however glorious in itself such a thought may be, does not appear in the words employed nor in the context in which this verse is set.

Against the second translation, as against the first, lies the objection that it violates good grammar. There is no other instance of the use of חֶמְדָּה in such a collective sense, and if the writer desired to express the plural or collective idea of *desirable things* why did he not employ the word חֲמוּדוֹת, which plural form, used in just this sense, we find in Ezra viii, 27, and Dan. xi, 38, 43?

But this second translation has in its favor the fact that it accords with the immediate context and with other scriptures which represent the nations as bringing their treasures and desirable things to the house of God. It is much to be pre-

ferred to the old personal Messianic interpretation, and is the one adopted by most recent expositors.

We prefer, however, the third view given above, and for the following reasons: 1. It is the most simple and natural translation, and avoids any violation of grammar. 2. It suits the context as well as that which takes חֶמְדָּה in a collective sense, and so saves us the necessity of assuming such a sense for the word here when no other clear instance of such usage occurs. 3. It more accurately accords with the parallel scriptures than any other view.

The word חֶמְדָּה means an object of beauty and delight. Aside from this passage it occurs fifteen times, in twelve of which it is used as an adjective-genitive to qualify another word, as "houses of delight" (Ezek. xxvi, 12), "vessels of beauty" (Jer. xxv, 34), "land of delight" (Zech. vii, 14). In 2 Chron. xxi, 20, Jehoram is said to have departed—that is, died—without חֶמְדָּה, *desire*, meaning that no one had desire for him to live or delight in his life. In 1 Sam. ix, 20, Samuel says of Saul: "To whom is all the חֶמְדָּה (*desire*, or *delight*) of Israel? Is it not to thee?" In Dan. xi, 37, the vile king is said to have no regard for the gods of his fathers, nor the "*desire* of women." In all these passages Hengstenberg* argues that the meaning of חֶמְדָּה is best expressed by *beauty*.

In this general sense, considered as *an object of beauty and delight*, we understand it here in Haggai to refer to the temple of Jehovah in its future glory. This is the main subject of this immediate prophecy (verses 1–9), and it is a Messianic prophecy of the same character as that of Micah iv, 1–5, in which the idea of a personal Messiah is not introduced, but, rather, his glorious kingdom is foretold as a glorification of Jerusalem and its temple. The temple-mountain is to be exalted and all nations flow unto it. The temple, like the Mosaic tabernacle, was a prophetic symbol of the kingdom of God, and we find the completed picture in the closing chapters of the New Testament Apocalypse, where "the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the temple" of the New Jerusalem (Rev. xxi, 22). There it is written that "the nations of them which are saved shall walk in the light of it: and the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honor into it."

* *Christology*, vol. iii, pp. 250, 251.

What sort of "glory" did the Spirit which was in Haggai contemplate when he said, "I will fill this house with glory?" Those who follow the Septuagint and the Anglico-American Revision are mainly influenced by what immediately follows in verses 8 and 9: "Mine is the silver, and mine is the gold, saith Jehovah of hosts. Greater shall be the latter glory of this house than the former, saith Jehovah of hosts; and in this place will I give peace." This mention of the silver and gold, it is said, requires us to think not so much of the coming of the nations as of their precious and desirable things, such as would bring glory to Jerusalem and the temple. But this is precisely the question to be determined. Which was uppermost in the mind of the prophet, the nations or their treasures?

We will not reach a satisfactory solution of this question so long as we assume that one of these ideas excludes the other. Can we suppose the coming of the costliest gifts of the Gentiles, while they themselves remained far away? Or can we think of the coming of the Gentiles without their precious things? The most obvious thought is that, so far as the latter glory of the house was to be enhanced by things like these, it would be seen in *the coming of the nations with their treasures*, and not in the coming or sending of the treasures only.

So long, therefore, as both ideas demand recognition in the exposition we turn to parallel scriptures, to observe how these two conceptions are combined and which one seems to have the greater prominence. Zechariah, a contemporary of Haggai, prophesying a few months later, speaks also of the future building of Jehovah's house, and says of the Gentiles: "They that are afar off shall come and build in the temple of Jehovah" (vi, 15). These post-exilian writers were familiar with "the former prophets" (Zech. i, 4), and we may well appeal to them for light on the meaning of such language touching the future of Jerusalem and its temple.

Notice, first, the language of Micah (iv, 1, 2) in the passage already referred to: "It shall come to pass in the end of the days that the mountain of Jehovah's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, . . . and peoples shall flow unto it. And many nations shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of Jehovah, and to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us his ways, and we will walk in

his paths: for out of Zion shall go forth law, and the word of Jehovah from Jerusalem." The same appears also in Isa. ii, 2, 3. The passage which is most closely parallel in its main thought, and so elaborated as to give the fullest idea of both the coming of nations and the bringing of gifts, is the sixtieth chapter of Isaiah. The future glory of Zion is there foretold as a newly risen "glory of Jehovah." "Nations shall walk to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising." Exiles are gathered home again, and then it is said (verse 5): "The abundance of the sea shall be turned unto thee, and the wealth of the nations shall come unto thee." Then multitudes of camels from Midian and Sheba and flocks of Kedar shall come up and help to "beautify the beautiful house" of Jehovah (verse 7). Further on it is said that the gates will be open night and day continually, that men may bring therein the wealth of the nations, "and their kings led along" (verse 11). "The glory of Lebanon shall come," and other precious kinds of wood, "to beautify the place of my sanctuary, and the place of my feet I will make glorious" (verse 13).

Here it is unquestionable that the precious things of the nations are made very prominent as helping to beautify and glorify the place of Jehovah's sanctuary; and, so far as this chapter of Isaiah helps to the interpretation of Haggai, it cannot be denied that the coming of "the choice things of the nations" to beautify and add to the glory of Jehovah's house was altogether relevant and had been made familiar by the older prophet. But here, again, it must not be overlooked that the same scripture opens that picture of beauty by saying of Zion, "Thy light has come, and the glory of Jehovah has risen over thee, . . . and the nations shall walk to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising." All the descriptions that follow are associate ideas of this ruling thought, and the climax is reached when it is said at last, "Jehovah shall be unto thee for an eternal light, and thy God for thy glory" (verse 19). It is this light and glory of Jehovah which attract the nations thither, and they come bringing their gifts with them. This thought is intensified by the passage in Isa. lxv, 17, 18: "Behold, I create new heavens and a new earth. . . . Be ye glad and rejoice forever in that which I create: for, behold, I create Jerusalem a rejoicing, and her people gladness." This very

passage seems to have influenced Haggai when he wrote, "I am about to shake the heavens, and the earth, and the sea, and the dry land; and I will shake all the nations, and they shall come to the delight of all the nations." In Haggai the *delight* (חֶמְדָּה) of the nations is the same as that which Isaiah calls a *joy* and a *gladness* (גִּילָה and מָשׂוֹשׂ). It is the place where, according to verse 9, Jehovah "will give peace." It is the glorified Zion, of which Jehovah is himself the temple, and in whose light the nations walk.

We should not fail to notice, further, that this passage of Haggai is quoted in the Epistle to the Hebrews (xii, 26), and there explained as the shaking and removal of things which give place to "a kingdom that cannot be shaken." That kingdom is seen in the immediate context to be "Mount Zion, the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem," to which all true followers of "Jesus, the mediator of the new covenant," are supposed to have come (verses 22–24). How all this accords with Isaiah's conception of the "ransomed of Jehovah," who "shall return and come to Zion with singing, and with eternal joy upon their heads" (Isa. xxxv, 10), is obvious. This glorious and beautiful Zion, then, would seem to be the חֶמְדָּה, *object of delight and desire*, in Hag. ii, 7, to which the nations come and bring their gifts. The silver and the gold belong to Jehovah, and the coming of all nations to the place of his sanctuary was assurance that nothing of this kind would be wanting in that day. The context sufficiently implies that the coming of the nations involved the bringing of their gifts. But it is not, in fact, the bringing of silver and gold which constitutes the glory of Jehovah's house, but rather the conversion of the nations which walk by the light of it.

We conclude that חֶמְדָּה is best construed as an accusative of place after verbs of motion, precisely as *Zion* is after the same verb in Isa. xxxv, 10. This interpretation has been shown to fit the context as well as any other, and to present more clearly the import of parallel scriptures. And this explanation is the only one in complete harmony with the syntax of the language.

Milton S. Terry

EDITORIAL NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

OPINION.

THE Christian Church bears an exceptional place among all human institutions. By its divine origin, its high standards for admission, its basis for continuance in membership, its world-wide purpose of evangelization, and its sublime plans for the glorification of the race, it is differentiated from all other organizations of the earth. The sphere and functions of the Church cannot, as a consequence, be too sacredly guarded. Forgetfulness thereof or willful indifference to the supreme purpose of Christian association has led in the past to the pernicious union of Church and State, from which alliance only evil has come to the civil interests and spiritual leanness to the body of Christ. The Church should not, cannot forego the enunciation of great principles whose application belongs to the sphere of government; but to mount the throne and to wield the rod of temporal authority is a violation of God's purposes for his organization which can only bring disaster. Similarly, the Church does not exist for the primary object of scientific discovery, of æsthetic development, or even of advance in secular education. As worthy as these objects are, they are subordinate to the main reason for the erection of the Church in the world. While the Christian organization is to a proper degree the patron of all the arts and sciences and gives to them all her paternal oversight, yet the lesser purposes to which we have alluded may be largely subserved by the many scientific societies and educational institutes with which the world is filled. The Church exists for a sublimer purpose. The maintenance of holiness in the hearts of believers and the spread of holiness throughout all the kingdoms of the earth are the object of her creation. Definite is the showing of the apostle that Christ died for the Church that he might "present it to himself a glorious Church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing." It has, therefore, well been said that the Church is not herself Christianity. She rather presupposes it; she is the concrete embodiment of the principles of the Gospel; and, by the Protestant view, she is an empty and worthless organization unless the Lord dwell within his temple. "The Christian Church," pertinently says Gieseler, "is a religious-moral society, connected together by a common faith in Christ, and which seeks to represent in its united life the kingdom of God announced by Christ." The advance of righteousness is, therefore, the one work of the Christian Church in the world. She does not pose as the director of all mundane affairs and the regulator of every form of secular advance; thus to vaunt herself would be to become the subject of just rebuke. But as a teacher of righteousness there is none other so influential—there is none that in the comparison merits the name of a teacher of holy things. Her sphere is undis-

puted. In the utterance of her message she has a claim upon the ear of all men; in the promulgation of her doctrine she has the right to knock at the heart door of every member of the human family and demand his surrender to the divine claims. In proportion as she performs this work does she meet the approval of the spiritual forces that bend over this wicked world. By this standard of success alone are the Greek, Roman, and Protestant Churches, with their many ramifications, to be estimated.

THE phrase "applied Christianity" is a term whose rhythm and relative newness are destined to give it currency in religious circles. Like other new expressions, which are coined to indicate the measure of Christian duty in relation to one's fellows, its very unusualness would for the moment seem to embody a radical remedy for human inequalities and ills. The phrase, however, is far more modern than the spirit of self-sacrifice and service for others which it signifies. When in the history of vital Christianity has it been aught else than an "applied" Christianity? Early in the New Testament days began that practical regard for the needs of men and that endeavor to rectify existing injustice and inhumanities which is the glory of the Gospel system. After the multiplication of the disciples, following the day of Pentecost, the Grecian widows were found to be neglected in the daily distribution of food; whereupon seven men, among whom was the holy Stephen, were chosen and ordained to remedy this neglect. What else was such service than "applied" Christianity? The larger fact of duty toward suffering humanity in general was also soon inculcated. The immortal epitaph of the Book of Acts to the memory of Dorcas is that she was "full of good works and almsdeeds which she did." Her finished needlework was shown to Peter when he came to her bereaved home. What else was the philanthropy of Dorcas—giving name, as she has done, to so many modern organizations for the relief of the poor—than Christianity "applied?" So the all-important lesson of the brotherhood of believers was early set forth. Onesimus had been a slave; yet Paul terms him "a faithful and beloved brother," and sends, as one of the bearers of the letter to the Colossian Church, the man who had worn the chains of servitude. What else was such an early illustration of the great law of brotherhood than the application of Christianity to human relations? The case has not been different in later centuries. The benevolent service which has been the noblest for eighteen hundred years, and which has made melody in human hearts amid the discord of men's jarring passions, has had a Gospel origin. True Christianity has never ceased to apply the balm of the Gospel to the aching wounds of the world. Even in the obscure ages of Christian faith, could the veil be lifted, we might discover such an operation of true Christian philanthropy and such a widespread enjoyment of its benefits as we hardly dare to dream. It is not true, therefore, that Christianity has but lately begun to be "applied" to the solution of the complex social problems that are upon the age for settlement. If the term be used in any disposition of covert reflection upon the good intention or the successful performance of

previous Christianity we must challenge its use. But if it be employed in a spirit of compliment to the past and in the disposition to emulate the former good deeds of the Church, it is the new and happy expression of a profound truth. Certain it is that Christianity must be "applied." Time has shown no other efficacious medicine for human ills. The Gospel is the greatest need of the ages and of the world.

MAN is a creature of vast responsibility under the moral law. The Scriptures so explicity and repeatedly state the fact of human stewardship that to deny the relation is to challenge the truthfulness of the inspired book. No man in mortal history has ever lived to himself alone. "Whether we live, we live unto the Lord; and whether we die, we die unto the Lord; whether we live, therefore, or die, we are the Lord's." Clothed with rare solemnity, therefore, is every human action, and fraught with unspeakable consequences is the judgment-test through which mankind must pass. But what is the measure of individual responsibility under the moral law? The inquiry leads at once into one of the most fascinating departments of discussion, yet into a field which must be trodden prayerfully and with reverence. And, first, the fact of environment, it would seem, should be a condition of judgment. Circumstances in part make the individual. To be born in the tenement-house districts of one of our great cities, where the very air is noxious, and where all the surroundings are those of squalor, depression, and wickedness, is to enter into life so hampered at the outset that only a herculean soul can struggle out from the slavery of such associations. If a few, through an innate desire for better things and the supporting grace of God, have found enfranchisement, the great majority have consented to their surroundings with passive, careless, hopeless acquiescence, and have yielded themselves as the instruments of evil. Or, to come into the world amid the wholesome surroundings of a Christian home —with the beauties of nature and art to minister to the æsthetic tastes, and the elevating influences of right example in full operation—is to receive hostages from fortune. For those so born the battle with unrighteousness is half won. The drift is toward the right. Only by a quarrel with his better instincts, and a violent separation of himself from the friends of the good, may such a man turn to the evil. We would not declare that the plea of poor environment will be reckoned as an absolute excuse in the time of "the great assize;" yet, on grounds of equity, it will perhaps be a reason for the partial apology of human error. Nor will the fact of good environment redound to personal credit unless there has been a diligent use of the great privileges given, and large accomplishments as the result of the consecration of one's talent to God's use. But another truth which enters into human living is that of heredity. No law is more potent. Science has long since shown the transmission not only of intellectual traits, but also of moral qualities. Our predecessors live again, as it were, in us. The sudden passion that lights the cheek, the disposition to theft, the insatiate love for intoxicants that curses the wanderer to-day, lay like a blight upon some ancestor. Such inheritance of evil qualities, leaping

over intervening generations and showing forth in the life of some remote descendant, is not a trivial consideration. Though ancestral traits may not be a sufficient excuse for sins of free and conscious commission, yet they must be an influential factor in the summing up of moral performance. If, then, environment and heredity, to say nothing of other influences, be in the divine judgment just grounds for extenuation, how weighty a responsibility devolves on those who are well born! For such each action, each word, each intent must be weighed in the impartial balances of the divine estimate. And happy he who passes through the solemn test, that he may inherit the eternal riches.

WITH the recent rescue of several early Christian manuscripts from the dust of the centuries the whole Church is intimately concerned. Three of these ancient writings have been brought to the notice of current scholarship through the critical care of Professor Harnach, of Berlin, and are known as (1) "The Revelation of St. Peter;" (2) "The Gospel of St. Peter;" and (3) Fragments of the "Book of St. Enoch." Another of these important manuscripts, from the public library of Laon and bearing the date of the thirteenth century, contains the Latin text of St. Paul's correspondence with the Corinthians, called also the Third Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians. To the painstaking of Dr. Bradke, of Bonn, the publication of this epistle with critical notes in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* is to be credited. In no instance are the contents of these time-marked manuscripts of trifling value. The fact that the "Gospel of St. Peter" is an heretical book and represents the theories of the Docetæ brings us into closer relations with this ancient sect and verifies their denial of Christ's human body and consequent physical sufferings. If they were before, they are no longer a vague, half-tangible group of early disciples, but, as eager interpreters of the mysteries of the hypostatic union, stand forth in their startling personality. As a document of the eighth century, though fragmentary and heretical, the manuscript further shows the use of the four accepted gospels at the earliest periods. Negative criticism thus receives another death wound; the writings of the evangelists have cheered the souls and buoyed the faith of practically the whole Church since the first disciples who "saw the Lord" went heavenward. Nor can progressive scholarship have aught but cordial welcome for the newly found correspondence of Paul with the Corinthians. It is not clear at this writing that the text of this new document varies from the Latin copy already extant, which was previously discovered by Berger at Milan. Yet, granting their coincidence, if there is contained in them any suggestion which prompts a new study of the personality of the greatest of the apostles, or a new inquiry into the events of those formative times, the purpose of the Latin texts will have been accomplished. All resurrected manuscripts must have their mission. Even if spurious, they are not valueless; if authentic, they are indestructible links connecting the present Church with that nascent organization over whose origin the great apostles and the greater Christ presided.

DAYBREAK has come in India! The third Decennial Conference of her missionary workers, which opened on December 29 in Bombay, has proved one of the most inspiring conventions in the recent history of Christendom. Like men who lay aside the sword for a moment's respite while the battle still wages, did these missionary laborers of different denominational ranks gather in the great council of war. Their godly judgment as to the future management of the work, based upon long years of experience, their spirit of rejoicing as they witness the ingathering of the glorious harvest, and their disposition of true fraternity in the further prosecution of the common cause are surface facts in the story of the Decennial Conference. But a deeper truth engrosses our present notice—the marvelous opportunity which opens for Christianity in India. The Gospel, let it be said, does not advance by methods altogether unusual. Like other systems of philosophy or religion, its progress turns on a twofold condition, the zeal of propagandists and, no less, the receptivity of the nation to which the truth is brought. Forbidden to carry the sword for forcible conquest, and preaching, moreover, a faith whose foundation assumption is the free assent of the human heart to its demands, Christianity must have an open field for its largest successes. While it has never feared the dungeon, the rack, or the fires of martyrdom, it is, nevertheless, susceptible to outward conditions, like purely human systems. But what larger opportunity could the Gospel ask in India? Never before has such a sight been seen since the majestic events of Pentecost. The day of hostility to the new faith which came to India over the Western seas has forever gone by; the time of mere indifference has passed; and the call for the Gospel has become an importunate cry—the cry of millions who have proved the emptiness of all heathen worship. Without forgetting the Macedonian calls which come with new force from Japan and China—yea, from all mission fields of the earth—the present stir in India is a spectacle for the angels! But the very confession of submission on the part of the worn-out systems of Buddhism, Mohammedanism, Brahmanism, in India, puts a new burden on the one true faith. Its opportunity is its emergency. Never since the apostles mapped out their early campaigns and called for Christian helpers has the demand for volunteers been more imperative. The need of Augustine for assistants on his missionary journey to England, the need of Wesley for evangelists in the days of his holy reform, was not greater. Workers for the English-speaking classes, translators of Christian literature into the tongues of India, medical and general missionaries, can find more work in that tropic country than they may do. Western Christianity cannot deal with India in any paltry and temporizing way. This great country of the Orient demands great care, great sacrifices, great gifts. Not yet can autonomy be given to her native Church. The care of her two hundred and eighty-four millions of needy and inquiring souls is the measure of our Christian responsibility.

CURRENT DISCUSSIONS.

AN EDITORIAL ANNOUNCEMENT.

As is already known to the readers of the *Methodist Review*, a vacancy has existed in its chief editorship since June 18, 1892, when Dr. J. W. Mendenhall, but recently reelected by the General Conference to the management of the periodical, passed to his reward. It is our pleasure now to announce the filling of this editorial vacancy by the Book Committee, at its annual session in Chicago. On Febuary 8, 1893, at the meeting of this supervisory body, the Rev. William V. Kelley, D.D., of the New York East Conference, was chosen editor of the *Review*. It is but justice to the new official and his plans for the periodical, as well as in harmony with his desires, to state that his sense of obligation to the First Church, New Haven, Conn., which he is now serving as pastor, leads him to continue his relations to that church until the annual session of the New York East Conference, in April. The maintenance of this pastoral relation on the part of Dr. Kelley will preclude the performance of any editorial work by him until the preparation of the May number of the *Review*.

ASSISTANT EDITOR.

DOGMA AND LIFE; OR, THE RELATION OF BELIEF TO CONDUCT.

ABOUT fifteen years ago a group of working pastors was asked by a professor in theology what books of sermons they found most helpful, and the answer finally agreed upon was Bushnell's and Robertson's. If a similar group of pastors were asked to-day to name the two leading preachers of Protestant Christianity—the preachers attracting the most attention and standing as the best representatives of the all-conquering Gospel of Jesus Christ—it is probable that the vote of a majority would select the versatile, broad-hearted, and fearless Archdeacon Farrar, of London, and the great Phillips Brooks, of Boston, the shadow of whose untimely death, as these pages are written, lies deep upon the world. But the names of both these eminent ministers are associated in the public mind with broad views on theology. They are known as apostles of the spirituality of Christianity, rather than of its dogmatic faith, and if we estimated them merely by the utterances in the periodical press, without a study of their lives and writings, we would almost conclude that they had small distinctive beliefs concerning God and his relation to men. But nothing could be farther from the truth than such a conclusion. On the contrary, they are known as men of intense convictions concerning Christian dogma. To them God is the starting-point of all rational thinking, and Jesus Christ is its end; and apart from Jesus Christ they have no hope for individual or associated humanity. Their attitude is accurately expressed in the following quotation from Phillips Brooks: "Before the

young Christian lie the doctrines of his faith—God's being, God's care, Christ's incarnation, Christ's atonement, immortality. The mature Christian holds these truths no longer crudely, as things to be believed merely; he has taken them home into his nature; he has transmuted them into forms of life."

This leads us up to a question that is in the air to-day, the question of the relation of dogma to life, the dependence of conduct and character upon beliefs of the understanding. An effort is making in our time to divorce religion from the understanding and to make it purely a matter of feeling. Religion, we are told, is a feeling, a sentiment; and when we go further and wed it to distinct concepts and beliefs of the mind we go astray. In his *Rationalism* Mr. Lecky says, "Christianity was in the beginning strictly a religion; that is to say, it consisted of modes of emotion, and not of intellectual propositions." Matthew Arnold tells us that "religion is morality touched with emotion." The master in this insidious crusade against the dogmatic element in Christianity is the great writer whom we have just quoted, Matthew Arnold. He has a high appreciation of Christianity as an agency of culture, and tells us that it is the greatest and happiest stroke ever yet made for human perfection, and that "at the present moment two things about the Christian religion must surely be clear to anybody with eyes in his head. One is that men cannot do without it; the other, that they cannot do with it as it is." The change which he urges, and which he has advocated in two volumes of remarkable power, is to strip Christianity of its "preternaturalism." Mr. Arnold was an agnostic. His philosophy was a product of the material and moral evolutionists, with a strong flavoring of pantheism. God is the "eternal not-ourselves which makes for righteousness." He rejected the personality of God because it cannot, as he said, be "verified." "The assumption with which all the Churches and sects set out, that there is a great personal first cause, the moral and intelligent governor of the universe, and that from him the Bible derives its authority, can never be verified." He is very severe upon all who take the Bible "literally," and thereby reach a faith in God, in miracles, in the supernatural. The Bible is literature, it is poetry, eloquence, religious idealism; and all who take it as setting forth objective truth are "wanting in intellectual seriousness." The impudence of that last touch approaches the sublime. And must we not return upon himself the charge of intellectual insincerity in his use of the term "verify," in the above quotation about God? He uses it as would a mathematician or scientist in the sense of *demonstration*, knowing well that no theist ever claimed that the being of a personal God is capable of this style of proof. But strip the term "verify" of that peculiar sense, and how weak his words become! One would like to ask him whether the uniformity of nature's laws can be verified; whether a universal ether as the physical basis of light can be verified; or whether he can convince by any process of verification a person of corrupt heart that "sweetness and light," his own ideal of character, are the bounden duty of every man.

Very few of the rational beliefs and convictions of men are matters of demonstration. That whole realm which passes before the mind when we quote the phrase, "the true, the beautiful, and the good," is quite beyond the instruments of the scientist; but it is none the less a part, and a very important part, of the life of mankind. Is it not enough that the denial of an intelligent Creator and of personal immortality puts us, as John Fiske has shown, "to permanent intellectual confusion?" When that wonderful old Greek, Heraclitus, said that "religion was a disease, though a noble disease," his thoughts were on the paganism about him; he himself, like the supreme spirits of all ages, believed in a spiritual God who made the universe. And that other Greek, Plato, perhaps the greatest of all thinking men, has expressed beyond any writer besides in the department of religion or of philosophy those desires and hopes of mankind which clamor for satisfaction in distinct religious beliefs. "There has been," says Mulford, in *The Republic of God*, "in no religion so full an expression of the hopes and desires of men which prefigure the revelation of God as in Plato."

The Master Word of the Bible.

There is one chord that stretches across every page of the Bible, both in the Old and in the New Testament, and that chord is righteousness. Its note is distinct and loud: "He that doeth righteousness is righteous." No incantation or priestly charm may be made a substitute for it. "Keep ye judgment, and do righteousness." "Cease to do evil: learn to do well." Faith is not more a corner stone in the New Testament than righteousness. "The foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal. . . . Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity." But this fact is not so notable as another, namely, that the Bible indissolubly weds righteousness to religion, and is such a revelation of God as kindles a keen sense of sin in the hearts of sinful men and secures practical goodness. The ethical teachings of the Bible are not peculiar to it, and it may even be said that they are not superior to the ethical conceptions of many philosophers and religious teachers; but the method of transmuting ethical ideas to conduct and life—which Jeremy Taylor called in his quaint phrase "the excellent plot of the Gospel"—is peculiar to the Bible, and an experience running through nineteen centuries proves that it is the most effective method the world has ever known. That method includes a heart-belief in certain doctrines concerning God's being and love, Christ's incarnation and sacrifice, regeneration by the Holy Ghost, and everlasting life after death. It was the habit of paganism to divorce morality from religion so that it was enough if only the ceremonial were duly observed; and the modern apostle of ethical culture preaches that the coming man will be "a saint without religion." On the other hand, while the Bible distinctly aims at an ideal manhood which includes freedom, righteousness, and love, it declares with equal clearness that man has never been able to attain this without divine help, and that he may attain it through the Gospel of Jesus Christ. That

emancipation of spirit, joy in life, and "complete living" (to use Herbert Spencer's phrase) which have been the dream of the wise in all ages are secured through Jesus Christ. There is something deeply pathetic in that cry of Cebes about death in the *Phædo*, "But where, O Socrates, shall we find a potent charmer?" It recalls a similar wail in the exquisite dedication of Renan in the *Life of Jesus* to "the pure spirit" of his deceased sister, "Reveal to me, O my good genius, to me whom you loved, those truths which master death, prevent us from fearing, and make us almost love it." Cebes in the ancient world and Renan in the world of to-day, each adorned with the highest culture of his time, seeking a charmer who shall prevent us from fearing death! To this supplication the Christian hears a response: "I am the resurrection, and the life: he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live;" and he recalls the words of an aged missionary at the end of an heroic life, "I am in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to depart, and to be with Christ; which is far better."

Cardinal Doctrines are Few.

But it should not be forgotten that the doctrines that are fundamental in the Christian scheme are comparatively few. There is a shifting remnant in theology, as in all other sciences, and it were well if the leaders of Christian opinion could keep in mind the old aphorism, "In essentials unity, in nonessentials liberty, in all things charity." In the history of revealed religion it is not difficult to trace a nucleus of truth which has been permanent through all dispensations, and also to note the mutations of the fringes that form the corona of the solid body of truth. The Church has possibly overestimated the number of the things that are essential. It may also be said that she has perhaps overestimated the mischief wrought by errors and heresies. It is the sincerity and soundness of faith as well as its quantity that is important. The nucleus may be a short creed, but if it is held honestly in loyalty and love of the truth it will build up heroes and saints, Churches and empires. The essential thing is a great grasp of the soul on the eternal God. "I believe" is a "cry of war," as Victor Hugo said—*un cri de guerre*. How brief was the creed of the Hebrew prophets and psalmists! and yet it produced the grandest ethical literature of history, and fostered aspirations which could only be satisfied by the doctrine of the servant who should bear "the sin of many" and make "intercession for the transgressors." How grievous were the errors of Calvinism as held by the Reformed Churches of the Continent and as entertained by Puritanism everywhere! and yet the Calvinism of Protestant Christianity did not hinder the birth of great Churches, strong States, and the purest civic communities that the world has ever known. Bishop Foster, in one of his sermons, has put these things with his accustomed vigor: "We are safe in saying that up to date there is no perfect creed, we even doubt that there ever will be. . . . The attitude of the Church must ever be that of a teacher and that of a learner."

THINGS THAT CANNOT BE SHAKEN.

But if it be true that every great epoch in human progress is an epoch of expansion, with new horizons, and "signifieth the removing of those things that are shaken, as of things that are made," it is only that those "things that cannot be shaken" may come into clearer view. Some things have been made clear by the past. History proves that man is not only a mathematical being gifted with a genius for numbers, but also that he is a religious being. It proves that religion is a world-force as ubiquitous as atmosphere and as constant as gravitation, and that, like fire or electricity, it is something to be regulated, not to be abused or ignored, for the destructive forces of hell or the benign forces of heaven are in it according as it is related to truth. It may with equal confidence be claimed that an honestly cherished faith is the test of a rising or falling civilization. Religion has stood by the cradle of every nation and philosophy by its grave. Find a nation on the upward grade, and you will find one in which the religious life is sincere and where a living faith gives sacredness to the home and to personal life; find the same nation in its decadence, and, although the arts, literature, and philosophy may flourish, religion will be found to have lost its hold upon men. There was a time in Nineveh when the king might not ride in his chariot through the streets of his capital on the day of rest. There was a time in Rome when an assault upon a virgin "struck the dateless doom of kings" and led to the republic; and there was a later time when Rome's greatest philosopher, Lucretius, in utter despair of all things, nerved himself to suicide by recalling the immolation of his early kinswoman, whose deed of piety he could not comprehend.

In "Lucretius," that magnificent poem of the late laureate, Tennyson has sketched the outcome of the philosophy which regards this universe as a "fortuitous concourse of atoms" and which finds no place for duty:

> With that he drove the knife into his side;
> She heard him raging, heard him fall, ran in,
> Cried out as having failed in duty to him.
> . . . He answered,
> "Care not thou!
> Thy duty? What is thy duty? Fare thee well."

That ancient never-ending conflict between good and evil, to which all things about us testify and which we have all had trial of, discloses the weakness of man and his need of a Helper. The war is inevitable unto the death, till the soul is freed in holiness or ruined in corruption.

A few months ago the writer was thrown into the company of a typical man of the world, a person of high social standing, of wealth, and considerable culture. He was a Hebrew by descent, but had lost the faith of his people, and in reply to a suggestion of the obligations of morality he responded boldly: "Morality! it is a word. I practice all the vices—only everything with moderation." We spoke of duty to his fellow-men, as well as to himself, and reminded him of the purposes and vows of his

youth. He answered with force and composure that duties are often dreams; that there is no absolute code; that all things are relative, virtue with the rest. What more is needed than to be kind and care for one's health? In the last analysis every man must judge for himself. "All things are good, and moderation is the soul of virtue." We thought we heard again the voice of false Sir Tristram, as he sapped the scruples of Isolt, in "The Idylls of the Kings:"

> The vows!
> O ay! the wholesome madness of an hour;
> They served their use, their time.
> Bind me to one? The great world laughs at it,
> And worldling of the world am I.
> . . . We are not angels here,
> Nor shall be. Vows—I am woodman of the woods,
> And hear the garnet-headed yaffingale
> Mock them: my soul, we love but while we may.
> And therefore is my love so large to thee,
> Seeing it is not bounded save by love.

Philosophy has been looking for a long time for a secular basis of morals, for a stable sublunary foundation of obligation and duty, but thus far no anchorage has been found which holds when the storms of passion blow or the currents of self-interest crowd virtue from her moorings. Permit Antigone to make her appeal to "the settled laws of nature and of God," or the young Hebrew slave to cry out, "It is a sin against God," and there is a way of escape. But if we deny the moral order of the universe by denying a moral governor it will not be long before philosophy herself will turn traitor and find apologies for corruption. Let us remember that the word "ethics" means, in its etymology, custom, usage, popular manners. What mankind needs is to be lifted above average morality to the fixed and holy standards of the heavenly Father. Their "estimations" must be "according to the shekel of the sanctuary."

These principles have their illustration in the history of Christian Churches. There are Churches in Christendom that are as impotent to purify the social state as the mirages of the Sahara to produce vegetation. What is the papal Church doing for Spain or Italy, or the Greek Church for Russia, or the Armenian Church for its people? It may be feared that these and other Churches are positive hindrances and obstructions to the kingdom of God. And their apostasy lies not in their creeds, but in a dead faith. They have no vital hold upon a living God. They are repeating the sin of the Jewish people, against whom the prophets charged that they had put the ordinances of God in the stead of God and had become idolaters. If we look at the Protestant Churches it may be said generally that the preaching Churches are the reformers in history, while the liturgical Churches are inert and barren. Scotland, Holland, and New England furnish illustrations. The Anglican Church has been effective in proportion as the preaching function was prominent, but the "con-

science of England" is for the most part the product of the Nonconformist Churches; and these preaching Churches have been led, not by "priests" who manipulate magical grace at an "altar," but by prophet-preachers who have been instructed in the divine life by personal experience and have heard God's call to their ministry. They are dogmatic preachers. They give forth no uncertain sound. The divine life has its laws, and the laws of the divine life are the dogmas of Christianity. Bricks may be made without straw, but the Christian consciousness—that wondrous consciousness and style of life which we find in the pages of the New Testament epistles, and which includes a vivid sense of sin and holiness, together with a vivid sense of having been redeemed—this cannot exist apart from the great doctrines of Jesus Christ.

THE RIGHT OF PRIVATE JUDGMENT.

Among the natural and indefeasible rights of man conferred by his Creator is that of private judgment. "The absolute rights of man," says an eminent authority, "considered as a free agent, endowed with discernment to know good from evil, and with power of choosing those measures which appear to him to be most desirable, are usually summed up in one general appellation, and denominated the natural liberty of mankind. This natural liberty consists properly in a power of acting as one thinks fit, without any restraint or control, unless by the law of nature, being a right inherent in us by birth, and one of the gifts of God to man at his creation, when he endowed him with the faculty of free will. But every man, when he enters into society, gives up a part of his natural liberty as the price of so valuable a purchase; and, in consideration of receiving the advantages of mutual commerce, obliges himself to conform to those laws which the community has thought proper to establish. . . . That constitution or frame of government, that system of laws, is alone calculated to maintain civil liberty which leaves the subject entire master of his own conduct, except in those points wherein the public good requires some direction or restraint."*

Private judgment is fundamental to that "moral or natural liberty" which, in the words of Burlamaqui, chap. iii, § 15, "is the right which nature gives to all mankind of disposing of their persons and property after the manner they judge most consonant to their happiness, on condition of their acting within the limits of the law of nature and that they do not any way abuse it to the prejudice of any other men."

In the right use of private judgment thinking men believe in the being, attributes, perfections, and government of God; in the revelation of his mind and will, in their own individual accountability to him, and in weal or woe as the resultants of free moral conduct. To private judgment the Most Holy appeals in justification of his own adminstration of human affairs. "And now, O inhabitants of Jerusalem, and men of Judah, judge, I pray you, betwixt me and my vineyard. What could

* Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, vol. i, pp. 125, 126.

have been done more to my vineyard, that I have not done in it?" (Isa. v, 3, 4.) "Hear now, O house of Israel; Is not my way equal? are not your ways unequal?" (Ezek. xviii, 25.) Responsive to this touching appeal David penitently confesses his great crime, exclaiming, "That thou mightest be justified when thou speakest, and be clear when thou judgest" (Psalm li, 4). In the words which our Lord puts into the mouth of the nobleman who was reckoning with servants "that he might know how much every man had gained by trading" with the talents intrusted is an appeal to private judgment, and especially in the case of the wicked servant (Matt. xxv, 14–30; Luke xix, 12–27).

Patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and pious people without number have exercised this inherent right in relation to the highest and most important matters. Every sane person is sovereign, independent, and yet amenable to his Maker. Society holds its every member responsible for what he does as possessor of the faculty and right of private judgment. No one is exempt from the obligation to seek, if haply he may find, what is true, right, and best in all the relations of moral life. If he seek with sincere and fixed resolve to conform voluntary action to conviction—seek in prayerful dependence on the promised grace of the Holy Spirit—he will be led into the knowledge of saving truth, and by the truth be made free from error and from the hurt and grief thence resulting.

Creeds of art, science, philosophy, medicine, law, politics, and religion are the constructions of private judgment. Few may exactly express the convictions of any thoughtful subscriber. The necessity of mutually waiving opinion to some extent in order that all may combine in the profession of what are held as essential truths is the explanation of this incompleteness. Still, in its last analysis every system of formulated belief is the product of private judgment.

In nothing is this faculty more worthily employed than in ascertaining the meaning of "Scripture given by inspiration of God, and profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness: that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works" (2 Tim. iii, 16, 17). "God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son" (Heb. i, 1, 2). The weightiest of these utterances have been carefully recorded by the pens of divinely guided scribes, and the record is "God's word written." This we believe on sufficient evidence, in the exercise of natural liberty of judgment.

The contents of this record are plain, intelligible, and addressed to the minds and hearts of men, who are required to study them for the knowledge of what is right and best, in order that they may attain to the highest ultimate possibilities for their kind. Their faith is to rest not upon human but upon divine authority, and themselves must be the builders of that faith. To this end the first recipients of oral and certainly of written revelation were commanded to teach the law unto their children, who in turn should teach it to their children, and so on continuously throughout the coming centuries (Deut. vi). The "holy

oracles" were committed to the people, were to be taught by the people, and the truth from God was to be preserved in its purity. Christ recognized the ability of the common people to interpret the prophets correctly when he directed them to search the Scriptures which testify of him (John v, 39). Paul, writing to Timothy, declares that the Holy Scriptures are able to make him "wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus" (2 Tim. iii, 15). To the Galatians (i, 8, 9), he impliedly affirms their right to exercise private judgment on the teaching of heretics, of apostles, and even of angels; and to test their doctrines by the infallible record. If Christians may judge apostles and angels they may also judge popes, councils, assemblies, bishops, theologians, and teachers in the same spirit and by the same rule. Deut. xiii represents the people as possessing the ability and right to judge pretenders, and as having an infallible rule to guide them in this judgment. All who speak and teach opinions contrary to God's word—whosoever they be—are to be condemned and rejected.

The wisest exercise of the right of private judgment, prior to personal investigation, is to accept the teachings of those held in the highest repute for knowledge, wisdom, and probity. This we do in relation to physicians, lawyers, architects, professors, and statesmen. This, also, we do as touching religion and morals. But this does not absolve us from the duty of verifying our beliefs when ability and circumstance permit. "As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he." He who has thought his way through and out of the domain of religion and ethics is the strongest for good to himself and others. Many persons have neither the time nor the ability nor the patience to verify inherited or acquired beliefs. Others are active as to some, but passive as to others, of their articles of faith. Secchi and Mivart are distinguished as independent scientists, but are simply passive in reception of religious belief. So with all Romanists who sincerely voice the third article of the creed of Pope Pius IV: "I admit the Holy Scriptures, according to that sense which our holy mother Church has held and does hold, to which it belongs to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Scriptures; neither will I ever take and interpret them otherwise than according to the unanimous consent of the fathers." Much of the spirit of this pledge is in the vows which good but fallible men have imposed on candidates for their ministry and for offices in their Churches. The Methodist Episcopal Church is emphatic in declaration of the right of private judgment. Her fifth Article of Religion says: "The Holy Scriptures contain all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation."

Exercising reason and judgment in the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, believers find the greater portion so clear in meaning that there is no room for controversy. Romanist expositors, on the other hand notoriously disagree in exegesis of important passages. Popes have contradicted one another, condemned and annulled the acts of their predecessors. The

great Councils of Nice, Laodicea, Constantinople, and Trent are opposed in the enactment of decrees wholly incongruous with each other. The faith of Protestantism is far clearer and more definite than that of Roman Catholicism, though expounded by errant "infallible" pontiffs.

Truths necessary to salvation are comparatively few in number, simple, and easy of understanding when the Scriptures are searched and studied in their plain, historic sense, as intended and understood by the people at the respective epochs of their composition—studied as the consistent emanations of the divine Mind, one portion explaining and illustrating another—studied in humble, docile dependence on the unerring guidance of the divine Spirit. The decalogue, the Sermon on the Mount, and the supreme law of love taught in the Gospel are intuitively accepted as divinely true, and with an appreciation of content and significance that is better understood than defined. In respect of essentials, reason, enlightened and sanctified by the Holy Spirit—as Christ promised (John xiv, 26) and John taught (1 John ii, 20, 27)—leads to substantial and practically unanimous agreement of interpretation. Dissent from the general Christian consensus of belief is almost always dissent from the Scriptures themselves.

As we have seen, there is not unanimity in the doctrinal history of the paganized Church of Rome. Nor can it be expected, reasonably, that it should be. Christ has not appointed any ecclesiastic, or class of ecclesiastics, in his Church whose interpretation of the Bible is of final authority, and to whose view the people are bound to submit. Neither Athanasius, nor Augustine, nor Pope Leo; neither papal council, Episcopal convocation, Presbyterian assembly, Congregationalist convention, nor Methodist Conference is authorized to proclaim infallibility of their theological formulas. John Robinson, the godly pastor of the expatriated Pilgrims in Holland, spoke like an ideal advocate of the right of private judgment in the advice bestowed on the eve of their departure for the sterile shores of New England: "I charge you, before God and his blessed angels, that you follow me no further than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ. The Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of his holy word. I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the reformed Churches, who are come to a period in religion, and will go at present no further than the instruments of their reformation. Luther and Calvin were great and shining lights in their times, yet they penetrated not into the whole counsel of God. I beseech you, remember it—'tis an article of your church covenant—that you be ready to secure whatever truth shall be made known to you from the written word of God."

Protestantism, based on the right of private judgment, affirms that the Lord Jesus Christ commands every man to search the Scriptures for himself, and to determine in his own discretion, and on his own responsibility, what they require him to believe and do. Obligation to faith and righteousness is personal. Responsibility cannot be transferred nor assumed by parents or Church. As each must answer, so each must judge for himself. Men must listen to God and obey him rather than man.

It is to the people that the Scriptures are addressed, and not exclusively or specially—save in small portions—to officers of the Church. "Hear, O Israel," "Hearken, O ye people," are appeals that frequently prefaced God's messages through the prophets. Christ discoursed to the common people, who heard him gladly. The New Testament epistles are addressed to the "called of Jesus Christ," "the beloved of God," "called to be saints," "sanctified in Christ Jesus," "to all who call on the name of Jesus Christ our Lord." It was for the people that the evangelists prepared their inspired biographies of the Christ and their narratives of his doings and teachings. It was for the people that the physician Luke wrote his glowing history of the primitive Church. It was to the people that Paul submitted his profoundly comprehensive expositions of Christian doctrine and duty. All postulate competency to understand savingly what is written; all acknowledge the right of private judgment and base upon its normal exercise the demand for faith and obedience. To permit men to come between ourselves and God, to forego the priceless privilege of study and interpretation for ourselves, is voluntarily to forfeit a divinely conferred right and to enthrone errant humanity in the seat of the Omnipotent.

Outside of elementary truths, essential to salvation and so simple that none need misunderstand, the Scriptures contain many things hard to be understood even by the keenest and most spiritual of students. But precise knowledge of them is not requisite to human welfare. It may even be argued whether they do not valuably contribute to apprehension of truth that is clear and sanctifying. The origin of evil, the details of Messianic prophecy, the person of the Christ, the future of his Church, of the Israelitish and other peoples, and the facts of eschatology are matters of which infallibly true knowledge cannot be affirmed. Their very indistinctness and uncertainty pique curiosity, provoke investigation, incite to minutest and most comprehensive study, and lead to widely differentiated opinions. Then, too, there are questions of higher criticism connected with the authorship of various books of the Bible; with the time, place, and circumstances of the composition of each; with the education, secular and religious beliefs of the authors and redactors; with the analysis and synthesis of contents, and with the genuineness of the copies we now possess, on which private judgment, aided by the best and richest scholarship of the times, and by intensely passionate longing for the whole truth, may expend its noblest powers. Whatever the results may be, it is reasonably certain—nay, in confidence of faith we may say, sure—that the truth of God's word will not suffer impairment. The envelope may be scratched and its edges frayed in the frictions of long transmission, but the contents of the letter are precisely what they were when it left the hands of the correspondent.

Private judgment scorns and repels the baseless claims of the papacy. It refuses to be guilty of the awful sacrilege involved in the substitution of foolish man for the all-wise God. It insists upon the enjoyment of God-given, indefeasible rights. John Wyclif, of Lutterworth, "morning

star of the Reformation," led the way into gospel liberty, translated the Scriptures into his homely vernacular, multiplied transcribed copies of his translation, and sent forth his evangelists to read and explain them to the commonalty. William Tyndale and Miles Coverdale again translated the Bible and published it in the newly discovered types of Faust and Gutenberg. England rejoiced in the precious gift, severed her relations with the seven-hilled city, and laid broad and deep the foundations of Anglo-Saxon supremacy in modern civilization. Puritans, who sought to govern themselves by the biblical spirit and ethics, completed the Reformation and voiced their interpretation of inspired writ in the classic, severe, and weighty sentences of the Westminster Confession of Faith. Fresh light broke out of God's word upon the minds of those who pondered its statements, changed their doctrinal beliefs, issued in the ministrations of evangelical Arminianism, and reformed the Reformation.

The disciples of Augustine, Pelagius, Calvin, Luther, Wesley, and Channing have precisely the same rights as their masterful predecessors, neither more nor fewer. Honest and manful exercise of these invaluable rights may involve sacrifice, conflict, and suffering, severance of cherished ties, and establishment of new affiliations. But what of that? This is nothing new. It is only the experience through which the servants of Christ have passed from the day of Pentecost until now. It is only in the unrest of aspiration for perfect knowledge, the burning enthusiasm to be right and to do right, and the ceaseless endeavor to conform conduct to conviction, that heroic souls become pioneers of progress, and the race itself advances toward its highest ultimate possibility. God's truth and man's welfare have nothing to dread from agitation. Health is imbibed from the swirling stream rather than from the stagnant pond, and gladsome vigor is derived from the breezes of wind-swept plains and hills rather than from the deadly quiet of tropical jungles. Out of the *mêlée* of struggling antagonisms the spirit of the devout and manly believer emerges triumphant and strong forever. Light, love, life, and fruitfulness—Christlikeness, in a word—are the beneficent resultants achieved by his martial toil.

Servile uniformity is impossible under the operation of private judgment. Out of the latter springs diversity like that of the flora in bright autumnal days—diversity compatible with the essential unity of vegetative life. Christians are "diverse as the billows, but one as the sea." Civil and religious liberty are safe under the *ægis* of private judgment. Under the conceded claims of a sacerdotal class, insisting on exclusive right to interpret that infallible rule of faith and practice which men must believe and obey on peril of their souls, they wilt and die. Such a class may impose what conditions of salvation they see fit. Armed with this power they may become, and repeatedly have become, the absolute masters of the people. As Chillingworth says: "He that would usurp an absolute lordship and tyranny over any people need not put himself to the trouble and difficulty of abrogating and disannuling the laws made to maintain the common liberty; for he may frustrate their intent, and compass his

own design as well, if he can get the power and authority to interpret them as he pleases, and add to them what he pleases, and to have his interpretations and additions stand for laws; if he can rule his people by his laws, and his laws by his lawyers." This is what the Church of Rome has done and is doing, wheresoever she had the power. Her domination is always and everywhere intolerably tyrannous. The pope and his multiplied shadow, the parish priest, are arbiters of faith and morals, of all that enters into or impinges upon the life of their abject subjects. The people must believe that the Bible inculcates Romanist dogmas because the Church—that is, the priest—says so. He usurps the prerogative of the Almighty. Private judgment repels his blasphemous dictation, opposes his unholy effort to compel faith and obedience modeled on those of any human predecessors, and inquires what is the testimony of God in his word —testimony authenticated as divine by the witness of the Holy Spirit to his inmost nature and by the witness of the believing mind and heart.

Methodism, as spiritual "Christianity in earnest," owes its singular immunity from doctrinal heresies and controversies—as does the true Church of Christ in every land and age—to the commended right of private judgment. Apply the simple rules of natural interpretation, and practical unanimity will follow as to what the Bible teaches concerning all things needful to faith and practice. This, as the Rev. Dr. Charles Hodge remarks, "is a decisive proof of the perspicuity of the Bible and of the safety of allowing the people the enjoyment of the divine right of private judgment."

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE JEWISH GATHERING IN NEW YORK.

THE Jewish population of New York is larger than that of any other city on earth—larger, probably, than the regular population of Jerusalem in the most flourishing period of its history. Competent authority calculated its number in February, 1891, to be from 225,000 to 250,000. Russian and Polish Jews are more numerous than those of any other nationality. Next come the Germans. Hungarians and Roumanians follow in almost equal quantity.

Brazilian Jews were the first comers in about 1634, and were by no means welcome to the sturdy Dutch Calvinist, Peter Stuyvesant, who then ruled Nieuw Amsterdam. In Newport, R. I., the free spirit of Roger Williams greeted them cordially. At both places they took root and flourished luxuriantly. So did their Portuguese and Spanish, British, Polish, Dutch, German, Italian, Morisco, Arabic, Syrian, and other coreligionists who followed them through the "doors of sunset" into the rocky but fertile pastures of Manhattan Island. To all tribes of the "wandering feet and weary breast" New York is a veritable and most fruitful Goshen.

From October 1, 1891, to October 1, 1892, the arrivals of Jewish steerage passengers reached the total of 52,134; 10,000 less than in the previous year. Of these 18,815 were children. 38,504 remained in the city, "dazzled by its brilliancy" and believing that it held room for them in which

they could quickly earn competence and observe all the laws, major and minor, which they had been taught to believe are vital to happiness as life itself; and 13,630 were furnished with transportation to other localities. Nine tenths of the whole were in need of and received assistance. 41,456 were Russians, 7,296 Austrians, 96 Danes, 79 Dutch, 299 English, 18 French, 1,928 Germans, 619 Roumanians, 199 Swedes, and 144 Turks. To all, America was the Gentile "Land of Promise," the El Dorado of facile and golden prosperity.

Adding 75,000 to its Jewish inhabitants, as the increment between February 1, 1891, and February 1, 1893, New York now shelters from 300,000 to 325,000 of the Israelidæ within its limits. "Yiddish," Jüdisch-Deutsch, or Judæo-German, a jargon composed of Hebrew, German, and Slavic words, is the vernacular of the greater portion. Newspapers and books are published in it, as well as in pure Hebrew. Theaters present plays in which it is the talk of the actors. Bills of fare reveal its use in restaurants, and Hebrew characters its employment in banks, stores, and workshops. Thousands of those who speak it in the common round of the world's business are also masters of the Hebrew of David and Malachi. Their children often forget what of the latter is learned in schools, and contemptuously ignore the former altogether. "Yiddish," notwithstanding, will endure as one of the historic and instructive treasures of philology. Hebrew, doubtless, will persist as the sacred language until all the tongues of earth are exchanged for that of the spirit-world.

The conditions of metropolitan Jewish society, slowly unifying under the power of modern forces, are those of praiseworthy philanthropy, in which the older and younger faiths are emulously conspicuous. Most prominent of Israelitish humanitarian associations are the Hebrew Benevolent and Orphan Asylum Society, Hebrew Benevolent Fuel Society, Hebrew Relief Society, Ladies' Hebrew Lying-in Relief Society, and Congregation Darech Amuno Free Burial Fund Society. These compose the United Hebrew Charities, whose beneficence is of vast proportions and whose methods are worthy of careful study. Cooperating with them are the trustees of the Baron de Hirsch Fund and the sisterhoods of personal service of the congregations Emanu-El, Beth-El, Ahawath Chesed, Shaaray Tefila, Temple Israel, and Rodof Shalom. The latter include noble-hearted women of the best culture and refinement, large wealth and liberal hands, native shrewdness and acquired discernment, whose womanly greetings, words of comfort, and timely donations shed sweet light on sad hearts and inspire energy and hope. The poor need not the gifts of the rich so much as they need the rich themselves.

In the corporate year ending October 1, 1892, the United Hebrew Charities of the city of New York received $327,071, including $96,486 from the Central Russian Refugee Committee, $87,500 from the Russian Transportation Fund, and $48,333 from the Central Committee of the Baron de Hirsch Fund. Their coreligionists preach, pray, solicit, give, bequeath, and dance in their aid; $16,160 came from the Purim Association ball. Unwisely, as we think, in view of the persistent Roman Catholic

attempts to effect a union between Church and State, they also accepted $1,500 from the civic Board of Estimate and Apportionment. Judaism has some affinities with, but more repulsions against, Roman Catholicism; and dependence upon State aid is one of the former. Still, in view of the appalling magnitude of the task forced upon it, and of the fact that Jewish tramps, inmates of workhouses, and burdens upon States and communities are proudly affirmed to be altogether wanting, we are not disposed to criticise this fault too harshly. The metropolitan Israelidæ appear to be in training for beneficence on a yet more extensive scale in the future.

Of the $321,311 disbursed in the last fiscal year, $77,696 were expended on the resident and transient poor, $28,285 on transportation of immigrants to near and distant points, $1,914 in helpful work on Ellis Island, $6,514 in procuring employment for those willing and anxious to work, $18,568 in supplies for the poverty-stricken, $6,221 in medical relief, $3,026 on industrial schools, $3,006 in maternity relief, and $6,739 for the free burial of the strangers who came hither in search of home and found the grave. The Hebrew Technical School received $1,000, the Central Russian Refuge Committee $145,200, and $22,882 were devoted to the payment of house and office expenses and salaries. 62,576 persons were relieved in various ways, at a total cost of $151,974. Independently of this sum, $38,962 were received from the Baron de Hirsch Fund and expended by the agents of the United Hebrew Charities and the Central Russian Refuge Committee for relief, transportation, tools, maintenance, supplies, and rent; $37,662 were received by the Russian Transportation Fund and devoted to like purposes.

That these "least desirable of all immigrants," belonging as they do to the laboring, artisan, mercantile, and professional classes, repay the gifts and care bestowed upon them is repeatedly evidenced by the calls of American mills, factories, and employers for help of the same class. The derided exiles, instructed and grateful, become useful members of the commonwealth, builders of bulwarks for popular liberty, and industrious, orderly citizens. Schools for the young, manual training and agricultural work for adults, are zealously improved by them to these ends. The children are bright, docile, artistic, skillful, and adaptable. Adults prove to be keenly perceptive of their own interests, readily affiliate with coworkers of other races, aspire to like standards of living, and promptly demand the same rates of compensation. Exploitation is frustrated in the scheme of making them permanent victims, and in its defeat lies the safety of workingmen generally. In the country it is the same as in the city. Workers on farms, in gardens and vineyards, evince aptitude for their tasks, and wrest from the soil a livelihood not unfrequently complemented by the labors of winter and by womanly industry in the manufacture of shoes and clothing. That divine Providence has them in training for most important ulterior ends is not at all improbable.

Religiously the Slavic Jews are of the "most straitest sect" of their people, orthodox and Pharisaic in the extreme, and punctilious in keeping to the minutest letter of Talmudical law. Contact with free Christians

and secular thought soon tones down their fanaticism into German conservatism. Thence the transition into Anglo-Saxon liberalism is gradual and easy. Radical reform is the last development. Obsolete forms of prayer are discarded, ritual is modernized, English substituted for Hebrew, tradition rejected, hats removed in worship, tallith and tsitsith consigned to forgotten wardrobes, family pews adopted, and feminine singers admitted to the synagogal choir. Confirmation is prized for spectacular effect and for deep impression upon the candidates. Religion and ethics are diligently taught in synagogues and Sunday schools. Theological and biblical opinions conflict. All are professedly drawn from the Old Testament, rationally and critically interpreted, and in harmony with deepest intuitions of the right, the beautiful, and the good. Private judgment repudiates the authority of traditional rabbinism. Rabbins themselves lead divergent tendencies. Some exemplify orthodoxy, others liberalism. Here and there one becomes an avowed convert to Christianity. Laymen are of all shades of opinion from Pharisaism to anarchism. Some admire Robert G. Ingersoll; others, like the gifted Benjamin F. Peixotto, believe that of all forms of religion Christianity is the richest, purest, and best. Felix Adler, in his motto, "Deed, not creed," represents the utilitarian element; Wolff and Rosenberg, the dying superstitions of dreamy cabalists. More than are publicly noticed glide into Christian churches; others refrain from following preference and precedent from love for parents. All learn to differentiate false from true Christianity, and are surely learning what the Christianity of our Lord Jesus Christ is. Theology, social ethics, and ecclesiology are in condition more or less chaotic; but out of the tumultuous confusion emerge thought, religion, ethics, morals, and communal energy of higher type than any distinctive of the race in the past, and that prophesy grandly benign achievement in the future. In what regions and through what qualities that achievement is to be manifested may at least be plausibly conjectured.

That there are sufficient pecuniary resources for the part that the Israelites may be called upon, providentially, to enact in the future is obvious, not only in the colossal wealth of the Rothschilds, Bleichröders, and Goldsmidts of Europe, but in the enormous riches of the New York Hebrews. The value of the fee simple in the city held by them is estimated at not less than $200,000,000. Money in their hands multiplies as if by magic. Men who began business as peddlers are now multi-millioned financiers. The available capital of bankers, including the Seligmans, Wormsers, Borg, Lazard, Scholle, Kuhn, Loeb, Schiff, Ickelheimer, Speyer, Schafer, and many others, exceeds $100,000,000. Shipments of gold to and from Europe are principally in their hands. Their wealth is chiefly in readily convertible form. Five sixths of the twelve hundred Broadway wholesale firms between Canal Street and Union Square are of Semitic constitution. On the side streets they also predominant. The establishments of Stern, Straus, Altman, and Bloomingdale, and many others, are owned by the same race. The aggregate rating of about twenty-five hundred leading merchants is not less than $250,000,000. Those engaged in the dry goods and fancy

trades control not less than $65,000,000. About $30,000,000 are invested in the manufacture and sale of clothing, about $10,000,000 in the cloth trade, and $15,000,000 in that of hats and gentlemen's furnishing goods. Nicotic trades use not less than $16,000,000, wine and liquor manufacturers and merchants from $10,000,000 to $12,000,000. Jewelry and optical instrument dealers utilize the power of $10,000,000, leather merchants that of $7,000,000 or $8,000,000, paints and glass upward of $6,000,000, meats over $5,000,000, and miscellaneous trades about $50,000,000 more.

In these days when coins constitute the indispensable instruments of commerce and warfare the autocratic ruler of one hundred and twenty million souls is comparatively powerless of aggression while lacking the requisite store. The volatile, vindictive French may lend political countenance to floatage of Russian loans, but the undertaking fails because the hostile sons of Jacob abstain from cooperation. In cases that command sympathy and confidence of lucrative repayment their touch opens concealed repositories whence flow the means for raising, equipping, and maintaining fleets and armies, for initiating and executing gigantic international enterprises, and for changing the face of affairs and the current of events over large areas of the world's surface. Much—it may be most—of this awfully responsible power is lodged with the three hundred thousand Jews of New York. Is it for any and all purposes save those directly connected with their own unique and practically imperishable race? Or is it for the fulfillment of destiny foreshadowed by prophet and apostle—a destiny in whose glory and blessedness all nations will be equally entitled to share?

Extremes of opulence and penury, luxury and squalor, cleanliness and filth meet in the Jews of New York; but the swift ascent of all on the lower to higher planes of civilization is astonishing. Jewish wealth and energy are doing marvels in the transformation of Israelites from all parts of the globe into ideal American citizens. The material supplied is intensely human. Good and evil blend in it, as in all divisions of the Adamic family. Between any two of these divisions of the human race there is little moral difference. Heredity in respect of mental endowment is more marked in the Hebrews. Critically observant, thoughtful, acute and quick in reason, never forgetting and always acquiring, flexible and accommodating, and with will whose dogged tenacity nothing can shake, they thoroughly avail themselves of all educational advantages, and especially of such as conduce to personal aggrandizement. Religious schools are attended by assisted pupils mainly; trade institutions by pushing, wide-awake boys and girls; lectures, evening classes, and libraries by workers whose early opportunities were restricted by circumstances. Kindergartens are crowded with delighted urchins, and public schools with students whose religious faith is justly inferred from their absence on the great Jewish holidays. The College of the City of New York, and the New York Female College, designed particularly for the training of teachers, contain more Jewish pupils in proportion to Hebrews in the municipality than they include scholars of any other racial extraction. The same remark is largely true of local colleges and professional schools. Thence

graduate the sharp-witted, erudite lawyers who crowd the bar and occupy the judicial bench; the medical men who vie with those of Teuton or Latin blood; the journalists whose sheets command popular esteem and whose opinions contribute effectively to the molding of public sentiment; the legislators, like Blumenthal and Cantor, whose impress is plainly visible on many enactments; and the diplomatists who, like Peixotto and Straus, have so honorably upheld the dignity and reputation of the American republic in foreign lands. United States senators and State governors are among them, potentially; and so are members of all the cultivated classes, whose work is essential to the welfare of nations and whose powers may yet find ample exercise in fields exclusively their own.

The Israelites of New York stand upon the same plane before organic and statutory law, State and national, with people of the most highly favored nations, and are admitted to citizenship on precisely the same terms. The right of voting implies that of being voted for. In the improvement of eligibility to office and in the success attending candidacy for it they have exemplified genius for government and aptitude for its functions not inferior to that of the Irish. As administrators—civil, judicial, and associational—candor compels the confession that they are equal to the average. Prejudice against them, and particularly against late arrivals, there unquestionably is; but it neither nullifies one single privilege nor abridges one solitary right. It may decline social intercourse to some extent, as it does to sundry non-Jews, but it does so under the law of natural affinity and repulsion. It rarely refuses the honor due to distinguished intellect, force, probity, and public spirit. Nothing in ancestry, faith, or worship stands in the way of legal elevation to the highest office in the service of the people.

All this is due to the work of Christianity. The fact is more or less fully known, and the factor respected accordingly. True, they ascribe like power to Mosaism and prophetism, while acknowledging that Christianity is what is so often styled the "daughter religion." That the latter is the fruitage of which Judaism is the flower not many are willing to concede. The only Christianity of which the Slavonic rank and file of Judaism know anything is that absurd and ferocious caricature which, under the title of Greek Catholicism, has robbed, tortured, and exiled them. The czar deserves to rank with Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar in the estimation of Hebrews generally. German coreligionists have also suffered from the *Judenhetze* of the Teutons and the rancorous bigotry of such clergymen as Stoecker and Ahlwardt. Of just criticism Jews have no right to complain; but some intense religionists have inflicted insults and miseries innumerable upon the racial relatives of their Lord, and that in utter contrariety to his spirit and teaching. Is it any wonder that Jews despise and spit upon a pretended Christianity so shamefully spurious? It seems as if the Lord of glory, in the exercise of that sovereignty over all things which the Father hath put into his hands, has collected in this chief city of the western hemisphere these victims of unreason, envy, and malice—of a cruelty second only to that of the Romish Inquisition—

in order that they may learn, in the light of freedom, in the enjoyment of equal rights, and under the fructifying warmth of love kindled at the sacrifice on Calvary, what the religion of their rejected Messiah really is.

They are learning the lesson, and as they learn are modified in belief and practice. They, or rather many of them, are proud of Jesus of Nazareth as one of the most beautiful and fruitful branches of the Abrahamic stock. They prize the friendship of his disciples while disagreeing with their Christological conclusions. They see in Christianity, as the religion of love and good works, what is identical with the essence of their own. The most erudite and statesmanly of their theological and churchly leaders does not hesitate to invite Christian ministers into his pulpit to address his Sunday school, to confer with his people on modes of social usefulness, or to give Adam Clarke's *Commentaries on the Bible* an honored place on the shelves of his library. Dr. K. Kohler, of Temple Israel, gladly recognizes in "Jesus of Nazareth and his apostles the greatest harbingers of light for the heathen world." He avows: "We readily acknowledge him to have been one of the world's sweetest preachers, one of Israel's loftiest prophets, one of the great redeemers of the lost and forsaken of the race, one of the noblest teachers of morals that ever lived," yet only a man of the highest grade. It is true that the Jews deny the conventional Christianity of the time to be what Jesus taught and illustrated. Neither is it. But they are in error as to what he really did teach and practice, except in so far as his teaching was of love and his practice perfect beneficence.

Some of the learned Jews, like Professor Ehrlich, the collaborator of Delitzsch in the translation of the New Testament into Hebrew, are profound students of that volume and judicious commentators upon its purely Jewish features. While Hebrew eleemosynary institutions are the recipients of some princely Christian benefactions they learn to make grateful return by grateful bequests and gifts to Christian charities. The sisterhoods of personal service are judicious emulators of the "King's Daughters," of whom they speak as "a society of Christian ladies to whom we owe many acts of kindness to our poor." These "Daughters of Israel" clearly perceive that "it was through the self-sacrifice and uplifting power of the early Church" that "a great impetus was given to civilization," and do not shrink from consciously imitating Christian plans of saving labor. Christian literature is not excluded from library or center-table, nor the *Old and New Testament Student* and the *Hebraica* from helps to correct interpretation of the Scriptures.

Few of the Jews, and especially of the rabbins, evince any disposition to embrace Christianity openly. Occasionally one will profess, more or less sincerely, a desire to do so. Jewesses are as willing to marry Christians as Christians are to marry Jewesses. Tens of thousands, men and women, have listened to the expositions of the Rev. Herman Warszawiak, a converted Jew, and hundreds have become the followers of his Master —some of them "secretly, for fear of the Jews." Many have been led to faith in Christ through the ministrations of the Rev. Jacob Freshman, of

the Hebrew Christian Church. Irregular attendance upon divine worship in Christian churches is not uncommon. Objections to "conversionism" seem to have lost something of acridity. The obligation to accept what is truest and best is more and more conceded.

The trend of metropolitan Judaism is resistlessly toward Christ. So we believe, and in believing find in the fact believed another reason for the faith that is in us, that in this remarkable gathering of the Israelites in the city the great Head of the Church is preparing instruments for a near and glorious development of his kingdom upon the earth. For what purpose is the terrible discipline formerly endured, the special training in American city and country; for what their splendid abilities and fabulous wealth, if not for repatriation in the land of their fathers? Have they not the leaders, resources, qualities, and experiences needful for the construction of an independent nationality, free, glorious, and cosmopolitan? So we believe.

But the Jews themselves have no such ambitions? Some have—some have not. Goshen was preferred by many in Egypt to the land flowing with milk and honey; and the more, because wilderness and warfare lay between the two. New York is the Jerusalem of the self-satisfied reformer. America is his country. He does not want to go to Canaan, even if he could. But the orthodox majority pray for restoration to the paternal hills, plains, and valleys; and in the prayer millions of Christians, in wrong or right spirit, concur. There is scarcely a nation in Europe or America but would willingly bid them good-bye. None really feels that while the Israelite is with it he is of it. He is extraneous, original, unassimilable. He may be republican, monarchist, or absolutist —and that conscientiously—but still he is alien in blood, creed, and natural isolation. Why should he endure this jarring relation unless for the fulfillment of some high mission? He is not a purer monotheist than his Christian brother, nor a more effective advocate of truth, love, and righteousness. He is the standing miracle of the ages, driven from his native seat, "scattered and peeled" in strange countries, that in his rough and sanguinary struggle for existence he may acquire the faculty requisite for the establishment of an independent nationality.

That the Israelidæ will return to the realm granted in fee simple and promised to Abraham and his seed (Gen. xv, 18; Josh. i, 4) is obvious in the light of prophecy. Major and minor seers glow with holy enthusiasm when they predict, not merely return from Babylon, but the final return from all nations into which the Lord had driven them. That the region allotted to Abraham and possessed by Solomon—reaching from the mouth of the Orontes to the Red Sea, from the Mediterranean to Mesopotamia—is ample in size and resources to accommodate the nine to twelve million Israelites in the world does not allow of question. Exceedingly fertile in the Hauran and other sections, yielding fruits and cereals of all descriptions, offering abundant pasturage to flocks and herds, rich in mineral treasures, and with few available seaports, it affords special inducements for the construction of railroads. Turkey, the nom-

inal suzerain, deeply indebted to Jewish creditors, is moribund, and only survives through sufferance of the great Powers, who will not consent that his estate should pass under the sovereignty of any in their own category. The rightful heir only is entitled to succession, and that heir is Jacob. The "principle of nationalities" now in vogue with modern civilization demands that he be put in seizin of it.

Investiture with patrimonial rights is alleged to be the ambition of the Alliance Israelite Universelle, the goal of occidental, and the desideratum of oriental, Jews. European statesmanship favors, and only Ottoman perversity frowns upon it. As the probable issue of modern race agitations and the solution of vexed political problems it commends itself to the good graces of Americans, of whose most gifted Semitic brethren one has said: "They, who in our own generation have led the Conservatives of England, the Liberals of Germany, the Republicans of France, can surely furnish a new Ezra for their own people."

These people know when it is most fitting to foreclose practical mortgage upon their own territory. They are upon the spot. Jerusalem, with seventy-five thousand inhabitants, embraces forty thousand Jews, against less than five hundred scarcely half a hundred years ago. In other Palestine towns they increase. Cities swell without the walled precincts. Agriculture and trade prosper. Public works are in progress. Good roads supplant ancient footpaths. American locomotives draw loaded trains from Joppa to Jerusalem. From thence by way of Gaza and El Arish to Port Said and Ismailia, connecting with the Egyptian system of railroads, their shrieks will soon wake the drowsy echoes. Nor there only, but also in northern Palestine. Concession is held by capitalists for the building of a road with littoral termini at Acre and Haifa. Northeast of Carmel the branches unite, and thence pass in single line up the plain of luxuriant Esdraelon, across the Jordan, and through the teeming Hauran to the ancient Damascus, upon her "Abana and Pharpar." About fifty years ago Colonel Chesney surveyed a railroad route from Alexandretta to or near Edessa, thence down the Euphrates valley to Bassorah, whence British troops, missionaries, and merchandise may be shipped to India by way of the Persian Gulf. Such a road would develop the resources of the old Davidic empire. Energy, skill, and capital can revive and concrete the project of construction, convert the Land of Promise into one of the busiest routes of commerce and fields of industrial art, and raise the Israelitish autonomy to more than Solomonic splendor.

What then? Suppose the vision should be realized? This: American-schooled Jews would be the brain, muscle, and will of the government. American friendliness and approximately pure Christianity would draw the veil that shuts out the sight of the Messiah from mind and heart. In Christ they would see their own redeeming Lord. Those with clear vision and trustful heart will help to bring in "the fullness of the Gentiles." Then it is that "all Israel shall be saved" (Rom. xi, 26). The significance of the Jewish gathering in New York lies in its immediate relation to that glorious end.

PROGRESS OF CIVILIZATION.

ALL society is a compromise. The ideal community, guaranteeing the greatest possible benefits to the individual, and securing as well the highest interests of the body politic, has never been realized; and, with the perverse tendencies of human nature at full play, can never be constructed. While, in the institution of this ideal society, the theorist would make use only of homogeneous elements, and those the best—in the formation of the actual public structure the most composite materials are necessarily employed. Heterogeneity is the existing rule. Society, for instance, is diverse in the intellectual vigor of its constituent members and in their improvement of opportunities for education. While the high school and college have been working their wonderful transformations within the last half century, and like some radiant sun have steadily dispelled the shadows of ignorance, the widespread continuance of illiteracy is nevertheless a saddening feature of all national life. Alongside of the academy lives the unlettered boor. Within the shadow of the oldest and best equipped universities of the world it is easy to find some unschooled soul ignorant of the rule of three and of the very alphabet. Humanity needs tuition. Every public orator, whether he speaks of politics or religion, is conscious of this truth, and, bearing himself toward some proportion of the community as toward untaught children, adapts his methods to the occasion. Industry is also a variable quantity in the social life. The occupied worker and the unoccupied idler live as close neighbors. That many have the industrious disposition is a guarantee for the continuance of the whirling wheels of engines, the white furnace heat of foundries, the clang of the miner's hammer, and the stir of weaving looms. That others have the sluggard's instinct is a cause, aside from vicious habits and ignorant waste, for somewhat of the pauperism of the day, and will be a reason in the far future for disagreeable and narrowing poverty. Men cannot be made industrious by legislation. The bias toward idleness, that seems in many cases hereditary, is one of the mighty obstacles in the way of the radical reforms that political economists would work; and this bias is a recognized condition in every human government. Virtue and vice are, moreover, varying factors in the social constitution. Pleasant is the dream of the ideal commonwealth. Given to the reformer the power to exercise his untrammeled will in the creation of some new State, and it is easy to picture the ingredients that he would introduce into the new structure. Viciousness of every sort would be avoided. The saloon would be tabooed; the lottery and gambling would be forbidden by law; political bribery and the extortion of corporations would be excluded. And, as a corollary, from the restrained passions of men and their indoctrination in virtue the civil and criminal court would pass into disuse; while the penitentiary and prison would become almost as traditional as the legendary cruelties of the Bridewell and the Bastile.

But this is a picture only. The actual society is a continual compromise. Even in the purest corporate association of the earth the baser elements prevail and threaten to predominate. Extortion is as old as the race; robbery goes on with every nightfall; the saloon is rooted into the deepest soil; murder is world-wide, and the prison is a necessary institution under every phase of government. Not only the king, ruling his wide domain, or the lord mayor of every crowded metropolis, but the magistrate of the rural township, and the warden of the most obscure village, will testify from sad experience to the persistent hindrance of good government from the perverse passions of men. And until the end this composite moral structure of the social fabric will continue.

But the confession of this diversity in the public life is not an argument for indifference to the common weal. Society must still struggle on toward its ideal. More's dream of a western Utopia, though only a fancy, should not perplex, baffle, and dishearten the reformer. It is rather one of those visions which break upon the sordid sight of men and call them to higher endeavor. Inactivity is unphilosophic. The well-being of society calls for a reaching out after better things. Ignorance must be enlightened. Industry must be fostered. Nationalism must be insisted upon. In arbitration must be found redress for wrongs. Law must be enforced. Vice must be restrained. So shall the new age come as near as imperfect humanity may to the realization of its noble dreams.

ANNEXATION has lately become a popular watchword in the circles of American statesmanship and commerce. Toward some far islands in the Pacific, whose area is but the relatively small number of 6,400 square miles, and whose population, by the census of 1890, was only 90,000, the United States is credited with turning an envious eye. And, carried away on a wave of popular enthusiasm, the newspapers of the land, those makers as well as recorders of public opinion, are quite generally emphatic in their demand for the annexation of Hawaii. The questions of international law involved in the proposal are not uninteresting. The right of the larger governments of the earth to appropriate to themselves the water ways, the islands, or the unoccupied tracts of the main continents is a claim over which one as a disinterested spectator may philosophize. Nations are but groups of individuals; the same fundamental laws that permit the acquisition of personal property by gift, purchase, or conquest would seem to obtain in the increase of the national domain. The principles of equity are unchangeable, whether they have their application to the individual or the many. But while the proposed annexation of Hawaii falls within the provisions of international law and is in harmony with the current practice of the governments of the world, the experiment for some reasons seems one of doubtful utility. Even on the lower consideration of commercial interests the financial returns to the government of the United States would not seem to warrant the outgo. The revenue that would accrue to the home nation by the annual production of sugar in Hawaii

would be perhaps largely offset by the increased expense for the maintenance of an enlarged navy. The claim that the island is the gateway to the Eastern World, which the United States cannot afford to renounce, is sentimental. Hawaii is tropical, un-American, distant. All of which are considerations that have been sufficiently urged and that belong to the sphere of practical affairs. But, on the higher ground of ethical relations, the Hawaiian annexation is a hazardous experiment. The assumption of a paternal relationship on the part of the United States toward these far residents of the Pacific involves a moral obligation that should not be lightly incurred. Like the union of two individuals in lasting compact, the new association implies a new indebtedness by the republic to its *protégé*. The establishment of better schools, the inculcation of practical morals, and, in short, the importation of all ethical and religious light wherein the home land has been so blessed, would be our immediate obligation to Hawaii. The United States could not assume a supervisory relation to the Hawaiian islands and withhold these higher ministries which the divine law demands. Nor has its duty toward the great masses upon its own shores been so fully met as to warrant as yet the assumption of new obligations toward a new territory.

THE movement looking to "divorce reform," which of late is assuming large proportions, must receive the sanction of every defender of morals in the land. The evils resulting from the lax and inharmonious marriage laws of the different States of the Union seem constantly on the increase. From the story of disrupted homes and of applications for the annulment of the marriage compact, as written in the daily prints, but one lesson can be drawn. Disregard for the divine law concerning the sanctity of matrimony is widespread and flagrant. Separations are on the increase. No class escapes. Every age, every nationality, every rank, every profession, stands at the bar of civil justice asking for divorce. Noble manhood and womanhood, deserving better things, are brought low in sorrow. Innocent childhood must too often bear the lifelong shame of parental misdeeds. And marriage, in short, seems a roaring farce and burlesque! The creation of the Divorce Reform League is, therefore, a movement for which the times cry out. At its recent annual meeting in Boston the announcement was encouraging that the eight States of Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Michigan, Mississippi, and Georgia have consented to appoint commissions on the subject looking to the securing of uniformity in marriage laws. The geographical distribution and the prominence of these States, should they reach harmonious action, will go far, it is held, toward the establishment of a uniform law of divorce throughout the land. But what is first needed, it would seem, is a larger emphasis of the solemnity of marriage itself. Too many rush flippantly into this holy alliance. There is no clergyman of any denomination, in actual ministerial service, whose heart is not grieved at the reckless bearing of many applicants for marriage. While compliance with the outward legal requirements has been met, there is wanting

that inner and solemn consent to the holy estate which is the essence of true matrimony. It would be an incalculable blessing, therefore, if the door to marriage were more sacredly guarded. Prevention is easier than cure; in fact, there is no cure upon the earth for hopes blasted, hearts broken, and reputations shattered by misalliance. But, the ultimate step of divorce being inevitable in many cases, nothing is more imperative than that uniformity of practice should prevail in the various States of the Union. So unenviable is the reputation of some of these, with regard to the laxity of divorce, that their name has become a sad reproach. The inconsistency between the regulations of different States would seem grotesque were aught else than human happiness at stake. In some States an individual is held to be married to one person; in others to another. In one State no divorce is granted for any reason whatsoever; elsewhere "incompatibility," "intemperance," or "willful neglect" is sufficient ground for divorce. To recognize the existence of this glaring discrepancy, as the Reform League has done, is the first step toward a better condition; to surround the granting of divorces with greater restrictions, as in harmony with the divine law, is the further step that becometh a Christian nation.

MANY illustrious names are included in the recent list of the world's necrology. The departments of statesmanship, jurisprudence, business, and theology have alike been invaded by the great enemy of earthly happiness. Not only has the funeral procession been passing of late with strange accceleration to the grave, but some of the most famous leaders of the times have pressed their way to the front of the march and have been mustered into the company of the immortals. Their going away furnishes an opportunity for mournful sentiment, so far as this sentiment is permissible; is a call to industry for the remaining days of life, if such a call is needed; and prompts the cherishing with tender care of the friendships which remain. But not least of all is the lesson suggested of the new opportunity for leadership that comes with the departure of those who have been at the front. The heights which seemed so steep when active life began do not appear so precipitous now. The great prizes of the world, as they drop from the hands of the dying, are more accessible than in earlier days. Every vacancy at the bar, in the senate chamber, in the market place, and at the altars of the Church made by those who depart must be filled by some one who remains. The promotion of the faithful workers of the earth to the spirit life means the promotion of some survivor to a higher position of influence. "Room at the top," which aforetime seemed one of those innocent and sentimental maxims with which literature is filled, is now the terse putting of a tremendous fact. But this opportunity means a weighty obligation. To stand in the places of service once filled by the mighty dead, to take up their unfinished work, and in inexperience to measure up to their skill, is a responsibility from which the stoutest heart might shrink. So do the dying leave a double legacy to their survivors.

THE ARENA.

SOCIALISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

One of the important questions demanding the immediate attention of the Christian Church is that of socialism. It is to be regretted that with much which is wise and prudent in the discussion of this question there is mixed up much which is false and dangerous and which thoughtful men cannot accept. We believe that this movement, which is sweeping around the globe, is destined to reach and uplift the last man, the most downtrodden and oppressed. Labor must be made an equal partner with capital. The tiller of the soil must ultimately be made the equal of the owner of the soil. The honest maker of the wealth of the world must be made the honorable participant in the wealth of the world, instead of being a mere pensioner upon the rich man's bounty.

Labor, even in America, where it receives unprecedentedly favorable consideration, still has real grievances. Legislation is too often controlled by moneyed corporations. The laws should be made to protect and favor the poor and the unorganized, the ignorant and the laboring classes, rather than the rich and organized, the shrewd and powerful, who are well able to take care of themselves. We believe that the public should have control of all public enterprises. It is vastly more essential that our own persons should be carried safely, economically, and conveniently than that our mails should be so transported. We believe that the robbery of the people by all sorts of corners and combinations should be stopped by the executive arm of the State. We believe in the redemption of the laboring classes from the oppression of centuries.

But there are certain methods advocated to bring this about with which we have no agreement. Some of these occur in an article, entitled "Regeneration as a Factor in Reform Movements," in the November *Review*. The article has the ring of sincerity, but we fear that its premises are untenable. We do not believe, for example, that "money is the creature of law." Money, if it be any good, must be the representative of value. As the creature of law, or the accident of the printing-press, "issued directly to the people," as the author suggests, it would, we fear, sooner or later be found to be, instead of an increase of wealth, only an increase of waste paper. This expedient has been tried so often that we are surprised that it finds anyone so belated as to champion it. The personal check is money, and because of its ample security, convenience, and safety more than nine tenths of all the business of the country is done by it. This fact, if none other, would make the volume of money both flexible and well-nigh unlimited. What men really want is not a vast volume of money in circulation; what they desire is real wealth, distributed and circulated by the magic wand of legislation, without sweat or toil, so as to fall somehow into their own possession. Is it not lamentable that the acquisition of money should be given so much prominence in our modern practice, when

nobler fields are inviting the youth of America, such as those of science, of art, of philosophy, of literature, of statesmanship, of philanthropy, and of religion?

Further, our Saviour did not inculcate the Mosaic system upon his followers. Note his treatment of the Mosaic laws of divorce, of the *lex talionis*, etc. In regard to the division of property he says, "Who made me a judge or a divider over you?" (Luke xii, 14.) So far from the taking of interest being a sin, even the Mosaic law allowed the taking of interest of others than Jews (Deut. xxiii, 20). The taking of interest is certainly as defensible as the taking of rent. It is more than doubtful if the early Church for more than two centuries practiced communism.* Even Acts v, 4, seems to recognize right of personal property: "While it remained, was it not thine own? and after it was sold, was it not in thine own power?" No doubt great liberality was enjoined and enforced by the early Church, but we are not warranted in assuming that they had all things common. From the statements of our author that Christ taught the Mosaic socialism in the synagogue of Nazareth and was mobbed therefor (Luke iv, 16, *ff.*), or that he was crucified for driving out the money changers from the temple, we must respectfully dissent.

In the readjustments between capital and labor great patience and wisdom are needed on both sides. The high water mark of wages can only be reached by cooperative association, where capital and labor are one, and labor takes all. But cooperative association demands of labor economy, sobriety, intelligence, and the finest moral fiber, to say nothing of skill and capital sufficient to meet all competition.

And now, lastly, that the regeneration of the individual would regenerate society, our brother, we think, tacitly admits, when he diagnoses the root of the evil in the industrial world to be due to the unrighteousness and especially to the covetousness of men. For there are evils which true regeneration must correct. We must still continue to hold the old-fashioned doctrine that nothing, after all, is so much needed in settling all the inequalities of life as the regeneration and sanctification of the selfish human heart. We should never forget that society is lifted up and made better only as the individual is lifted up and regenerated.

Golden's Bridge, N. Y. GEORGE H. SMITH.

AN UNNECESSARY DISPARAGEMENT.

I HAVE read with interest Dr. H. H. Moore's article in the January-February *Review* entitled "The Gospel in Nature." I am willing to grant him about all he asks for nature in its relation to the revealed scheme of redemption. His utter denial of the doctrine so long held that the fall affected nature, without deigning to give evidence, is hardly respectful to the eminent theologians, including Mr. Wesley, who have firmly supported that doctrine. There are also a few expressions introduced touching the

* See Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, chap. i; Epist. of Clement, chap. xxxviii; Epist. of Barnabas, chap. xix.

subject of man's regeneration that the orthodox Church has only been accustomed to find in the literature of evolutionists and mere moralists. Instance the following (italics mine): "His [man's] ruin can be *arrested*, and the fallen creature *started upward* on a career of *moral improvement*." (P. 25.) But as the author is not attempting to discuss a scheme of regeneration we only call attention to these unguarded expressions, without laying to his charge any doctrine of regeneration other than the accepted ones of grace and faith. But we reach the bounds of forbearance on page 29, where, for the sake of emphasis, the author disparages the place of the Old Testament Scriptures in the scheme of redemption, of which Christ and his teachings form the basis. How becoming the following would be if coming from the pen of a disciple of Alexander Campbell: "During his ministry Christ made but little use of the Old Testament Scriptures—barely enough to give them the sanction of his authority. . . . In no case does he draw from them the basal element of the kingdom he came to establish." Is the atonement, or is it not, the basal element of Christ's kingdom? Did not Christ say, "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up?" Which best teaches the idea of atonement—an idea with which the kingdom of Christ is indissolubly bound up—the Old Testament Scriptures or nature? Nay, may I not defy anyone to produce from nature a single teaching on the atonement?

The use Jesus made of nature is apparent throughout his teachings; and about all Dr. Moore claims in that direction can be conceded. But why this disparagement of the prophecies? Many of the references to nature found in the teachings of Jesus would have no force but for their prophetic and historic background in the Old Testament. This is true, notably in the lessons from water and manna. It will be further noticed that the use Jesus makes of nature is not for any value *per se*. He never makes nature the subject of direct contemplation. It is scarcely possible, however touchingly Jesus refers to the lilies of the field, to conceive of him as admitting any intrinsic value in the lily as compared with the great moral truth he was endeavoring to inculcate. We could much more readily believe him to be contemplating, at the very moment of this reference to the lily, the great historical panorama of God's providential care of Israel as spread upon the sacred parchments of Moses and the prophets.

It should not be overlooked that the magnificent reference to nature, as found in the nineteenth psalm, is given for the express purpose of exalting the "law of the Lord," which at the seventh verse is said to be "perfect" and "converting the soul," as contrasted with the insignificant office of the "heavens." "Stand in awe," says Nature, in her grandeur; but Scripture, freighted with the riches of redemption, shows us how to sin not. Can we not get an idea of the value Jesus placed upon the Old Testament Scriptures as we see him using them in demolishing the studied questions of his enemies? Was it nature or the "sword of the Spirit" that Jesus used when facing the world's tempter in the wilderness? Where were the tender thoughts of Jesus when conversing, after his resurrection,

with the two disciples on the road to Emmaus? Although the clouds above him may have been like

The beauteous semblance of a flock at rest

he notes them not. The gorgeous loveliness of his surroundings could not call his thoughts from their rich feeding in the pastures of prophetic revelation. "Beginning at Moses and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in all the Scriptures the things concerning himself."

Then it is not a question to be determined wholly by quotations from the teachings of Jesus. Will anyone dare to say that the character of Jesus bears but indifferent evidence of the impress of the Old Testament Scriptures? While there is in his buoyant nature an openness, a freedom from the strict letter of the law, and a joyous harmony with flowers, birds, and brooks, it is unnecessary to emphasize these at the disparagement of the deeper qualities in his character and teachings which were due to his absorption of eternal truth as revealed in the ancient inspired writings.

Albuquerque, N. M. CHAS. L. BOVARD.

"ST. PAUL'S IDEAS OF THE RESURRECTION."

THE July-August number of the *Review*, for 1892, contained in "The Arena" a short article with the above caption. Its positions seem so misleading that from some quarter should appear an answer. 1 Cor. xv, 44, is used as a text, and the questions are asked, "What is the subject alluded to by the pronoun 'it?'" and "What is the object of the argument?"

With regard to the latter question it may be granted that Paul was discussing fact rather than theory. The fact, however, seems utterly impalpable apart from some theory. I call for any evidence to show that such an idea of the resurrection as our brother advocates would have been specially repulsive to the Greek mind. It was a resurrection that signified what it said—a raising of the body—which met with such deep disapproval that it called out the mockery of Mars' Hill. Greek philosophers, I judge, might easily enough have accepted some modern theories of the resurrection. But confessedly the preaching of Christ's Gospel—of which the resurrection was ever a prominent part—was foolishness to these heathen philosophers. There must have been in it something diametrically opposed to their own speculations.

In regard to the word "it" I invite a careful and unprejudiced examination of the Greek of verses 42, 43, and 44. In the original the word "it" has no representative. In the several expressions corresponding to the English "it is sown in weakness," etc., the Greek construction is impersonal, so that "there" might be used as well as "it," and a fair sense-rendering would be, "There is a sowing in weakness, there is a raising in power," etc. When verse 44 is reached the impersonal construction disappears, and we read, "There is sown a natural body, there is raised a spiritual body." Body—*soma*—in the Greek is not a predicate noun, but is the subject of the verbs. So it is not the whole man that is sown, but the body. It is not a case of synecdoche, but simply of emphatic trans-

position of subject and predicate. Then, by fair implication, the subject of the impersonal constructions in verses 42, 43 is the same as that brought out in verse 44. The continuity of discussion will not be questioned. "It" is used simply to fill out the sentence in accordance with the transposed construction, and hence refers to that in the natural place of which it stands, namely, *soma*. In the latter clause of the same verse (44) the translators have used "there" to represent a similar original construction. So the whole labored argument to prove that "it" stands for *nekros* falls flat. In support of the constructions asserted I refer to Winer's *New Testament Grammar*, page 522, secs. 58, 59; also to page 549. In both places these passages are given as illustrative examples of the rules.

Some other things let me notice. The definition of the word *nekros*, while correct for some passages, cannot be admitted as its universal significance. It frequently signifies simply a dead body, a corpse, the precise meaning assigned to *ptoma* in the argument. Any considerable reading of Greek authors will make this clear, or it can be learned from a lexicon. But suppose it did mean just what is asserted. Upon this supposition much is said about the resurrection from the dead as indicating that the bringing again from hades is the one thing to be considered. Now the resurrection connotes two thoughts, the rebuilding of the house and its renewed occupancy by the former inhabitant. The argument before us loses sight of the first thought. The view is not so much incorrect as incomplete; but the partial vision has begotten distorted ideas.

It seems far-fetched to drag into this discussion of Pauline ideas any reference to the word *ptoma*—a word never used by Paul, and occurring only five times in the New Testament, in two of these being a disputed reading for *soma*. But if it must be done it will hardly be denied that what was laid in Joseph's tomb was not the subject of a resurrection in the case of Christ. The reading of Lachman, Tischendorf, Tregelles, and Westcott and Hort in Mark xv, 45, makes this to have been a *ptoma*.

But how about the "sleep?" If in scriptural language it is not the body which sleeps how shall we defend ourselves against the doctrine of a sleep of the soul in the grave from death to the resurrection? There is no defense. I would like to assume that our brother does not accept this doctrine.

Two remarkable statements occur in the closing paragraph of the article. "There is no life principle or germ which inheres in the body." It would seem that this statement is so palpably untrue that to hold it up to the light is all-sufficient. "It is not the body that dies." The expression "dead body" is scriptural. What does it mean?

The theory of Richard Watson, that Paul's illustrations in 1 Cor. xv are illustrations simply, but are not intended to give exact representations of the resurrection,* cannot successfully be gainsaid. There is, then, nothing to be gained from the grain illustration by the defendants of the germ theory of the resurrection.

GEO. E. HUTCHINGS.

Newfield, N. Y.

* Watson's *Sermons*, vol. i, p. 251.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

HISTORICAL.—THE HISTORICAL STUDIES FOR THE QUADRENNIUM.

In the last issue of the *Review* attention was called to the study of English, on the part of young ministers, as of fundamental importance. Next in order is the study of history. History is the record of humanity in action, and in its very nature must be of surpassing interest. The arrangement of the course is worthy of notice. For preachers on trial the first study mentioned is the "History of the United States," next, "Scripture History," and then the "History of American Methodism." No one will question that it is of prime importance that the young minister be not only moderately but thoroughly familiar with the history of his own country. It is essential for him to understand the relations of his ministry not only to individuals but to the conditions of the people among whom he is called to minister. It intensifies his patriotism—an element very essential to a true minister. Scripture history sets forth the historical facts, around which the religious development of the world has gathered. By this study he traces the progress of the Church of God and the relation of the Old Testament to the New Testament Church. He thus becomes acquainted also with the great historic characters who have been God's instruments to carry forward the Redeemer's kingdom. A knowledge of Bible history, therefore, must be as fundamental, yea, more fundamental, than a knowledge of the history of one's own country. In the same relation the young minister is called upon to study the history of American Methodism. This is as peculiarly his own as the country is his own, and the knowledge of the history of that branch of the Church in which he is called to minister is certainly essential in order to the most efficient building up of the kingdom of God through the Church of his choice.

Having finished these preliminary studies and having been examined thereon, he is next called upon to study universal history. There are two ways of pursuing all studies; one is to proceed from the general to the special, the other, from the special to the general. Universal history is logically first in order. Beginning with ancient history he passes to mediæval. The student is next required to read the history of missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In the second year the study of universal history is continued; but it now takes the form of modern history, and side by side is placed for reading during the second year the history of Methodism. Methodism is an essential factor in modern history. It is one of the offshoots of the great Reformation. Indeed, it is itself a new reformation under John Wesley. It is eminently proper that this foremost of the religious developments of modern times should be studied in its relation to modern history. In the third year the historical studies are still continued, and the student is engaged upon the his-

tory of the Christian Church. The religious aspect of history is fully recognized. In the probationer's course American Methodism is the subject for consideration. The first year is devoted to the history of missions; the second year to the general study of Methodism; the third year to the study of the history of the Christian Church. In the fourth year history is presented in its relation to the development of modern thought, and the History of Rationalism is to be carefully read by the candidates for ordination. A thorough mastery of this course cannot fail to be of great service to the ministry. The importance of the subject here considered cannot be overestimated.

The study of history is of special value to the gospel minister. He learns to trace effects to their true causes. He notes that events connected with the movements of nations have radical relations to antecedent causes. It seems at first that they are spontaneous movements of the human mind. History, however, discloses the fact that when similar mental states are found in great masses of people there must be something out of which they spring—something out of sight to the ordinary observer, but which has nevertheless acted as a cause. This power to trace the influences that produce great national movements is one of the advantages of the careful study of history, and is one of great importance to all who would exercise influence over their fellow-men.

A further advantage of historical study for the preacher is its influence in promoting vividness of style. The successful historian is not only a philosopher, he is a painter. The evolution of events is but a part of a true history. They must be presented in a style calculated to arrest attention. The graphic power of Macaulay is familiar to all. How vigorously, often grotesquely, Carlyle portrays a character or sets forth an event! What a study for style and vigor and clearness are the historical writings of Dean Stanley! There is danger that in pure theological or philosophical studies the preacher may lose that vigor which arises out of the grouping of events belonging so peculiarly to the domain of history. The successful historian must be a master of style as well as a collator of facts and a student of their philosophy; and all these elements are desirable and important in a preacher.

History is a vast field for the collection of material for sermonic illustrations. The facts are important, and they are found in connection with the busy world. They serve one purpose in the book; they will serve a very different purpose in the sermon. It is true that gleaners in this field have been numerous, and they have classified these illustrations under separate heads, so as to be readily accessible; but they are not as valuable as those which one has collected for himself.

The extensive and thorough study of history will keep the preacher in touch with all countries and all ages. It enlarges his mind and deepens his comprehension of the movements of mankind. It leads him to understand how much men may differ from one another and yet each contribute his part to the world's progress. It makes him at once more humble, more tolerant, and more effective.

HOMILETICAL.—MATERIALS FOR SERMONIZING.

(*Continued.*)

THERE is a class of sermonic material, incidental, it is true, but nevertheless vital to a successful sermon. It cannot be stored away for reference in scrapbooks or preserved in memory. It is that unwritten material which gives vitality to all other forms of preparation, and without which all other attainments are but "as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal." It is incapable of exact definition or description. It is derived from two sources, namely, communion with God and contact with spiritual minds.

It seems, of course, incongruous to speak of the experiences which come from communion with God as material for sermonizing; and yet are they not such? It is true those rich experiences are within reach of all Christians, but in the minister they serve to enrich all that he thinks and says. These experiences determine the selection of a topic, the kind of illustrations to be employed, and the language in which the thoughts of the sermon are clothed. The conceptions of truth in a spiritually minded person are richer and their expression more vitalized than the same subjects treated by one who is not so fully alive to the deep things of God. This does not involve the necessity or propriety of a pulpit nomenclature. Indeed, it prevents anything that is merely perfunctory in tone or utterance, by imparting to each effort of the preacher a freshness growing out of the richness of his present experience. Has it never been noticed how fresh the prayer and class meeting talks of a deeply spiritual man are? The old song has new life when the souls of the singers are expressed in it.

More than this, however, is necessary in order to give efficiency to the preacher's pulpit efforts. He will find great help in a knowledge of the experiences of others. Hence, selected biography must have its place in the preacher's studies. All biography is not helpful. Real biographies are not numerous. If not morbid or abnormal, they are full of material to stir the heart and develop the graces. Mere eulogistic biographies, those which narrate only the successive steps in a career, what positions filled, how he attained them, and how he succeeded in them, are in general of little value.

There was something of a shock in the literary world a few years ago, when the letters of Thomas Carlyle and of Mrs. Carlyle were given to the public, but yet without them their real life would not have been known. Perhaps the world had no business with it; but if a narrative is given to the world it should be a truthful one. So of the biographies of good men and women. Those only are valuable that convey the truth and open views of spiritual life which are helpful to others. A discriminating study of biographical writings, therefore, forms a valuable kind of material for a sermon, both by the stimulus that comes from rich experiences and also by illustrations which are thereby furnished. They keep the heart fresh; they stir the emotional nature; they present thoughts outside of the conventional lines, and they mold thus the thinking of those who

read them. These studies and experiences enter into and give effect to the other knowledge of a preacher; so that in a modified sense, at least, they may be termed materials for sermonizing.

PRACTICAL.—"THIS ONE THING I DO."

EVERY man who succeeds must have a high regard for his special work. *Preaching and pastoral labor must be the specialties of the Christian minister.* Indeed, they are his exclusive work. They belong together and mutually supplement each other. "This one thing I do" is specially applicable as a motto for him who would lead men to Christ. He must first of all *preach.* This is not a mere expedient of the Church, but the divinely ordained means for bringing the knowledge of salvation to men. "How shall they hear without a preacher?" While pastoral oversight is very important, preaching is essential. It is not uncommon to disparage preaching; but, from the time when Jesus delivered his inimitable Sermon on the Mount until now, preaching has been the instrument which the Holy Spirit has blessed for the diffusion of the divine truth. "As Christ himself," says an authority, "was the Divine Word made flesh, so, designing to employ human agency for the promotion of his kingdom among men, he made a special appropriation of man's distinguishing faculty of speech by appointing it as the primary and principal means of diffusing God's word of truth and message of salvation throughout the world. . . . It resembles the best forms of demonstrative address, but transcends all secular oratory in the moral grandeur of its themes, and especially in its specific design of enlightening and quickening the consciences of men as a means of affecting their earthly character and their eternal destiny." The history of the Church is therefore largely a history of its great preachers. Paul, Augustine, Chrysostom, Luther, Calvin, Knox, Wesley, largely represent to the world the progress of the Church of Christ.

Perhaps no more striking illustration of this devotion to a single work is found than in the late Bishop Phillips Brooks, whose loss is so widely mourned by the whole American Church of all creeds and names. One writer, Dr. Abbott, said of him before his death: "He was always and everywhere a preacher. I doubt whether he has ever given a popular lecture in his life; I do not recall a single literary, or scientific, or political address, nor, interested as he is in moral reforms, a distinctively moral reform address; he does not write for the periodical press; he rarely allows himself to be interviewed on current topics; and though he is in great requisition as an after-dinner speaker he rarely accepts, and when he does his after-dinner speech might, with but little change even in form, be repeated the next Sunday as a sermon." This statement might be misunderstood to mean that he never did anything but preach sermons. It rather means that his writings, which were not extensive, grew out of his work and were closely identified with his ministry. Another writer says of him: "With perhaps the single

exception of his ventures in verse and his dispassionate paper on the 'Episcopal Church,' in the *Memorial History of Boston*, Bishop Brooks's claims to be considered as an author rest upon his published sermons, lectures, and addresses." They were, however, first delivered as addresses and afterward put in book form. In this oneness of purpose and work lay, in part, at least, the secret of his wonderful success. Preaching and pastoral work absorbed him. His whole manhood was consecrated to the Gospel. He believed it the true remedy for the spiritual, moral, and social wrongs of the world. He was always and everywhere a preacher.

This consecration to the full purpose of his calling is too often lost sight of by the young preacher. He is in danger of making these subsidiary. These two, preaching and pastoral work, are fundamental, essential. The preacher should, so far as possible, intermeddle with all knowledge and should secure all culture; but they are merely means to an end. They are the material with which he becomes better fitted to "hold forth the word of life."

PRESERVATION OF MATERIALS.

(*Continued.*)

THE interest excited among the readers of the "Itinerants' Club" over the preservation of sermonic materials has its latest expression in the following letter, which we are pleased to insert:

EDITOR ITINERANTS' CLUB: Until recently I had long felt the need of some plan by which I might preserve the literary wealth of current papers, magazines, reviews, etc. Many of these, unlike a book in our libraries, must be read once for all and cast aside. I have for some time used a plan which has greatly aided me in this endeavor. I procured a suitable blank book and read with this and my pencil in easy reach. Whenever a thought is suggested I jot it down. Carefully I go through perhaps a hundred articles each week, gleaning their best suggestions and putting them in this note book. A little margin left on the page and an index word written with red ink facilitates reference. Also an alphabetical index in which all these index words with their pages are recorded will aid. A mark across a paragraph and also proper place in index will show that the thought has been incorporated into sermon or other work. This will save needless reference and repetition, and will keep the bulk of references reduced to practical volume. Such a method preserves many of the best thoughts which otherwise we would lose. At the same time it becomes a fountain of varied wealth into which we may dip for sermon material, saving possibly some empty headaches. Previous plans given open us to a library. This one, or some modification, will conserve the wasting literary forces of our best and newest articles. The problem is that of the cistern with a leak which empties almost as fast as the pipe fills. The problem may be solved by stopping the leak.

Greeley, Neb. C. OWEN LARRISON.

FOREIGN RÉSUMÉ.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

PROFESSOR DR. VOLCK, OF DORPAT.

Professor Volck is a leader in the orthodox party in Germany. He has no patience with that species of biblical criticism which does violence to the reverence which the Church feels for the Bible, and which does not spring from or is not guided by an experience of the great truths of Holy Writ. His view concerning the Holy Scripture is that it is for the Church, as a whole, the normative word of God, and that it contains for the individual the word of God which is able to make him wise unto salvation. Each portion of the word of God is to be judged and valued according to the relation of its fundamental teaching to the whole Bible. The whole Bible is the word of God, and it is a unit. Each book, and every part of each book, has its place and function. But by this he does not mean that the Bible was produced by men who were merely the amanuenses of the Holy Spirit. Such a view must always exist, and can only exist, where the sacred writings are thought of out of connection with sacred history, and when they are made a compendium of religious doctrine, and Scripture is coordinated with revelation. All such must affirm for the Scripture absolute inerrancy. Volck does not take this view. He does not call the Scripture revelation, but the record of a revelation, which, though composed of diverse elements, is nevertheless perfectly harmonious, and which is essentially connected with the history it records. The Scripture, therefore, is due to the same forces which produced the sacred history, namely, God's activity in the midst of his chosen people and man's free action in view of the divine revelation. The divine activity did not destroy the human individuality, but rather prepared the human organ for its own action, and fitted it to be the organ of the divine Spirit. Hence he would call the Bible the divine-human word. It is God's, but it is none the less man's word. The divine message became human as the divine Word was made flesh. Hence we see in the Bible the form of the servant. But through it shines the glory of God. The divine operation upon the human authors was as diverse as the elements composing the book. The possibility of error may be admitted in reference to all those portions of the Bible which do not at all touch, or else do not touch the essence of, the sacred history. The Church in the selection of the canonical books was as truly under the divine guidance as were the Scripture writers. The scheme has the merit of self-consistency. It is strongly tinged with mysticism, which seems to be the only refuge from absolute supernaturalism on the one hand and rationalism on the other.

PROFESSOR DR. HERMANN L. STRACK, OF BERLIN.

In this country Professor Strack is regarded by many as an extremely radical critic. And his concessions to the most advanced criti-

cism seem almost to overthrow our faith in the Pentateuch. He defends the rights of the higher critics in their investigations of the Pentateuch. He claims that it nowhere asserts its Mosaic authorship, and that literary analysis has proved with unquestioned certainty the compilation of the first four books of Moses from written sources, and the compilation of Deuteronomy from still another source, while these sources can be traced also through the Book of Joshua. With him the only questions remaining are the number, the order, and the absolute age of the written sources. As to the future results of Pentateuchal criticism he expresses himself cautiously; but one thing is clear to him, namely, that the Mosaic authorship of the first five books of the Bible will never again receive credence. But all this does not destroy the credibility of the Pentateuch; rather it is confirmed thereby. Any history is strengthened in its statements by the concurrence therein of a variety of sources. And in any event Christianity has nothing to fear from the results of criticism. Nevertheless, Professor Strack is, for Germany, a comparatively conservative critic. He by no means accepts the most extreme results of the higher criticism, and as compared with some he is very moderate. He thinks that the Graf-Wellhausen theory will fail to justify itself before advancing civilization. Ezekiel was not written before but subsequent to the so-called Priestly Code. Much which, in the Pentateuch, has been regarded as post-exilic Strack claims cannot belong to a late period. It is most likely that Moses wrote many things which were subsequently embodied in the Pentateuch. In reviewing this scheme, so inadequately stated, it is interesting to note how much Strack rejects which we have been accustomed to take for granted, and how much faith he still has in the old book. Students are often driven to conclusions entirely contrary to their prejudices. This was the case with Delitzsch, who came over shortly before his death to the ground held by Strack. Men who are not familiar with the subjects under consideration can scarcely estimate the arguments which are adduced for and against a theory. Final decisions must be deferred.

PROFESSOR L. SCHULTZE, ROSTOCK.

THE conservative party in Germany holds fast to traditional views of the New Testament far more than of the Old. Of this Professor Schultze is an example. He accepts every book of the New Testament as written by the author to whom it is ascribed by tradition, unless indeed an exception is formed by Hebrews, which he ascribes to Apollos. He represents essentially the standpoint which prevailed prior to Semler, whose rationalism is a thing of the past. Neither the arguments of Schleiermacher, Hupfeld, and Strauss, nor the methods and presumptions of Baur and the Tübingen school, nor the theories of the intermediate school have influenced him one iota. In fact, he denies that we owe any debt whatever to the investigations of Baur in the field of New Testament criticism, except that he occasioned a more thorough establishment of the genuineness and trustworthiness of the New Testament writings and a better preparation

for the defense of the citadel of truth. Schultze denies the possibility that the Church of the second century should have been so easily imposed upon as to accept as apostolic works written by the men of the period. Least of all would they have tolerated the perpetration of a forgery in the interest of the truth, since among their foundation principles were honesty and sincerity. The Church of that period had a profound consciousness of its responsibility in reference to the defense of the apostolic truth. This is proved by the fact that they distinguished carefully between the genuine and the spurious. Schultze shows the thoroughly unscientific character of much of the higher criticism of the New Testament from the days of Baur down to the present time. Especially does he affirm that tradition, so far as it can be ascertained by careful investigation, must have more authority than a criticism based upon an examination of the contents of a document. The accusation that this is to accept the principles of Roman Catholicism he repels for the above reason. Admitting the diversity of opinion among orthodox investigators, he declares that there is far more diversity in the opposing camp. In fact, while hoping that many open questions may yet be settled, he believes this can never be done until the critics return from their negative dogmatic standpoint to that of the Scripture and the Church. This, however, would end all criticism, which might prove a great blessing to the world.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

REVELATION AND THE BIBLE, BY R. F. HORTON, M.A.

THIS is a new sort of critical literature. As to its kind, it is the only one of which we know in the English, and indeed the only extensive attempt in any language, although the Germans have given us very brief treatises of a similar sort. It is an essay in reconstruction. Accepting the results of the higher criticism, he attempts to show what the Bible still is to us. The business man after a financial crash looks about him to see what his condition is. Our author finds himself just as wealthy as before, with a healthier constitution to fit him for future transactions. Henceforth his business will be conducted upon a firmer foundation, with less of speculation, on more rational and on safer principles. Professor Horton loves the Bible, the Church, and Christianity. However he may differ from long-accepted views, there is in his treatise none of that vice of *Rücksichtlosigkeit* (reckless disregard of consequences, etc.), as the Germans call it, which characterizes so many of the works of higher critics. He assumes as a fundamental principle that God does not reveal in any age of the world what men in that age can ascertain for themselves. When, therefore, he finds records of the flood or of the tower of Babel in the buried remains of the ancient world he concludes that there was no revelation given for the recording of such events. But when he compares the biblical record of these with the extra-biblical he sees God revealing himself and his will through the former. Or, more strictly, God revealed himself in the events, and the record of the events is merely the record of the revelation.

The historical statement of the event in the Bible may not be in every particular correct. But he challenges anyone to deny that there is a revelation of the divine being in the event described. The author enthusiastically believes that so far from damaging the cause of revelation in the minds of thinking men the higher criticism will greatly further it. The whole tone of the book is to be commended to critics. A few more of the same kind by Christian scholars would show that the aim of criticism is not destructive. Too many critics have apparently rejoiced in the havoc they have wrought in the old beliefs concerning the Bible. Horton does not proceed in the spirit of the iconoclast, but as a lover of Christian truth.

AN EXEGETICAL HANDBOOK ON THE REVELATION OF JOHN.

THIS is the fourth edition of Düsterdieck's work, which forms a part of Meyer's *Commentary on the New Testament.* He takes up here the very latest theories of the origin of the Revelation. The theory of Völter is that the book is made up of five principal groups of elements: 1. The original apocalypse of the apostle John in 65 or 66 A. D.; 2. The additions by the original apocalyptist in the year 68 or 69; 3. The first modifications by an editor in the time of Trajan; 4. The second modifications in the year 129 or 130; 5. The third editing in or about the year 140. This theory Düsterdieck rejects because he finds absolutely no evidence of a multiplicity of authors, but abundant evidence that it was written by one person at one sitting. He furthermore affirms that Völter's hypothesis does not rest upon any fixed principle and hence makes the impression of being capricious. It is to be regretted that he does not discuss somewhat more at length the more scholarly view of Vischer, which is strongly commended by Harnack. According to that theory there are in the work two distinctly traceable elements, one Jewish and the other Christian. An example of the former he thinks he finds in chapter xii, 1, *ff.*, according to which the birth of the Messiah is yet to take place. He finds further evidence in the supposed existence of Aramaisms in all these Jewish portions. This original Aramaic document was worked over by the Christian translator into our present apocalypse. But Düsterdieck thinks it highly improbable that the Christian translator or the Christian Church should have accepted the idea of a Messiah yet unborn, and especially of a Messiah who should neither suffer nor die. And so he rejects the theory of Vischer without giving any substantial reasons to his readers. As to the author of the book, he affirms that the book itself does not assert the traditional view. He is thoroughly convinced that it is not the work of the beloved apostle in banishment upon the isle of Patmos. Yet the book was written by some one prior to the destruction of Jerusalem. Its non-Johannean origin does not deprive it of the authority the Church has always ascribed to it. To the average reader it would certainly seem strange that after acknowledging so much he should deny its author to be John. But the way of the German critic of Scripture is past finding out, for he has a way all his own.

THE GERMAN CONFLICT ABOUT THE APOSTLES' CREED.

A TERRIFIC storm has just swept over the German theological world. Some students asked Professor Harnack, of Berlin, whether in a certain exigency he would advise them to petition the State Church authorities not to require henceforth subscription to the Apostles' Creed as a condition of admission into the ministerial office. Professor Harnack replied that an opinion on such a subject was impossible to one who had not yet finished his theological course, and that to agitate the question would produce confusion of conscience with many and perhaps lead some to take positions which they might later bitterly repent. So far the response was wise and prompted by a desire to preserve peace in the Church. But the learned professor went on further to say that personally he wished that instead of, or alongside of, the Apostles' Creed might be placed a short confession that would more accurately and clearly express the conception of the Gospel as brought out by the Reformation and subsequently in the Protestant Church, and that might do away with certain stumbling-blocks which many earnest Christians, both lay and clerical, find in the language of the present creed. At this people would begin to prick up their ears; but yet his objection to the creed is not made specific. This, however, he proceeds to do. It is the sentence, "conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary," which he avers many sincere Christians cannot believe. Those who are acquainted with Professor Harnack's teachings know that he long ago expressed himself as doubtful, if not positively unbelieving, on this point and the related doctrine of the preexistence of Christ. It was not, therefore, his personal belief which produced the tempest, but the fact that he should propose a creed from which that article should be omitted, or at least that acceptance of the creed should not bind the clergyman to read that sentence in the services of the sanctuary. A cyclone of indignation swept down upon Harnack's head; personal and party bitterness increased the fury; misunderstanding and misrepresentation made matters worse. Many clergymen whose only merit is their orthodoxy were among the most active of the agitators. Hence many sympathized with Harnack who otherwise would have opposed him. On the 5th of October last a meeting of theologians sympathizing with Harnack was held at Eisenach, in which it was declared that they had no idea of robbing the evangelical Church of the creed; but they did dispute that its use in the churchly liturgy binds either the clergy or the laity to acceptance of every portion of it. One might reject the article in question and yet be an evangelical Christian if he placed his confidence alone upon the Lord Jesus Christ in life and in death. They further declare that to make the foundation of Christianity the article that the Son of God was conceived by the Holy Ghost and born of the Virgin Mary beclouds many consciences which cannot accept this declaration as truth. They assert that neither the Scriptures nor the evangelical confessions have given the first chapters of the first and third gospels any such decisive significance, and that neither Jesus nor the apostles in their preaching made any reference to it

whatever. Here comes forward again the old question of the person of Christ. That Christ was divine Harnack would not deny, but the miracle of his birth, as related by Matthew and Luke, he does not regard as sufficiently well attested in the Bible to compel belief. It would seem that if a clear statement by two of the gospels could substantiate a fact this fact were sufficiently well supported. But it is just here that we see the use made of the results of the higher criticism. By critical processes doubt is thrown upon the trustworthiness of certain portions of the gospel record, and then the doctrines dependent upon the same are affirmed to have an insufficient foundation in Holy Writ. To affirm, however, as many do, that the divinity of Christ is dependent solely upon the accounts in the first chapters of Matthew and Luke, is erroneous and dangerous. Such a position ignores all that Christ said about himself, and all that his words and deeds evinced as to his nature, as well as all that he has proved himself to be to his faithful followers. But it is distinctly to be noted that Professor Harnack does not find fault with anything else in the creed which pertains to the person or history of Christ. He does not object to the designation of Christ as God's only begotten Son, our Lord, nor that he suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried, nor that on the third day he rose again, and ascended into heaven, from whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. On purely historical critical grounds he opposes the statement that Christ was conceived by the Holy Ghost and born of the Virgin Mary. The Eisenach theologians appear to be right when they deny that the article in question is the foundation of Christianity. That foundation is the divine Saviour himself, not the historical method by which he became flesh. Professor Harnack would, apparently, take the statement in John i, rather than that of the first chapters of Matthew and Luke.

CHRISTUS COMPROBATOR, BY BISHOP C. J. ELLICOTT.

ANYTHING which this learned divine writes is well worthy of attention, and especially is this book in which he takes up the cudgel against the higher critics. As the title indicates, the book is an appeal to the teaching of our Lord as to the authority of the Old Testament. After discussing the traditional and critical views as to the authority of the Old Testament he raises two questions: 1. Have we a right to appeal to Christ on the subject of the composition and historical credibility of the Old Testament? 2. Were the limitation of our Lord's humanity and the degree of what is technically called his *kenosis* of such a nature that his knowledge in regard to the authorship and composition of the books of the Old Testament was no greater than that of the masters of Israel of his own time? To the former of these questions the author gives an affirmative, to the latter a negative, answer. The critical questions connected with the Old Testament cannot be settled solely on critical grounds. The subject is one which demands that we hear what Christ has said, if he has spoken. Furthermore, if we find that he has spoken on the questions in dispute,

whether directly or indirectly, we must bow to his authority. Admitting that he had a purely human nature, yet his limitations could not have been like ours, for we are sinful, while he was sinless. Besides, at the time of his baptism, when the Holy Spirit descended upon him, we must believe that he received an enlightenment which was practically measureless. Furthermore, the combination of the two natures in Jesus must have effected both a power and a knowledge within the human nature which it could otherwise not have had. If it be said that Jesus did not assert his own omniscience for himself, yet it must be admitted that he was far superior to his contemporaries in his understanding of everything pertaining to the Bible. Bishop Ellicott finds that Jesus has spoken in such a way as to clearly establish the traditional view of the Old Testament. Since he knew of what he spoke we must accept his authority; and since no theory of accommodation to the views of his hearers can be accepted, there is no escape from the full significance of the pronouncements of Jesus. We can only add that our author has well stated the strongest objection to the critical view, and that his argument will compel all reverent minds to be cautious in dissenting from his conclusions.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

FOREIGN GERMAN EVANGELICAL CONGREGATIONS.

An evangelical German Church in Sofia has united itself organically with the Prussian State Church, by the consent of the emperor. There are many such German congregations in foreign parts, and whenever they unite themselves with the Prussian Church the authorities in Berlin provide them with pastors who are pledged to remain with their congregations for five years, after which they may return home and be provided with a pastoral charge. In Roumania there are now German evangelical congregations in Jassy, Galatz, Braila, Pitesti, Krajowa, Turn-Severin, Altmadischa, and Constanza. The evangelical congregation in Bucharest is under the protection both of Germany and Austria, but the pastor is subordinate to the ecclesiastical authorities in Berlin. In Belgrade, also, the German congregation belongs to the Prussian State Church.

CONCLUSIONS OF THE OLD CATHOLIC CONGRESS IN LUCERNE.

Among the weightiest decisions of this congress was the conclusion that the teaching of Christ, rather than the opinions of the school theologians, is binding upon the Christian. The use of churches and chapels in common with other communions was commended, upon condition that the offer be accepted in the right spirit. It was believed that such a custom would contribute to religious peace and prove a sign of mutual respect and love. All Christians were called upon to overlook their differences in the conflict against Ultramontanism. Concerning the designation "Catholic" they recognized that in the Roman Church there is still a large number of believing Catholics, yet that the honorable title of "Catholic" cannot be applied to the Ultramontane

system, which was established by the Vatican Council and which now obtains in the Roman Church. Hence, they request Protestants of all denominations not to give the title "Catholic Church" to the official system of the Roman Church, and above all not to recognize therein the only Catholic Church, since it neither represents the universal doctrine nor the universal Christian practice and discipline of the ancient Church. Such a request will have special interest in the Old World, where Christendom is recognized as divided into the two parts, Catholic and evangelical—a classification admitted by the language of both Romanists and Protestants. But even in this country their request should serve to correct the manner of expression employed by many.

CONGRESS OF GERMAN HUGUENOTS.

THIS important congress was opened in Berlin on the evening of October 11, 1892, with divine service in one of the Huguenot churches. After the address of welcome and the response the first session was opened on the 12th, in the assembly hall of the consistory of the French Church, and was led by Dr. Tollin, the president of the German Huguenot Association. According to the report of the president the association numbers five hundred and eighty members, who are scattered all over Germany. There are two hundred French and Waldensian congregations. Professor Dr. Marcks, of Berlin, delivered an address on Admiral Coligny, and School Counselor Sander one on Eleonore of Albreuse. During the second day the ecclesiastical Counselor Dalton addressed the congress on the Russian Huguenots, and Pastor Lorenz on "the significance of the French-speaking countries for the history of the French Reformed congregations of Germany during the last forty years." The Huguenots of Germany are not numerous, but they are a profoundly leavening influence among the German people.

THE SLAVE TRAFFIC IN AFRICA.

IN spite of the numerous antislavery societies and congresses the traffic in human flesh is still vigorously carried on in Africa. News has somewhat recently come from Aden which confirms the sorrowful facts. The hard-hearted speculators drive the profitable business of traffic in human chattels more and more. Caravans of slaves arrive daily on the east coast without having met with the slightest opposition in Vituland, which they are obliged to cross. These slaves are shipped from points near Incilah, Massowah, Dhibontit, and Suakim. The miserable creatures are paid for exclusively in modern firearms and ammunition. The cruel treatment of the unfortunates is naturally attended by a terrible mortality. About seventy per cent die on the journey from the interior to the coast alone. New slave hunts were expected during the previous winter in the neighborhood of the Congo State and of the German and English possessions in East Africa. It would seem that something might be done to stop this inhuman traffic in souls if the nations interested in Africa would undertake it in earnest.

EDITORIAL REVIEWS.

SPIRIT OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

An article in the *Fortnightly Review* for December, entitled "Religion: Its Future," and one in the December issue of the *New World*, on "The Future of Christianity," strongly indicate the confidence cherished by destructive critics that they have wrought such a revolution in Christian thought that evangelical Christianity is doomed, is indeed moribund. In the first named paper the Rev. Dr. Momerie, who proclaims himself a broad churchman, contends that Christianity "is the most remarkable instance of corruption" in the history of the religion of the world. "Christ and Christianity," he says, "are wide as the poles asunder. . . . Critical investigation is bringing into light what Jesus really taught," is showing that in his teaching there was "neither dogma, nor 'the precious blood,'" nor anything of that "orthodox atonement which is as vile as anything to be found in heathendom." As to the Church, he insists that "she represents the religions of the past—religions which Christ and all the prophets condemned—religions which are dying out with the gradual development of the race. The barbaric theory of sacrifice continues to disgrace her formularies; . . . she is essentially antichristian in the importance she attaches to belief; . . . the most highly educated people have discarded the fundamental doctrines of orthodoxy; . . . if she is not reformed she will be destroyed." Her reform, he predicts, is to consist chiefly "in the worship of a deity who is all and only good," in not requiring assent to "doctrines," but only to "Christ or righteousness." But how this Church of the future is to attain righteousness without definite beliefs, the life which is rooted in revealed truth, or the love begotten by trust in the "Crucified One," this inventor of incoherent fallacies does not explain. His theory is as rational as the declaration that a new horticultural method would produce trees without roots. Like all rationalistic theories it stands on the sinking sand of daring assumptions.

The second paper named above is by William M. Salter. It starts with the bold assertion that unless Christianity takes such "a twofold step" as he describes "humanity at large cannot be expected to care much for it." This step means "offering free room for the intellectual spirit of the time," not "by abolishing or revising old creeds, but by granting complete liberty of belief; . . . to have no standards of orthodoxy; . . . to say there is only one heresy, namely, wickedness, and only one essential requirement, namely, the doing of the will of God." Mr. Salter is in doubt, however, whether the Church will meet this alleged condition of her continued influence over mankind. His next point is "that Christianity should go back to Jesus." At present, he says, it lacks "the faith and ardor of Jesus," whose "social dream" it was to introduce "a new social order."

There was "an element of illusion in this expectation," since it has never been realized. But the Church must catch its spirit, go back to Christ's ideal, and strive by fresh contact with him to gain "the faith that mankind can be its own judge, more and more destroying what is evil and garnering what is good." When this is accomplished much of what is earnest and good in the world outside Christianity may be gathered into it.

These papers are cited here, not because of their intrinsic value, for they have none, but to illustrate the drift of thought among men who proudly proclaim themselves to be "liberal thinkers." Both writers are vindictively hostile to Christ, viewed as the sacrifice for human sin. Both papers are characterized by the false assumption that evangelical Christianity is so undermined by scientific criticism as to be tottering and about to fall. Presumptuous men! Their prototypes in Jerusalem imagined that Christianity died when its divine Founder expired on the cross. But as they were ignorant of the inexhaustible spiritual forces which faith in his name was destined to call into abiding activity, so these self-confident modern dreamers fancy that their scientific criticism has well-nigh overturned the faith of Christ. But the stubborn fact is that the Christian Church stands unmoved by their theories, and the power of the living Christ is still mightily working toward the predicted universal triumph of his kingdom.

THE *Bibliotheca Sacra* for January opens with a luminous paper by Professor W. N. Rice, which outlines "twenty-five years of scientific progress." Next we note a discriminative criticism on "Edwin P. Whipple as an English Essayist," by Professor T. W. Hunt. A third article, on "Criticism and the Common Life," by Rev. A. A. Berle, contends that, since Christianity has been criticised from its beginning without loss to its essential truths, it has nothing to fear from the scientific criticism of the present age. In its fourth paper Rev. H. W. Lathe describes "Some Homiletic Uses of the Doctrine of Election;" but to make it presentable he hides the repulsive features of that dogma by clothing it in garments taken from the Arminian wardrobe. In "Science and Christ" W. W. Kinsley ably contends that the Christian theory of the person and character of Christ bears the crucial test of modern thought better than the theories of infidelity. In a judicious paper on "Old Testament Work in Theological Seminaries" Professor O. H. Gates emphasizes the importance of Old Testament study in theological seminaries because of the critical assaults made upon it by rationalists, and contends that colleges should help the seminaries in this work by making Hebrew "either an elective or an optional." A very scholarly paper by Warren Upham, on "Geologic Time, Ratios, and Estimates of the Earth's Age and Man's Antiquity," makes it very obvious that, despite much investigation and theorizing, our old mother earth has not and probably will not suffer our curious scientists to find the year of her birth. Professor McGiffert, in "The Historical Study of Christianity," argues with marked force and pertinency that this study was never more important than at present. It is intellectually profitable to those who pursue it, and sheds a flood of light over "the sphere of Christian doctrine."

THE *New World* for December has a lucid statement of the history, the principles, and the prospects of "The Brahmo Somaj," by Protap Chunder Mozoomdar, a member of that Hindoo sect of theists. After reading it one feels disposed to say that its writer "is not far from the kingdom of God." "Progressive Orthodoxy," if not a strictly formal, is a substantial setting forth of the theology taught at Andover. Excepting the question of future probation taught there, not as an article of faith, but "only as an opinion," that theology, as here stated by Egbert C. Smyth, is rooted in a clear recognition of the unique sonship and true divinity of Christ as the object of that religious trust which begets a truly spiritual life and righteous conduct. The spirit of this admirable paper is delightful. In "Michael Servetus," Mr. J. H. Allen sketches the life and character of Servetus, his opinions respecting Christ, the propagation of which cost him his life, and shows how far Calvin was responsible for his martyrdom. In "The Present Position of the Roman Catholic Church" Mr. G. Santayana, after noticing the indications of effort in the papal Church to regain her former ascendency in the religious life of the world, concludes very reasonably that her success is problematical. She can never again be what she once was. The spirit of the age is against her. In "The Church in Germany and the Social Question," J. G. Brooks treats of the efforts of the Church in Germany to counteract the growth of socialism through organized efforts to provide for the helpless and for economic education and by practical sympathy with the children of toil. In "The Birth and Infancy of Jesus," by A. Réville, we note a skillfully written specimen of that negative criticism which, by the free use of daring assumptions, transmutes historic truth into plausible falsehood.

THE *Baptist Quarterly Review* for October has: 1. An analytical synopsis of the doctrinal contents of Luther's immortal "Theses," by Professor J. C. Long; 2. A paper entitled "Applications of our National Principles," by A. Bierbower, which considers "the peculiar duties of American citizenship." It is very emphatic in pointing out the peril to our republic that is hidden in schemes and combinations for amassing immense wealth in utter disregard of the interests of the people. When wealth is acquired by robbing the industrious classes of opportunities for acquiring competencies it "provides for its own spoliation. . . . A starving people, when numerous, effect revolutions." 3. The Rev. T. E. Gregory, after contending that Judas did not partake of the "Last Supper," reaches the "lame and impotent conclusion" that the assumed exclusion of Judas from the hallowed rite "constitutes good grounds for the Baptist practice of close communion!" 5. The Rev. A. W. Goodnow, treating of "The Jews and Eschatology," finds evidence in the light of eschatological prophecy that God's covenant with Abraham will be literally fulfilled at Christ's second advent, when believing Jews will be gathered into his kingdom. 6. The Rev. C. A. Hobbs ably and conclusively denies "the alleged cruelty of God to the Canaanites." He treats this favorite allegation of deists and atheists exhaustively, going to the roots of the question and

elucidating the righteous principles involved in those divine providences which gave Palestine to Israel, in place of the hopelessly corrupt people driven out by Joshua and David. 7. In a sensible editorial article on "the strikes" arbitration legally enforced is recommended, and the desirability of a reform in our industrial system, by which, as estimated, some "four thousand men own two thirds of the total wealth of the United States," or, as other economists contend, "one hundred thousand persons own more than half the wealth amassed by sixty millions." These rich men, the writer says, "may not be dishonest necessarily, but the system that makes millionaires is held to be dishonest. It must be reformed!"

THE *Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*, for January has: 1. "The Sunday School, Its Place and its Purpose in the Church;" 2. "Henry Timrod;" 3. "Prayer and Providence;" 4. "The Colonial Church in Virginia;" 5. "The Will-o'-the-Wisp;" 6. "Woman as a Breadwinner;" 7. "The Governing Body in Methodism;" 8. "'The Problem' and its Critics;" 9. "A Consecrated Life;" 10. "Our Theology and our Science." Of these papers we note the fifth, in which a sort of free lance metaphysician contends that character and not will determines conduct; but how character is formed without free-willing he does not explain. In the eighth paper Dr. Boland contends vigorously for the theory of his "Problem of Methodism," that when a man is regenerated he is "cleansed from all sin" and prepared "to perfect holiness in the fear of God." But Dr. Boland has many critics in the Church, South, who contend for "a second blessing."

THE *Canadian Methodist Quarterly* for October last had a very discriminating paper by President W. R. Harper on "The Rational and the Rationalistic Higher Criticism," which, after stating the purpose and principles of higher criticism, discusses its method, spirit, and results. In doing this it judiciously discriminates between the pseudo-scientific, narrow, rationalistic, and destructive criticism represented by Wellhausen and Kuenen, and what it fitly terms that rational criticism which is constructive in its spirit and which reverently recognizes both the divine and human factors in Holy Writ. The result of this latter criticism, it claims, will be a general recognition of the supremacy of the sacred word. President Harper has done a valuable service for the Bible in writing this paper. We note also in this issue of the *Canadian* a very thoughtful article on "Jonah, the Fugitive Prophet," by Rev. W. Quance. It defends the historical character of "that most beautiful book in the Old Testament canon" against the theory of those who hold it to be symbolical, Jonah representing Israel and Nineveh the heathen world. Whether the prophet actually *lived* in a fish three days and three nights, or whether he was drowned and restored to life after three days, the author does not pretend to know, but he regards the divine power sufficient to accomplish either event. The lesson of the book is that God was as truly a Father to heathen nations as to Israel. Jonah represented the narrowest opinions

of his race so fully that he was vexed when the penitence of the Ninevites saved them from destruction. Hence, in subjecting him to an effective discipline God rebuked the spirit of his people, and in sparing Nineveh he showed that he loved nations which they despised. These, with four other papers, make one of the ablest numbers of this scholarly Review.

Christian Thought for December has: 1. "Our Modern Aristotle and the Theistic Arguments;" 2. "What Was Man Before He Was?" 3. "Shops and Girls;" 4. "Philosophy and Physical Science;" 5. "Notes on Theism;" 6. "What We Supposed All Intelligent People Knew." The first of these papers is a pretty thorough dissection of John Stuart Mill's theistic argument, which it clearly proves to be without any scientific foundation. The second is a unique argument against the theory of man's evolution from a monkey or some other unknown animal. It claims that the question at issue is not the mode of man's origin, but the fact of his creation. The third paper touches upon the interest of a large class of women who seem to be unjustly treated. The fifth claims that no other hypothesis but that of a personal first cause explains all the facts of nature, for even Voltaire admitted that, "if there were no God, though all nature cries out that he is, it would be necessary to invent him."

THE *Presbyterian Quarterly* (Southern) for January discusses: 1. "Some Popular Misconceptions of Presbyterianism;" 2. "Paul's Purpose in Writing Romans;" 3. "Theological Education in Universities;" 4. "Presbyterianism in History;" 5. "Uses of the Imagination;" 6. "Annihilation." These are all ably written papers. We note the second as showing that Paul's aim in his famous epistle was to correct a false theory in Gentile churches that Christianity placed the Jews upon a lower plane than that of the Gentiles. Paul teaches that the Gospel made no such distinction; both were one in Christ. In the third paper it is claimed that theological education should be given in universities, because it is economical in means and men, and because the presence of divinity students has a beneficial effect on college life. It is helpful also to the theological students themselves. The fifth article is a very able disquisition on the value of a properly cultivated imagination to preachers of the Gospel.

IN the *Hartford Seminary Record* for December we note an elaborate and scholarly paper by Professor M. W. Jacobus on "The Evolution of New Testament Criticism and the Consequent Outlook for To-day." This article outlines the history of biblical criticism, showing: 1. That during the first two centuries both orthodox and heterodox critics conceded the historic origin of the New Testament books, but contended for diverse interpretations of their contents; 2. That the criticism of the next following centuries became subjective, in that it sought to prove or disprove their apostolic authorship by their internal character; 3. That the reformers following Luther accepted or set aside their authority as they found or did not find the Gospel in them, neglecting historic inquiry concern-

ing their authorship; 4. That in the eighteenth century rationalism took the field, subjecting the authority of the Bible to the test of reason. The result was the birth of what now claims to be "scientific criticism," which counts historic evidence worthless and "subjective evidence the only thing." Were it truly scientific it would recognize both the external and the internal evidence. As it is, this criticism is one-sided and therefore false. It is "a transitional school." The documentary criticism and the idea of development which is its present fad are animated by the philosophy of evolution, which will probably soon attempt to reconstruct the New Testament as it has vainly tried to reconstruct the Old. Professor Jacobus predicts its failure, but presses upon Christian scholars the duty of mastering those sound principles of biblical criticism which, being true and embracing both external and subjective evidence, must prevail. His paper merits the attention of all students of modern biblical criticism.

THE *Lutheran Quarterly* for January has: 1. "Recent Research in Bible Lands;" 2. "Christianity and Holy Scripture;" 3. "Civic Christianity;" 4. "Labor;" 5. "Essentials of Effective Preaching;" 6. "Coeducation;" 7. "Frederick C. Oettinger;" 8. "The Revised English Catechism." Of these excellent articles we note the second as a forcible argument in defense of the proposition that, in place of the old dogmatic "verbal inspiration theory," the Church should teach that "the divine influence experienced by the sacred authors wrought in harmony with their own free activity." Hence, their writings "are fitted to be a norm of the Church for all time." Also the third paper, which portrays the social and political effects of the Gospel through its bold declarations of the majesty and eternity of law, its power to arouse and satisfy holy aspirations, and its tendency to realize the brotherhood of men in social and civic life.

IN the *North American Review* for December Rev. S. M. Brandi, S. J., answers the question, "When is the Pope Infallible?" He does this with Jesuitical plausibility, in that, while denying a pope's inspiration, he claims for him its equivalent in his contention that every truth belonging "to faith and morals may be infallibly defined by the pope." His illustrations of this alleged defining authority show that it may be made to include all that is contained in inspiration, for the definition may change the meaning of the inspired word. It has already defined the authority of the Church to be superior to that of the State, which it affirms is under obligations to pay obedience to the Catholic Church! The value of this paper lies in the evidence it furnishes that the papacy of to-day is essentially one with the papacy of mediæval times. An article entitled "A Campaign for Ballot Reform," by E. B. Grubb, reveals the domination of political corruption in Hudson County, New Jersey, which was brought to light by his efforts and whose guilty actors were punished in 1892. The paper proves that if honest men were united political debauchery in America could be eliminated from the political life of the country, as in truth it must be if our democratic form of government is to be preserved. In a

paper which asks, "Is Alcoholism Increasing Among American Women?" Dr. T. D. Crothers contends with much force, if not with conclusiveness, that it is not. "Wages of Sin" is a paper on "general paresis," or softening of the brain, by Dr. H. S. Williams, who traces this tragical disease to excessive mental activity, to high living and other sensual indulgences. His words are faithful warnings. "America's Chauvinism," by S. Rhett Roman, is a barbed rebuke of our national vanity, which feeds on a series of misconceptions too patent to be truthfully denied. The spirit of this paper may be somewhat pessimistic; nevertheless the Christian patriot cannot read it without regretting this unethical feature of our national character and being moved to anxiety in view of its possible results.

THE *Contemporary Review* for December has a critical estimate of "Tennyson," by Stopford Brooke; a paper on the "Uganda Problem," which contends that England must retain possession of that part of Africa; a scientific paper on "Aryan Origins," which claims that the white races preceded the Aryan; and an article on "The Idealistic Remedy for Religious Doubt," which contends that Christianity must be viewed less as a system of "saving truths and cardinal doctrines," and more as a life resting on the "real facts of Christ's incarnation, with his forgiving, saving, loving hand and voice, and on the real, living Spirit, with his indwelling, sanctifying energy." But how these facts are to be leaned upon without faith in the dogmas with which they are associated its writer, Professor Simon, does not explain.

THE *Westminster Review* for December has a sketchy but critical and appreciative review of "Lord Tennyson's" poems. It designates him the most representative English poet of the Victorian era. In a suggestive essay on "The English Novel," which pithily estimates English novelists from Thomas Malory, who wrote the first English novel, to Stevenson and Besant, it is claimed that, though the fiction of to-day cannot be compared with the fiction of thirty and forty years ago, yet the general level of everyday novels was never higher than it is at present. This fact, if fact it be, is encouraging to the Christian moralist, inasmuch as from seventy to eighty per cent of the books taken out of the public free libraries in England are novels, which are the sole literary food of millions of English readers. A paper on "The Vole Plague in the Lowlands" chronicles the ruin wrought by short-tailed field mice, or voles, in the sheep pastures of southern Scotland. These creatures are a little larger than a common field mouse and a little smaller than a rat. They do not eat the top of the grass, but cut through the stalks, severing them from the roots. Hundreds of acres of pasture lands have been thus stripped of their verdure, and much distress among farmers has been caused. The sufferers are hoping that the numbers of these voles will tempt birds of prey to destroy them. A suggestive paper on "The Transformation of Energy" explains the alleged discovery of J. P. Joule, that nature is endowed with a certain amount of energy, derived

from the sun, which cannot be increased, but only transformed from potential into kinetic or actual energy. Students of science and philosophy will read this paper with interest, whether they accept or reject its theory.

THE *African Methodist Episcopal Church Review* for January has nine papers of unequal merit. We note one on socialism, which commends Fourierism; and another on "The Origin of the White Race," which traces it to Gehazi, who, by transmitting his leprosy to his descendants, became father of the white race! Alas! that this Review should teach this absurdity to our colored brethren.——The *Missionary Review of the World* for January is a granary of missionary incidents gathered from every quarter of the globe. Among its many good things we note a paper on "South America and the Papacy," which records a movement in Brazil and in the other South American republics having for its aim "a State free from the dominion of the Church and a Church free from the papacy." This important movement is greatly promoted by the circulation of *The Pope and the Council*, a book which contains a "vigorously written historic demonstration of the exclusively political nature of the papacy." Thus South American statesmen are preparing to attack Romanism as "the heresy of domination" and as hostile to political freedom.——The *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* for December has strong papers on "The Christian Pulpit of the Future," on the question, "Is the Bible True?" and on "Biblical and Theological Elements in Whittier," "Tennyson," etc.——*Lippincott's Magazine* for December has among its minor papers a very interesting sketch of Mr. Keely's struggles to demonstrate his theory that "ether is the medium of all force." It claims that, in the judgment of several noted physicists, the "Keely motor" may yet give the world "a costless motive power" which will work a revolution in mechanical physics.——*The Gospel in All Lands* for January has a long list of articles which illustrate the progress of missionary movements in every part of the globe. It is a rich storehouse of intelligence, and stimulative of Christian zeal.——In the January issue of the *Homiletic Review* we note two timely papers, one of which treats intelligently the question of "Theological Thought in Germany;" the other discusses "Clerical Celibacy: Its Extent, Restrictions, and Exceptions," as viewed by Protestants in the light of Holy Writ.——The *Wesleyan Magazine* (Canadian) for January has three excellent illustrated articles, of which one is on "Egypt," another on "Protestant Memoirs of Neuchâtel," and the third on "Mission Work in the Northwest."——The *English Illustrated Magazine* for December describes "Tennyson's Homes at Aldworth and Farringford;" discusses "King Lear on the Stage;" gives an inside view of "An Historic Pharmacy;" sketches "Winter in the Catskills;" portrays "Pickwickian Topography," etc. These pages are illustrated with many spirited engravings.——The *Treasury of Religious Thought* for January is a storehouse of good things.——The *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for January is full of papers interesting to students of its special topics.

BOOKS: CRITIQUES AND NOTICES.

A SURPLUS OF BOOKS.

It is not a hasty judgment to say that the literary market is overcrowded. Men write too easily. Venturesome apprentices, conceiving themselves called to authorship, foist their crude compositions upon the public notice. Cheap hacks vitiate the tastes of the reading world with their meretricious productions. Mixed with a little that is good, much is found that is poor or worthless. Paradoxical as it may seem, there is a sense in which the printing-press is proving an injury rather than a benefit to the age. Wise reading, therefore, resolves itself into a choice of books. The familiar advice of many scholars to discriminate in the selection of one's literary company is good counsel. The heart is enriched and the life is molded by what, as well as by how much, a man may read. A few lines from one of the great poets of the ages, a glance at a page of history, or a choice extract from some of the great essayists will shape the conduct of a day. The cautious man must, therefore, be chary in his use of books. The quaint criticism of Robert Hall on a certain miscellaneous reader of books was keen in its satirical force: "He might be a very clever man by nature, for aught I know, but he laid so many books upon his head that his brains could not move." In the interests of good literature the present note is written. Whoever reads the following books will do well: *The Distinctive Messages of the Old Religions*, by George Matheson; *Through Christ to God*, by J. A. Beet; and *Representative Women of Methodism*, by C. W. Buoy.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Distinctive Messages of the Old Religions. By the Rev. George Matheson, M.A., D.D., F.R.S.E., Minister of the Parish of St. Bernard's, Edinburgh. 12mo, pp. 342. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co. Price, cloth, $1.75.

Behind the study of comparative religion lies the recognition of the religious instinct itself and the inquiry into its primary origin. None of the old religions of the world has sprung suddenly into being, like the mushroom in the night. Man first feels the impulse to worship and pays homage to his chosen deity; after that he formulates his belief into a religious system. If this analysis be in harmony with the facts involved, the principle of procedure followed by Dr. Matheson in the present volume is altogether philosophical. To explain the origin of religion is, therefore, his first endeavor; but, disbelieving that either fear, superstition, or the sense of dependence are primitive instincts, he cannot trace the religious faculty to these mental states. But, on the other hand, the author holds that the realization of the limitations of personal existence led primitive man to seek the universal cause of all things in the world without. Hence came fetichism; then the worship of pure spirits; then the adora-

tion of that spirit as embodied in outer forms. Yet under the last stage, holds the author, polytheism strictly never existed, but rather what has been termed by Max Müller as henotheism, or a recognition of "a plurality of heavenly objects, but in which the place of honor is occupied by each in turn." On this introductory division of the volume—as well as on the following chapter, in which the writer finds that the idea of incarnation is the common element in all religions—it is not possible to linger. If the author differs with Paley as to the way in which primitive man has reached the notion of a universal cause, and if he varies from other students of historic religions as to the subsequent development of the religious faculty, he has nevertheless declared his personal views in so scholarly, logical, and engaging a way that a stronger putting of the case cannot be reasonably desired. Yet all this is introductory to the consideration of the distinctive features of the different religions of the world. The common element in the religious beliefs of China is regressiveness, or a turning to the past in search of rest; the message of China to the world is, "Go back." In India the different phases of thought unite in the idea of human life; and the message of that ancient land is "the proclamation of the pilgrim's progress." The message in a sense outlines a general experience. "Here, for the first time in history, we have a description of man's spiritual road—a description of the path over which the religious life is bound to travel if it would be a complete and rounded life." Parseeism advocates the dual principle of creation, and was, through Zoroaster, "the first deliberate and systematic testimony given by the Aryan religious consciousness to the existence of sin." As to Greece, her religion was "essentially and distinctively the worship of the hour, and the investiture with reverence of the things amongst which she lived and moved." Rome made "the earliest attempt at religious union." In the mythology of the Teuton we discover features of development. The religion of Egypt apologizes for "what is called an idolatrous worship." The message of Judea to the world is "the power of inwardness in the religious life;" and that of Christianity is reconciliation. But in the message of the latter, suggests the author, the religions of the past are themselves included. Christianity "has found a place for them" in its system. "Indian and Greek, Roman and Teuton, Buddhist and Parsee, Egyptian and Chinaman can meet here hand in hand; because in the comprehensive temple of Christian truth there is not only a niche which each may fill, but a niche which, at some stage of its development, must be filled by one and all." So reasons Dr. Matheson. If we have followed to some degree the synoptical method in presenting the contents of his book it has been because his line of thought may thus be presented most clearly to the reader. However the critical student may take issue with him in any of his conclusions, he cannot but be concerned in this new putting of a familiar subject; however unattractive to the casual reader the study of the world's religions has heretofore been, he will not fail to find in the present volume at once an intelligible, worthy, and fascinating portrayal of religious development.

Through Christ to God: A Study in Scientific Theology. By JOSEPH AGAR BEET, D.D. Crown 8vo, pp. 373. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, $1.50.

This book contains thirty-nine lectures given by Dr. Beet to the students of the Wesleyan Theological Institution at Richmond, England, in which he is a professor. He describes these lectures as "first steps in accurate study of systematic doctrinal theology," adapted not solely to theological students, but also to intelligent men and women seeking "to know all they can about the great realities on which rests the Christian hope." And because they embody much original research they commend themselves to the attention of advanced students. The characteristic feature of these lectures is in their purpose to show "that, by a strictly historical and scientific and philosophical method, definite and assured results may be reached touching the unseen foundations of religion." Thus they describe and arrange facts "which cannot be explained by the various forces observed operating in the material world and in human life around and within us, and which therefore reveal the operation of forces other than these." From these facts the underlying principles are deduced, and from these, "still broader principles, with their bearing on the inner and outer life of man." The skillful application of this scientific method to the study of theology gives these lectures a unique character, and a special adaptation to the needs of the Church, in her present conflicts with manifold types of error pretentiously arrayed in garments woven in the looms of "science, falsely so called," and of materialistic philosophies. Dr. Beet is a clear thinker. His ideas stand out with transparent distinctness before his mental eye. Hence his statements are clear-cut, his definitions well expressed. Thus, for example, he defines religion as "such a conception of the unseen as makes for righteousness;" theology as "a branch of human knowledge embracing whatever we know about that unseen which makes for righteousness;" righteousness through faith as the fact that "God receives into his favor all who believe the good news announced by Christ." Belief is "mental rest in an idea; . . . when it has a personal object this rest of mind is derived from and rests upon the word and character of a speaker. It is a voluntary surrender of the whole man to be influenced by that which his intelligence rightly or wrongly believes to be true. . . . The faith through which we obtain justification as Paul understood it is an assurance, resting on the word and promise of God, that God now receives into his favor as heirs of eternal life us who believe the good news of salvation announced by Christ." Evangelical redemption is defined as "the deliverance of sinners from the penalty and power of sin by the costly means of the death of Christ. . . . The propitiation of Christ was not needed to change the mind of God, for the apostles of Christ knew that God's anger is not a vexation with a sinner that needs to be changed, but an unchangeable opposition to sin. From that anger the sinner needs to find escape; he needs a propitiation which will shelter the sinner from the punishment due to his sin. And this we accept as a definition of evangelical propitiation." Dr. Beet rightly, as we judge,

regards the death of Christ as necessary for governmental reasons—"to give proof of God's righteousness—to harmonize with his own justice the justification of believers. . . . The need for the death of Christ as the only possible means of man's salvation lay in the justice of God." Thus with sound reasoning and perspicacious definitions Dr. Beet expounds the leading truths of the Gospel. His expositions bring difficult and obscure truths into light sufficient to commend them to the acceptance of candid and intelligent inquiring minds. If they fail to do this it is when, in treating of the mysteries of the incarnation, he attempts to explain our Lord's growth of knowledge and his confession of ignorance of the day of his second coming by supposing that "the eye omniscient, while preserving unimpaired its capacity for infinite perception, was for a time closed, . . . that his divine power and intelligence were for a time dormant." To us this supposition is unthinkable. It is an explanation which does not explain. We prefer to take the facts given in the Gospel as mysteries which, like unnumbered modes of divine action in the natural world, cannot now and possibly never will be brought within the comprehension of human reason. With this one unimportant exception we commend this thoughtful book to all who love "books that are books." The breadth and lucidity of its thoughts, the virility of its style, the soundness of its theological opinions, its deep but subdued religious tone, its exegetical learning, and its scientific method of so expounding old truths that, like novelties, they arrest and hold one's attention, make it a work of rare merit and exceptional value. It ought to command a wide circulation.

Amos: An Essay in Exegesis. By H. G. MITCHELL, Professor in Boston University. Crown 8vo, pp. 209. Boston: N. J. Bartlett & Co.

Professor Mitchell has in this volume furnished a help to the study of the prophecy of Amos for which students of the Old Testament Scriptures will be grateful. Very justly, instead of approving the disparaging estimates of the prophet's style and literary worth made by Jerome and Calmet, he substantially confirms the opinion of Bishop Lowth, who ranked him with "the very chief of the prophets, as almost equal to the greatest in sublimity and magnificence, and in splendor of diction and elegance of expression scarcely inferior to any." The professor treats of this book under three general heads: 1. "Introductory Studies;" 2. "Translation and Comments;" 3. "Supplementary Studies." In the "Introductory Studies" we have a picturesque description of Tekoa, or Tikua, the prophet's home, if not his birthplace; a study of his character, of the peculiarities of his style, and of the influences which affected his development. Next comes the date of his prophecies, which, though uncertain, is with good reason set down at about B. C. 760. A very clear and sufficiently full analysis of his prophecies follows, showing that they began with stormy threats, proceeded to thunderbolts of denunciation, and closed with the sunshine of God's promised mercy. Their total effect was to inspire faith in God. The professor's translation, though inde-

pendent, is not substantially different from either the Authorized or the Revised Version. Yet certain phrases in those translations which do not clearly express the exact meaning of the prophet's words are modified; as, for example, instead of "I will press you in your place, as a cart presseth that is full of sheaves," we have "I will cause a trembling under you such as a cart that is full of sheaves causeth;" in place of "after the king's mowings," we have "after the king's shearings;" for "threshing instruments of iron" we have "iron-shod sledges;" and instead of "the Lord God," we have "the Lord Jehovah." These and kindred substitutions are doubtless improvements; but where in chapter vii, verses 2 and 5, Amos is made to say, "Lord Jehovah, prithee forgive," and "Lord Jehovah, prithee cease!" in place of "I beseech thee," as in both the Authorized and Revised Versions, one demurs on the score of taste. "Prithee," being a corruption of "I pray thee," can scarcely be accepted as a good modern English word. As it reads in the professor's translation it impresses one as lacking in that reverential spirit which breathes throughout this rhetorically beautiful prophecy. In his "comments" Dr. Mitchell sheds clear light on the words of the prophet. Scholarly exegesis, historical and meteorological information, geographical and topographical descriptions, and the critical judgments of many learned men are judiciously used to explain and illustrate the teaching of the herdsman of Tekoa. In his "Supplementary Studies" the professor inquires whether Amos was or was not acquainted with the first six books of the Old Testament, giving his reasons for the opinion that while his writings contain evidence that he was acquainted with Hebrew history they do not prove that he was acquainted with those books. This opinion the professor's readers will accept if they are in sympathy with the "higher criticism;" if not, they will conclude that the prophet's obvious acquaintance with the history of his people was derived from the Hexateuch. Another topic in these "Supplementary Studies" is the "Theology of Amos," which embraced a grand conception of the character of God, but was less full and explicit in its teachings respecting the character of man. In his final chapter our author treats very suggestively of the relations of Amos to the other prophets, classing him as "one of the greatest" of those inspired men. Taken as a whole, this instructive book must be recognized as a valuable contribution to the list of works which are real helps to Bible students. Pastors may use it profitably, not only in their private study, but especially in conducting adult Bible classes. We therefore commend it heartily, hoping with its scholarly author that it may "help in winning for the prophet Amos the popularity that he deserves."

Four Centuries of Silence; or, From Malachi to Christ. Second Edition. By the Rev. R. A. Redford, M.A., LL.B., Professor of Systematic Theology and Apologetics, New College, London; Author of *The Christian's Plea Against Modern Unbelief*, etc. 12mo, pp. 258. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

The centuries herein reviewed by Mr. Redford were far from unimportant in Jewish history. That they were a time of silence, so far as

message of distinguished prophet or particular manifestation of the divine majesty were concerned, does not detract from their specific value. Like links in the great chain of sacred history they join the eventful dispensation of Israelitish worship to the more eventful dispensation of the Messiah's advent. As such a connecting tie between the old and the new it is clear that every feature belonging to the literature, the social customs, and the religious spirit of these times is of importance. With such a recognition of their worth Mr. Redford has gathered together in compact form most or all of the records that are preserved concerning the Jewish Pontificate, the Septuagint, the Apocrypha, the Sanhedrin, the Jewish sects, the supremacy of the Persian and the Greek nations, the Messianic Expectation, and the Voice in the Wilderness. We must be grateful to the author for the faithful and vivid manner in which he has set these intervening "four centuries of silence" before us. Nor from our standpoint do they seem useless centuries. If they displayed the "evening sky of the Jewish Church," they contained no less "the dawning light" of the later and abiding day of Christianity.

The Life of Jesus Critically Examined. By Dr. DAVID FRIEDRICH STRAUSS. Translated from the Fourth German Edition by GEORGE ELIOT. Second Edition. In one volume. 8vo, pp. 784. New York: Macmillan & Co. Price, cloth. $4.50.

The time has gone by when any particular discussion of this *Life of Jesus* or any lengthy refutation of its mistaken teachings is in order. To discover the fallacy in the "mythical theory" of Strauss, as to the origin of Christianity, was the labor of a former generation. According to this theory the Gospel records concerning Jesus are fictions, unauthorized by his immediate disciples, which sprung up in the thirty years intervening between his death and the destruction of Jerusalem—a theory which has been termed "an outrage upon common sense." We need not now add to this vigorous characterization. But, while the errors of Strauss have already been sufficiently exposed, it is not unprofitable for the theological student of the present day to possess for himself this work of Strauss, to study its theory in some detail. His personal belief in the authenticity of the gospel records will necessarily be strengthened thereby. The reissue of this *Life of Jesus* is, therefore, opportune.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

The Interpretation of Nature. By NATHANIEL SOUTHGATE SHALER, Professor of Geology in Harvard University. 16mo, pp. 305. New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.25.

Not the least noticeable among the suggestions of this volume is the lesson that the interpretation of nature is an ancient pursuit. Scholars have not come suddenly into the enthusiastic study and explanation of material phenomena. Obedient to an inherent curiosity regarding the processes of nature, men from the primeval times have pressed their inquiries

in this sphere of research. The scientific interpretation of nature, according to Professor Shaler, had an Aryan origin and, particularly, a Grecian development. "The scientific motive," he remarks, "is essentially peculiar to one body of folk, the Aryans, and has attained to any considerable development in only one branch of that race, the Greeks and their intellectual descendants, the kindred Europeans. The essential shape of our modern science is Greek. We have inherited this part of our life from the Hellenes even more immediately than we have taken the basis of our spiritual motives from the Hebrew race." From this Hellenic starting-point it is a satisfactory, even if preliminary, thing to trace the history of scientific study through the Roman period, the Dark Ages, and the Renaissance; and the reader will dwell upon this introductory chapter of Professor Shaler's with interest. Thence the transition is logically easy to the succeeding themes of consideration, as announced in the captions: "Critical Points in the Continuity of Natural Phenomena," "The Place of Organic Life in Nature," "The March of the Generations," "The Bond of the Generations," "The Natural History of Sympathy," and "The Immortality of the Soul from the Point of View of Natural Science." To linger upon the weighty discussion of these important matters would altogether transcend the limits of this present notice. Two feelings, however, impress themselves upon the mind of the reader. One of them is that the author speaks from the scientific rather than from the theological standpoint. He writes as a student of nature, and his nomenclature is that of modern scholarship. The other impression is that of the concessive quality of his teaching. He is not so limited in vision that he sees nothing wise or able in the inquiries of theology as to natural phenomena. Both the scientist and the theologian have their place and work. If the province of the one is "the evident and the ponderable," that of the other is to apply the truths afforded by the study of nature "in all that relates to the moral conduct of men." For such a temperate and, as we think, true construction of the relation of science and theology there cannot fail to be a due appreciation.

A Perplexed Philosopher: Being an Examination of Mr. Herbert Spencer's Various Utterances on the Land Question, with Some Incidental References to his Synthetical Philosophy. By HENRY GEORGE. New York: Charles L. Webster & Co. 12mo, pp. 319. Price, $1.

Mr. George figures in this volume as a philosopher who has a grievance. His quondam friend and philosophical brother, Mr. Herbert Spencer, who in past years held the same opinions as himself respecting the alleged wrong involved in the private ownership of land, has been led by further investigations of the subject to change his opinions. Of course Mr. George is much grieved, vexed, perhaps, to lose the support given to his land nationalization theories by so distinguished a philosopher as Mr. Spencer. Hence, instead of congratulating him on his entrance into greater light, he publishes this polemical volume, which aims to convince his disciples that Mr. Spencer has not been led from his former opinions by honest convictions of their falsehood, but by selfish desires and ambitions

unworthy of so illustrious a philosopher. How much this volume will contribute to strengthen the faith of Mr. George's adherents in the principle which Mr. Spencer has disavowed it is impossible even to guess. Its appearance would seem to indicate that Mr. George fears that the backsliding of his old friend may lead others to question his theories. His book is somewhat dull reading, and will not add to the number who deny that right of individual ownership in land which is recognized in the tenth commandment, in the division by divine direction of the lands of Palestine among the descendants of Abraham, and in the practice of all civilized nations. To us the individual ownership of land seems necessary to its cultivation, on which its value to sustain human life absolutely depends. If Mr. George were to advocate the limitation of the right of ownership to the necessities of the owner and to the needs of society he would be nearer right than he is at present. As to his disagreement with Mr. Spencer one needs only to remark that the disputes of errorists are precursors of the victories of truth.

Elements of Deductive Logic. By NOAH K. DAVIS, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Virginia, and Author of *The Theory of Thought*, etc. 12mo, pp. 208. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, 90 cents.

Logic presupposes not only a thinker but also sufficient time for the formulation of his thought processes into orderly arrangement. Nor does "thought as exercised in scientific pursuits," according to the present author, alone fall within the scope of logical treatment. But thought everywhere and on all subjects—in short, universal thought—has a place in the discussion; or, in other words, "logic explains how any human mind thinks correctly at any time about any thing." Of the present handbook of Dr. Davis on deductive logic it is not necessary to speak at length. Postponing to another volume the treatment of induction, he has furnished an elementary work on the underlying principles of the logical science which, for lucidity and general value, could not be well improved. It is not easy to turn the pages of his book without feeling anew the old impression of the dignity of all thought operation and the elevating influence of its scientific scrutiny.

An Introduction to the Science of Thought. By S. S. HEBBERD. 12mo, pp. 84. Madison, Wis.: Tracy, Gibbs & Co.

This pamphlet is an eloquent exposition of "the simple principle that every perfect thought contains two elements related to each other as cause and effect; and whenever either of these elements is suppressed thought thereby becomes vague, one-sided, fatally defective." Its author traces the distraction and division of human speculations to the nonrecognition of this principle, which, when recognized, he asserts, will furnish "a basis for true theories of science, morality, and art; will explain the course of human civilization, and so provide a genuine philosophy of history." Its ascendency would, its author insists, bring about "a new age of faith, sacrifice, and social order!" Mr. Hebberd wields a facile and able pen, is evidently possessed by his theory, is gifted with a

vivid and illusive imagination, and argues enthusiastically for his philosophic gospel. His pamphlet, though it may not command assent, is yet well worth reading, because it is provocative of thought; albeit the reader in closing its pages will probably be disposed to say with Hamlet, that there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamed of in human philosophy.

The Making of a Man. By Rev. J. W. LEE, D.D. 16mo, pp. 372. New York: Cassell Publishing Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

The supremacy of humanity in the material world is the conviction alike of the philosopher and the Christian. We can have no sympathy with the disposition of certain scholars to give man a subordinate place in nature—scholars who assign him with the monkey and baboon "to the order of primates," who make his conscience "the resultant of fear and instinct," who declare his morality to consist of "rules imposed by his own prudence," and who assert that his religion is "determined by the physical conditions which surround his life." Against this position Dr. Lee well protests in the present work. Man was, in truth, the culmination of the divine purpose of the Creator. "He was the realization of an ideal, which gave meaning to the long periods of preparation. As the final expression of the creative process he was at once the interpreter and the interpretation of all that had gone before." The provisions made for man in the natural world therefore become, in view of this appointed superiority, a matter of practical and absorbing interest. As the being upon whom the Creator has conferred the lasting honor of preeminence, man must naturally find those adjustments and conveniences in the external world which go to perpetuate his primacy. Along this line of reflection does the argument of the present volume run. "Man has no deeper and surer impression," declares the author, "than that the world belongs to him and was made for him. It is deepened year by year, too, as he sees the relations he sustains to it increase." Provisions are thus made for his physical, social, intellectual, moral, æsthetic, and spiritual natures—whose detailed description makes up the subject-matter of the present volume. Bread is thus the ministry of nature to man's physical wants, beauty to his æsthetic tastes, and righteousness to his moral nature. In short, the whole complex round of man's needs and desires seems to be remembered in the bountiful supplies of nature. But man, the dominant creature of the material world, has also a tendency for a future existence which the author does well to recognize in his closing chapter on "The Permanence of the Completed Life of Man." Through all mutations the essential man survives. "The personal spirit, by its very nature and tendencies and possibilities, seems to be addressed to another than the tangible, local, and physical realm in which it finds itself while residing in the body. An irrepressible and wide-reaching something in the spirit of each man seems to impel him to triumph over space and time and change. . . . The destruction of a human spirit would register the death of God. It is the direct expression of the spirit of God, and bears his own likeness and

image, and has for the guarantee of its permanence the person of the eternal God himself." We have thus, in a most cursory way, noticed the trend of an important book. While it does not lack in scholarly treatment, it is, withal, couched in a style so attractive as to appeal to the tastes of the general reader, and cannot but profit him.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Representative Women of Methodism. By CHARLES WESLEY BUOY, D.D. 12mo, pp. 476. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, $1.25.

Burning and shining lights have been multiplying from the days of John the Baptist until now. Nero lit his palace gardens by night with Christians, covered them with pitch, and then drove his chariot down among the blazing saints. It was the only way he found of rejoicing in their light. God lights the ages with his people, clothes them with the garments of salvation and the graces of the Spirit, and so illuminates the dark. They shine as lights in the world. Now and then he enhances the value of the human race by large single installments of merit. The glory of the invisible God is revealed in exemplary and devout lives. Character concretes the grace divine into objective and influential fact. In Dr. Buoy's book six of the rarest of womankind are set before us, three from the English side of the sea: Susannah Wesley, Lady Huntingdon, and Mary Fletcher; three from our side: Katherine Garrettson, Eliza Garrett, and Lucy Webb Hayes. Seldom are lives already familiar represented so clearly and richly. Far from being bare biographies, these are brightly diversified discourses. Such lives as they portray are among the most unanswerable apologetics of Christianity. Beginning with the mother of the Wesleys and closing with the bravest, noblest, and most gracious mistress the White House ever had, they illustrate how fruitful Methodism has been in characters of the most delicate refinement, the finest culture, the fairest beauty, and the amplest influence. We know no volume more perfectly fitted to win intelligent womanhood to love and cherish Methodism. It should be in every college and seminary and home, for the education of such young people as are in danger of imagining that there is anything better than Methodism. If any are inquiring for the best society they can find it inside the covers of Dr. Buoy's book. It is well that these chapters, expanded from a course of popular lectures delivered in 1891 in Philadelphia, went to type to find the larger audience they deserve; and it is fit that the volume is dedicated to Mrs. Ellen H. Simpson, the wife of our sainted bishop.

The Danube, from the Black Forest to the Black Sea. Illustrated by the Author and ALFRED PARSONS. By F. D. MILLET, Author of *A Capillary Crime*, etc. 12mo, pp. 329. New York: Harper & Brothers Price, cloth, $2.50.

In that spirit of intelligent exploration which often yields most satisfactory results the three tourists whose names are found in this volume

lately made a canoe journey through the European territory indicated. The fact that the route lay through a section not largely frequented by visitors or described by observers gives particular value to the excursion taken. What the travelers saw they saw well. The scenery, the strange industries, and the quaint social customs of the portions of Austria and Turkey through which they passed are in turn recorded for the benefit of the reader. Ratisbon, Passau, Vienna, Pressburg, Budapest, Kalafat, and Widdin, with other places of lesser geographical prominence, are successive stages of the journey, whose beauties or peculiarities give a charm to the journal of adventures. In a sense the work of authorship has been one of collaboration. The book, which would in any case have been of interest from the vivid quality of its descriptions, is made doubly attractive by the illustrations with which it has been embellished. It is calculated to relieve the tedium of the leisure hour.

Abraham Lincoln. Illustrated. By CHARLES CARLETON COFFIN, Author of *The Boys of '76*, etc. 8vo, pp. 542. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $3.

The romance of Abraham Lincoln has long since become a household story. In fact, so ample a literature on the life and times of the distinguished President has accumulated during the last quarter of a century that it would seem bold to attempt any addition thereto. Yet the personal acquaintance which Mr. Coffin enjoyed with the great leader puts him at an advantage in undertaking the present "sketch," and gives his completed volume an exceptional quality. This association with Mr. Lincoln began on the night succeeding his nomination to the presidency, and continued through the presidential term as late as Mr. Lincoln's visit to Richmond at the close of the war, when the narrator walked with him through the streets of that burning city. With the memories of such a long and familiar knowledge of Mr. Lincoln, and with such an intrinsically heroic character to depict, Mr. Coffin has all the inspirations to good work which come to any biographer. His book is therefore highly realistic. Whoever reads it will find himself transferred in fancy back to the days of the great rebellion, and will live over again the thrilling, feverish, pivotal times of that national crisis. As for him who took so chief a part in the settlement of our public destinies the reader will review his fascinating life-story with an absorption which time does not lessen. That one so lowly born could have reached so high a throne of power, that his promotion was purely providential, and that he was divinely helped in the direction of the vast responsibilities laid upon his shoulders are lessons which repeat themselves in the reading of the present biography, though they have long since found a place among the settled convictions of the historic student. The exquisite pathos of Mr. Lincoln's life likewise stands out in prominence under the portrayal of Mr. Coffin. Sadness tinged the great statesman's soul. Whether in his upward struggle from scenes so homely and prosaic, in his occasional failure to reach the political prizes of his earlier life, or in the crushing burdens that came upon him as the chief magistrate of the nation, a somber shadow hung

over his life whose contemplation moves the reader to the most profound emotions. Like many of the great souls of history, Lincoln lived a life that was solitary and sad. But he did not live in vain. More clearly than ever, now that the clouds of war are gone from the sky, does such a biography as the present show the enduring nature of the great President's work. Well was it exclaimed at his deathbed that "he belongs to the ages." Mr. Coffin has written with unusual biographical skill, and has produced a book that, with its attractive illustrations, will charm not only youthful but also older readers.

Ten Years' Digging in Egypt. 1881–1891. With a Map and One Hundred and Sixteen Illustrations. By W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, Author of *Pyramids of Gizeh*, etc. 12mo, pp. 201. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Some of the greatest modern triumphs of archæology have been won in the country of the Nile. The many records of the past which have been brought forth out of this crowded mausoleum of the ages have forced a modification of the text-books on history, and will compel a still further remaking of the historic records. An outline of what a single archæologist has accomplished within the past decade fills up the present volume. His story reads like some excursion into the realm of fancy. Egypt is put before us in a new vividness, and, for the time being, the reader must perforce yield himself to the wizard influence of this busy discoverer. Tanis, Naukratis, Daphnæ, Gurob, Medum, and other localities are sufficiently described, and their treasure-yields are indicated. The author's story of his discoveries at Hawara not only suggests the marvelous archæological remains yet to be found in Egypt, but also sets forth the perplexities and hardships which accompany scientific discovery in that land. The freedom of the book from undue details and scientific terms makes it an attractive one for the ordinary user. It should help to a larger interest in Egyptology on the part of unscientific readers, since "we are only yet on the threshold of understanding the sources of the knowledge, the arts, and the culture which we have inherited from a hundred generations."

Harper's Chicago and the World's Fair. The Chapters on the Exposition Being Collated from Official Sources and Approved by the Department of Publicity and Promotion of the World's Columbian Exposition. Illustrated. By JULIAN RALPH. 12mo, pp. 244. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $3.

This volume is one of the forerunners of a large number of publications on the World's Columbian Exposition that will be issued during the current year. The volume of Mr. Ralph, however, enjoys the advantage not only of being among the first in the field, but also of having been written from a personal study at Chicago of the "plans and aims" of the promoters of the Exposition. The book follows a twofold line of treatment. The city of Chicago, as the site of the Exposition, is first appropriately portrayed. Its origin in the "Block House of Dearborn," its phenomenal increase, like the growth of some genie's palace in the night, the methods of its municipal government, its towering architecture, its mammoth in-

dustries, its prominence as a railroad center, and in general the multiform phases of its teeming life are thus duly noticed. If the whole description is couched in superlative terms it is because of the unprecedented growth of this New World metropolis within a short half century, involving the romantic and even the miraculous. From the city of Chicago as it is the transition is natural and easy to the World's Fair as it is to be. Probably all that could be said in anticipation of the buildings which are under construction for the great display, of the diverse exhibits which are intended, and of the large educational benefits that will come to the multitudes of visitors at the Exposition has been included by the author in his volume. His personal visit to Chicago assuredly contributes to the accuracy and perspicuity of his description, while the reproduction of many pictorial illustrations which have previously appeared in *Harper's Weekly* tends to the completeness and attraction of the volume. It is not a mere guide book to Chicago or the Exposition, but is rather designed "to be read at home and before the Exposition opens." As such a work it has its place and decided value.

The Praise of Paris. Illustrated. By THEODORE CHILD. 8vo, pp. 299. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, ornamented cloth, $2.50.

Many writers before Mr. Child have united in singing the glories of the French capital upon the Seine. In the fourth century it was called by the Emperor Julian "my dear town of Lutetia." In the later centuries, according to our present author, many celebrities have written or spoken the praises of the beautiful city, among them being Goethe, Gibbon, and Montaigne. And yet their commendation is only the praise of every tourist who sees the gorgeous French city and falls a victim to its charms. Obedient to the usual sentiment of admiration, Mr. Child in the present instance has gathered up some of the current phases of the Parisian life for the benefit of the reader. The composition of the French metropolis in its work and its pleasures, its upper and lower strata of social existence, its architecture and its embellishments, its habits of dueling, and its circles of scholarship as found in its famous Institutes, all give color to the picture which moves before us under the direction of Mr. Child. The attractive illustrations and beautiful print of the book add also to its merit. It will have an unusual interest to the reader from the fact of the recent untimely taking off of its gifted author while upon a tour of Asiatic discovery.

Stories from Indian Wigwams and Northern Camp-Fires. By EGERTON RYERSON YOUNG, Author of *By Canoe and Dog Train*, etc. Small 8vo, pp. 293. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. London: Charles Kelly. Toronto: William Briggs. Price, cloth, $1.25.

With the passage of the years an increasing glamour surrounds the personality of the North American Indian. Since he was the forerunner of the aggressive and achieving European who has now taken his place on the western continent we must naturally feel that interest in the Indian which one has in a predecessor. Striking in his personal characteristics and

peculiar in his national practices, his story is an integral part of history, and should be preserved. Mr. Young has, therefore, done a needed service in his depiction of the present Indian of the great Northwest. Were the religious feature altogether eliminated from the book it would, nevertheless, retain its value. But the volume is, besides, the story of missionary hardships and successes in the remote regions adjoining Lake Winnipeg. None can rightly read its pages without rejoicing anew in the adaptation of the Gospel to the most diverse nationalities of the globe, and in its power to win victories under arctic skies as well as in tropic lands. Mr. Young has given to the public a volume which for its many admirable qualities should find its place in the library of the Sunday school and the home.

The Story of John G. Paton, Told for Young Folks; or, Thirty Years Among South Sea Cannibals. By the Rev. JAMES PATON, B.A. With Forty-five Full-page Illustrations by JAMES FINNEMORE. 12mo, pp. 397. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Price, cloth, $1.50.

The heroism of modern missionaries is not an uncertain testimony to the truth of the Gospel which they preach. Through their bravery in the face of "perils by the heathen," in which they are not surpassed by the first apostles and martyrs, has the truth grown mightily in India, Africa, China, and all other mission fields of the earth. The instance of John G. Paton is not an exception to this general rule. While in usefulness he has been abundant, in heroic bearing no missionary of the cross since the Gospel went forth from Jerusalem could have surpassed him. The power of consecrated personality, which is certainly needed no less in mission work than in other departments of human activity, seems an uppermost lesson in the present autobiography. Calmly, patiently, sensibly, Mr. Paton goes about his work, and, amid all the trying scenes in the New Hebrides which he describes, stands forth as a tower of strength. Sentiment, romance, and tragedy combine to give charm to the present story of his life. The volume cannot but do good, and all who read it will breathe a more fervent prayer for the divine blessing upon the work in the New Hebrides, as well as in all other harvest fields of the Lord.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Simple Bible Lessons for Little Children. By FREDERICK A. LAING, F.E.I.S., Editor of *The Sabbath School Magazine.* With an Introduction by the Rev. JAMES STALKER, M.A., D.D. 12mo, pp. 411. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Price, cloth, $1.50.

It is well said in the Introduction to this volume that "perhaps the most difficult of all Christian ministries is that to the very little ones." In the endeavor to make this service easier Mr. Laing has prepared the present series of "Lessons." Some of them are from the Old Testament, and some from the New. All are written in a simple style for the comprehension of youthful hearers. The book seems in many respects well adapted

to its designed purpose. We might wish, however, that appropriate illustrations had accompanied the written text.

Seven Great Lights. By Rev. KERR B. TUPPER, D.D., Pastor First Baptist Church, Denver, Author of *Robertson's Living Thoughts*, etc. With an Introduction by Rev. W. F. MCDOWELL, D.D., Chancellor of the University of Denver. 16mo, pp. 188. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

A series of denominational sermons preached by representative ministers of Denver in the church of Dr. Tupper. Luther, Cranmer, Knox, Wesley, Edwards, Campbell, and Spurgeon are the "great lights" whose brilliance illuminates the Churches "with increasing splendor." As is remarked in the "Introduction," the series proceeds in chronological order. Such a course of sermons we cannot but regard as profitable. While denominational beliefs and practices would naturally be justified by their several exponents in their respective discourses, yet sincere and larger Christian unity is also effected. Dr. Tupper did well to arrange this series of sermons, and has done even better in their publication.

Divine Balustrades, and Other Sermons. By ROBERT S. MACARTHUR, D.D. 12mo, pp. 262. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co. Price, cloth, $1.25.

Two discourses on Deut. xxii, 8, give title to the above volume of sermons. Vigorous in thought, attractive in diction, and evangelical in spirit, the whole eighteen discourses which make up the volume well illustrate the sermonic methods of the distinguished divine who delivered them.

The Call of the Cross. Four College Sermons. By Rev. GEORGE D. HERRON, D.D. Introduction by President GEORGE A. GATES. 16mo, pp. 111. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

The author of these discourses speaks like a man who has a mission to the age. He has already become known by other small publications. The same thoughtfulness and earnestness which marked these earlier issues is now evident in this group of "college sermons." The discourses are to be commended.

The Joy of Prayer. By Rev. J. M. ROHDE, A.M. Introduction by Bishop ISAAC W. JOYCE, D.D., LL.D. 16mo, pp. 161. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, 45 cents.

The title of this little hand-book well sets forth its line of thought. It is an earnest and cheerful discussion of a great theme, and will take its place among the many helpful books on devotion which are in print.

The Warwickshire Avon. Notes by A. T. QUILLER-COUCH. Illustrations by ALFRED PARSONS. 12mo, pp. 144. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, half leather, $2.

To tourists in old England who have visited the historic scenes described by Mr. Quiller-Couch, this book will come with a sense of refreshment. Its mechanical preparation has been most skillfully done, while in the exceeding beauty of its many illustrations nothing is left to be desired. It is a charming volume for a gift-book.

The Pastor Amidst His Flock. By Rev. G. B. WILCOX, D.D., Professor in Chicago Theological Seminary, Author of *The Prodigal Son.* 12mo, pp. 186. New York: American Tract Society. Price, cloth, $1.

Although pastoral experiences in different denominations are largely diverse, there is much in common among the laborers of Christ that may be written for mutual encouragement. Hence it is that the above book of advices, conducted in the dialogue style, is not of narrow application. Omitting references to denominational polity and practices, its beneficial suggestions, if obeyed, would surely help to develop a sensible, rounded, successful minister of Christ in every pastorate.

Maud Humphrey's Book of Fairy Tales. Quarto. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. Price, in fancy cover, $2.50.

Various nursery tales, like "Cinderella," which never grow old to childhood readers, are here republished with many beautiful colored illustrations. It is an attractive book for fireside use.

Harper's Young People. 1892. Quarto, pp. 872. New York: Harper & Brothers. Fancy cloth.

This is a bound volume of a weekly publication well and favorably known. There is so much in these collected pages that it does not seem that the youth who read them can ask for more. The preservation of the weekly issues of such publications for the young people is accompanied with many advantages.

Field Farings. A Vagrant Chronicle of Earth and Sky. By MARTHA MCCULLOCH WILLIAMS. 16mo, pp. 242. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.

A pleasant glimpse at some of the phases of nature makes up this little volume. All true lovers of nature will appreciate it.

The Alert Stories. Containing over Two Hundred and Fifty Illustrations. With Stories for Little People. Eight volumes. 16mo. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, per set, $2.

These small volumes are named respectively *Careless Maggie, Child Days, Daisy's Pastime, Kitty-Cats, Some Dogs I Know, Sunny Hours, Three Pairs of Eyes,* and *Town Sparrows.* The "little people" of our Sabbath schools will enjoy them.

Miss Millie's Trying. By MARY E. BAMFORD, Author of *Father Lambert's Family,* etc. 16mo, pp. 320. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, 90 cents.

A Tiff with the Tiffins. By FRANCES ISABEL CURRIE. 16mo, pp. 170. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, 50 cents.

The above are two late issues of Sunday school library books for youth. They will be found interesting, safe, and profitable.

METHODIST REVIEW.

MAY, 1893.

ART. I.—CHARLES THE GREAT—HIS RELATION TO THE CHURCH.

THE reign of the Emperor Charles the Great was of such influence upon the interests of the Church that, while it began simultaneously with the commencement of the mediæval period, it did not terminate with the latter, but has reached into modern history and affected the relations of Church and State in Europe down to the present century. He is one of the permanent characters in history. When, in the year 1165, the mortuary chapel in the great cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle, the city of his love and death, was opened for the second time in three hundred and fifty-one years, the body of the great ruler whom Paschal III had canonized was found sitting erect as a living monarch, clad in his imperial robes, with scepter in hand, the sword "Joyeuse" at his side, and the Frankish crown upon his fleshless brow. And the German conception of the founder and organizer of Teutonic greatness has ever been in harmony with this circumstance—not as of the dead, but of the living, *Karl der Grosse*, Charles the Great.

On the death of his father Pepin, in the year 768, he ascended the throne as inheritor of Austrasia, Neustria, and other portions of the eastern part of the Frankish empire, while his brother Carloman ruled over France and a large part of Germany, which constituted the western part of the empire. Carloman dying in 771, Charles took possession of the whole without regard to the rights of his deceased brother's family. From the moment of his assumption of supreme control he

established a policy from which he never departed, and to which he made all his prerogatives and measures subservient. This was the combination of the theocratical idea with the monarchical. While he regarded himself as the civil ruler his notion of his imperial functions extended to the sphere of religion and theology, and he felt that so far as these related to his government he was of right their supervisor and disposer. Taking the kings of Israel and Judah, and not the Roman rulers, as his prototypes, he imagined that he was rather a David, a Hezekiah, or a Josiah than a Cæsar Augustus or even a Constantine.

But his attitude toward the Church and its spiritual head was friendly, nay, even fraternal. Never has a monarch, with, perhaps, the exception of Queen Elizabeth of England, been at once more decided in personal convictions and yet more wise in concessions in the proper quarters and in the supreme moment. Toward the pope he acted with such unfailing respect and consideration that it seemed as if he were claiming nothing for himself, and yet all the while he was receiving from the pope such boons as strengthened his hold at once upon his subjects and the Church. Never have two opposing players solved with greater adroitness the problem of ever winning the same game than did Charles the Great and Leo III. Each gave what he could dispense with, while each received what was necessary to his personal interests. Charles's motto, "The Church teaches, but the emperor defends and increases," was as much the pope's as his own, while no papal ear before the time of Hildebrand could be offended by the Frankish ruler's candid statement to Leo III of their relations: "It is my bounden duty, by the help of the divine compassion, everywhere to defend outwardly by arms the holy Church of Christ against every attack of the heathen and every devastation caused by unbelievers, and inwardly to defend it by the recognition of the general faith. But it is your duty, holy father, to raise your hands to God as Moses did and to support my military service by your prayers."

This intimate relation between Charles the Great and the papacy was not altogether a novelty, but was an intensification of what had already obtained between the Frankish imperial house and the immediate predecessors of Leo III. A common interest had drawn these together even before the birth of Charles,

though, later, this alliance assumed a much wider scope and more attractive forms. Pope Zachary, by causing Pepin le Bref to be anointed as King of the Franks—whether by Boniface or not is not known—placed the Carolingian dynasty, of which Pepin was the founder, under perpetual obligation to the papacy. And it was an obligation which was promptly acknowledged and, with excellent memory, carried into practical effect. The Greek emperors were holding their possessions in Italy against the Lombards with a loose hand, and the popes, unable to secure from abroad proper protection against the devastations of the Lombards, implored the help of the Frankish rulers. Gregory III besought Charles Martel in vain to come to his aid against Luitprand, the King of the Lombards. According to the Lombard historian this ruler was a chaste, beneficent, and liberal-minded man.* Subsequently Stephen II proceeded on a personal visit to Pepin, at that time at the palace of Pontyon, in France, where he was treated with every mark of respect and gained the object of his laborious and hazardous journey, namely, the promise of the King of the Franks to defend him against the new Lombard leader, Astolph, who had crossed the confines of the exarchate, seized Ravenna, and besieged Rome. Having far less respect for the religious feelings of his enemies than Luitprand, Astolph dug up the dead bodies of the Roman saints that he might carry them off, not, it is true, as a mark of scorn, but for tutelary deities in his own Lombardy. Pepin defeated Astolph, and the latter promptly surrendered the whole of the contested territory to his conqueror. The Byzantine empire, to which it had belonged ever since the reign of Justinian, and which had ruled it by exarchs, sent ambassadors to demand its restitution—a requisition which Pepin refused on the ground that his sole object in the war was veneration for St. Peter.

Pepin, claiming the prerogative of the conqueror, gave the pope the entire territory of the exarchate, the Pentapolis (that is, the coast region extending from Rimini to Ancona), and the city of Comiaclum.† Pepin made the pope the patrician of the

* Castus, pudicus, orator pervigil, eleemosynis largus, literarum quidem ignarus, sed philosophis æquandus.—*Paul Diac.*

† The exact geography of the transfer is an undecided point in mediæval history, since the donative documents have been lost. From letters of Pope Stephen II

exarchate, and himself the patrician of Rome.* The pope willingly accepted the boon without seeming to spend a thought upon the fact that it was an integral part of the Byzantine empire.† The district thus formally transferred to the papacy was the first temporal possession of the popes of Rome, the founding of the States of the Church. The gift was made and accepted in defiance of all right; was later confirmed and extended in the same spirit; became the seed of innumerable ills to Christendom; and, after an existence of over eleven centuries, has at last come to an end in the present generation by the formal entrance of Victor Emmanuel into Rome and the adoption of the city as the capital of the kingdom amid the rejoicings of the long-enslaved people.

The donation to the papacy became seriously endangered subsequently to the death of Pepin by alliances between the Lombards and the Carlolingian dynasties. Bertha, whose sons, Carloman and Charles, were the joint rulers of the Frankish

and Paul I, we learn that the territory comprised the cities of Faventia, Imola, and Ferraria, with their marches and the lands and forests, Auximum, Ancona, and Numana, with their environs, and Bononia so far as its limits extended. According to Baronius the region was much more extensive, comprising the cities of Ravenna, Ariminum, Pisaurum, Fanum, Cesena, Senogallia, Æsium, Forum Pompilii, Forum Livii cum Castro Sussubio, Mons Feretri, Acerragium, Mons Lucari, Serra Castellum sancti Mariani (Marini), Bobium, Urbinum, Callium, Luceoli, Eugubium, Comiaclum, and Narnia. Others make the donation still larger. The entire territory was about one hundred and fifty miles long and from sixty to eighty broad, extending back to the Apennines. Compare Wiltsch, *Geography and Statistics of the Church*, vol. i, p. 264.

* The patriciate, a dignity instituted by Constantine, was bestowed for life. The Patricius Romæ was properly governor of Rome, but could hold subordinate offices, and had the authority of a patricius. German kings received the title from emperors.—Gieseler, *Church History*, vol. ii, p. 35, note 11. The Franciscan Pagi makes the patrician a lieutenant of the Church rather than of the empire. On the title and authority of this office compare Ducange (*Gloss. Lat.*, tom. v, pp. 149–151); Pagi (*Critica*, A. D. 740, No. 6–11); Muratori (*Annali d'Italia*, tom. vi, pp. 308–329); and St. Marc (*Abrigé Chronologique de l'Italie*, tome i, pp. 379–382).

† It is not quite clear how Stephen himself eluded the claims of the Greek emperor—probably through the emperor's heresy. In Stephen's letter of thanks for his deliverance to the King of the Franks he desires to know what answer had been given to the silentiary commissioned to assert the rights of his master. He reminds Pepin that he must protect the Catholic Church against pestilent wickedness (*malitia*, no doubt the iconoclastic opinions of the emperor), and keep her property secure (*omnia proprietatis suæ*).—Milman, *History of Latin Christianity*, vol. ii, p. 427.

empire, sought to strengthen their power by a combination with the Lombard kings, while, on the other hand, Desiderius, the new Lombard sovereign, successor to Astolph, was desirous of propping up, by similar alliances, his sovereignty, which for twenty years had been languishing between life and death.* His son Adelchis was betrothed to Giesela, the sister of the Frankish brothers, while Charles divorced his own wife, whose name is not preserved by history, to marry Hermingard, the daughter of the Lombard king. The papal possessions were now in great danger, according to all appearance, and Stephen III was not slow in remonstrating against such an iniquitous alliance in such language as Milman says is "hardly to be equaled in pontifical diplomacy." The pope protested as follows:

> The devil alone could have suggested such a connection. That the noble, the generous race of the Franks, the most ancient in the world, should ally itself with the fetid brood of the Lombards, a brood hardly reckoned human, and who have introduced the leprosy into the land! What could be worse than this abominable and detestable contagion?

It was not on moral grounds, but on grounds of mere papal interest, that the remonstrance was made, as may be seen in every word. Charles, however, whose empire was still divided with his brother, had policy in view, for, in case of conflict with Carloman, he could reasonably expect the aid of the Lombards. So soon as his interests permitted he divorced Hermingard, sent her back to her father's court, and took to wife Hildegard, a Swabian princess. Carloman, who died in 771, left two sons, but their rights were ignored, and Charles became sole ruler over the Frankish empire. The old relations with the papacy, never interrupted, were once more friendly even to the public eye.

Desiderius, stung by the wrong done his daughter, excited by the threatening attitude of Charles, and espousing the cause of the two disinherited sons of Carloman, appealed for redress to Adrian I, the successor in the papacy to Stephen III, and invited a visit from him with the understanding that he should anoint Carloman's sons as Frankish kings. This being declined and the pope refusing to dissolve his alliance with Charles, the

* Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Murray's (London) edition, 1872, with notes by Milman, Guizot, and Smith, vol. vi, p. 157; Milman, *History of Latin Christianity*, vol. ii, pp. 438, *ff.*

Lombard king invaded his dominions and possessed himself of the territory acquired by Pepin. He sacked some cities of the Romagna, stripped the country of its wealth, perpetrated a massacre in the Tuscan town of Blera, and marched toward Rome. Adrian I appealed to Charles for help. The response was prompt and direct. The first measure was pacific, in the double form of a request that Desiderius surrender to the pope the territory which he had captured, but receive a large sum of money as an equivalent. Desiderius evaded any action, thinking that Charles was too much engaged with the Saxons in the north and with the consolidation of his own territory to follow up his verbal propositions by forcible measures. Here he mistook the temper of the Frankish ruler. Charles, with that promptness which characterized all his movements, held a council of war in Geneva, March, 773, and then, dividing his army into two bodies, led the one himself over the Mont Cenis pass of the Alps and gave the other in charge of his uncle Bernhard, who led it over the Mont St. Bernard pass. The Alps on the north and the strong walls of the Lombard capital, Pavia, were the defenses of Desiderius; but Charles, though suffering a temporary defeat by the troops of Adelchis, the son of Desiderius, reached Pavia and began the siege of the city. The poet Longfellow, in his "Tales of a Wayside Inn," draws a beautiful picture of the terror which the hosts of Charles the Great inspired as the Lombard king saw them approach from the southern declivity of the Alps. Desiderius, standing upon a Pavian tower with Olger, the Dane, who had passed his youth as a hostage at the Frankish court, is represented as asking which is Charles as often as each new body of troops comes into view.

> And Olger said:
> "When you behold the harvests in the fields
> Shaking with fear, the Po and the Ticino
> Lashing the city walls with iron waves,
> Then may you know that Charlemagne is come."
> And even as he spake, in the northwest,
> Lo! there uprose a black and threatening cloud,
> Out of whose bosom flashed the light of arms
> Upon the people pent up in the city;
> A light more terrible than any darkness;
> And Charlemagne appeared—a man of iron!
> His helmet was of iron, and his gloves
> Of iron, and his breastplate and his greaves

And tassets were of iron, and his shield.
In his left hand he held an iron spear,
In his right hand his sword invincible.
The horse he rode on had the strength of iron,
And color of iron. All who went before him,
Beside him, and behind him—his whole host—
Were armed with iron, and their hearts within them
Were stronger than the armor that they wore.
The fields and all the roads were filled with iron,
And points of iron glistened in the sun
And shed a terror through the city streets.
This at a single glance Olger the Dane
Saw from the tower, and, turning to the king,
Exclaimed in haste: "Behold! this is the man
You looked for with such eagerness!" and then
Fell as one dead at Desiderio's feet.

Charles immediately became master of all northern Italy except the cities of Pavia and Verona, which bravely resisted, but whose submission could only be a question of time. Leaving sufficient troops to continue the siege of Pavia, he proceeded in the holy week of 774 to Rome to confer and receive such honors as would cement anew the union between his dynasty and the papacy, or, if the Frankish annalist, Eginhard, be reliable, "to pray at St. Peter's tomb." His approach to the city was signalized by the rejoicings of the pope, the clergy, and all the inhabitants. Thirty thousand citizens, with the senate, the nobility, and the school children, received him with flying colors, crosses, branches of palm and olive, and rapturous shouts. The conqueror dismounted on seeing the cross; walked with his warriors, nobles, and courtiers through the city to the steps of the Vatican; on his knees climbed the steps of St. Peter's, kissing them as he ascended, and at the top was received by the pope with affectionate embraces. They then proceeded together into the crypt where St. Peter's body is claimed by pious Romanists to lie, and there swore to each other indissoluble fraternity. On Wednesday, April 6, 774, he renewed, by virtue of his right as conqueror, his father's territorial donation to the papacy, and, to give the act peculiar solemnity, laid the document on the altar of St. Peter. This record, so important to papal interests, has long since disappeared, but its conditions are conceded to have been the termination of all claims of the Greek empire on the exarchate, and the con-

firmation and enlargement of the donation of Pepin.* Whether the gift was without limitation, or only a formal and feudal tenure, under certain circumstances reversible to the Frankish empire, has never been fully decided.† However this may be, the territory before long was universally conceded to be the unconditional property of the papacy, and was accordingly so governed, the popes assuming the dignity and demanding the recognitions of temporal sovereigns, the city of Rome alone sustaining a measure of independent government. The revenues, both ecclesiastical and civil, flowed into the papal treasury.

Charles returned to Pavia and brought the siege to a triumphant close. Desiderius presented himself as a submissive penitent at the conqueror's camp, and Charles, after the usual rejoicings and distribution of rewards to his soldiers, took with him the Lombard king and his wife, who ended their days in the cloister of Corby, while their son Adelchis escaped to Constantinople, where he hoped to regain the lost throne. Thus ended, as an independent power, the Lombard kingdom, which had been founded by Alboin on the banks of the Po; and Charles took to himself, in the years 774 and 775, the title of "King of the Lombards and Patrician of Rome." ‡

There were two more attempts to revive the Lombard kingdom by the arrest of the united power of the papacy and the Frankish ruler. A Lombard league, with Arigiso, the son-in-law of Desiderius, at its head, gained strength by the patronage of the Greek ruler and the schemes of Adelchis, and threatened to restore the old condition of things. But Charles the Great responded to the importunity of Adrian I, and, crossing the

* Protestant writers, and some Roman Catholics, claim, and with excellent grounds, that the donation was an enlargement of Pepin's. Wiltsch, the best authority on ecclesiastical geography, says: "Whether Charlemagne merely confirmed the Romish see in its former possessions, as some writers assume, or whether he added new ones to them, is a matter which, in my opinion, ought not to raise the slightest doubt, as the words of Adrian I, in his first and thirteenth letters to Charlemagne, speak most distinctly of cities of Tuscia, of Spoletum, Beneventum, Corsica, and Sabina."—*Geography and Statistics of the Church*, vol. i, p. 265.

† For a careful examination of this question, with the views of conflicting writers, comp. Baxmann, *Politik der Päpste*, vol. i, pp. 276, 277.

‡ Döllinger says: "Charlemagne never called himself King of Italy, but only King of the Lombards, but he was really King of Italy."—*Münch. Hist. Jahrbuch*, 1865, p. 329.

Alps again, subdued the foe, took as hostages the two sons of Arigiso, and required an annual tribute of seven thousand pieces of gold. The second struggle was the vain effort of Adelchis, who, while commanding a Greek force, which had been fitted out by the direct order of Constantine, the Greek emperor, was deserted by his men and compelled to flee for safety.

Charles had already made three visits to Rome. Of the first, in 774, with its bearing on the future territorial possessions of the papacy, we have already spoken. The second and third, in the years 781 and 787, were hardly of less moment, each being characterized by great benefactions "for the good of his soul," and by equally great concessions from the pope. But the visit of the year 800 was by far the most significant.

Pope Adrian I, after a long reign of twenty-four years, had died in 795, and was succeeded by Leo III, whose election was a great surprise to the people and aroused a very strong opposition. He continued toward Charles the Great the friendly policy of his predecessor, and was prompt in sending to him as the recognized Patrician of Rome the standard of the city and the keys of both the city and the tomb of St. Peter. The hostility to Leo III culminated in the fourth year of his reign, on the ground of alleged irregularities and crimes, in the form of an attack by a band of armed men, who attempted to mutilate him, and only left him when life was nearly extinct. The pope was rescued, however, and finally recovered. His reign was nevertheless in danger; and while he had the sympathy of many there were others who believed him a great offender. The presence and aid of Charles the Great were loudly called for in Rome; but the Frankish ruler, who, at that time was holding his court in the German city of Paderborn, invited the pope, then a fugitive in Spoleto, to make him a visit. The reception was worthy of both host and guest. There were great rejoicings and much feasting. Each manifested to the other the recognitions becoming his official dignities. During the festivities charges against Leo III, in the name of the Roman people—*quæ a populo Romano ei objiciebantur*, as Eginhard relates—were preferred to Charles, who postponed all final adjudication until he might himself visit Rome. Leo III, attended by an escort of two archbishops, five bishops, and five counts, returned to Rome, not only without opposition, but amid general rejoic-

ings, for it was clear to all that he had the sympathy of Charles, and would most likely profit by his future decision. It seems that Charles had some object in view in starting for Italy far more important than a mere quarrel of the pope with his rivals and enemies. He seems to have surrounded every movement with an air of unusual solemnity, and to have proceeded with a slowness quite new to him. He went first to Rouen and then to the city of Tours, already renowned in Carolingian history, where he worshiped at the shrine of St. Martin and received at the hands of Alcuin, his faithful friend, a copy of the Bible, with corrections by the learned abbot himself. He thence again crossed France to the Rhine and held a diet at Mayence. It was only in the following year, 800, and toward the end of it, that he went southward toward Rome. He was met by Leo III at Nomento, where they took breakfast together and the most cordial salutations were exchanged. Then the pope returned to the city, that he might give official sanction to the popular demonstration. On the next day, November 24, Leo III, surrounded by a great array of clergy, received him with all the honors due a king and conqueror amid the singing of psalms and general rejoicings. For seven days the Frankish ruler, acting the part of judge, and surrounded by the clergy from far and near, the Roman civil dignitaries, and his own Frankish counselors and chiefs, held a solemn synod in St. Peter's Church. The two plaintiffs, Paschalis and Campulus, were requested to prove their charges against Leo III. They were silent, only excusing themselves on the ground of reverence for the office rather than the person of the pope.* Charles rendered his decision, which could only be favorable to Leo III, whereupon the latter made a public declaration of his innocence in the following language:

I, Leo, pontiff of the Holy Roman Church, being subject to no judgment, under no compulsion, of my own free will, in your presence, before God, who reads the conscience, and his angels, and the blessed apostle Peter, in whose presence we stand, declare myself not guilty of the charges made against me. I have never perpetrated, nor commanded to be perpetrated, the wicked deeds of which I had been accused. This I call God to witness, whose

* According to the *Book of the Popes*, they said: "We do not venture to condemn the apostolic see, the head of all the Churches of God, for by it and its representatives we shall all be judged; but it shall be judged by no man."

judgment we must all undergo; and this I do, bound by no law, nor wishing to impose this custom on my successors or on my brother bishops, but that I may altogether relieve you from any unjust suspicions against myself.

There was now performed an act toward which both the victories of Charles the Great and the relations of the papacy to the Carolingian dynasty had been steadily tending for years, and which was destined to affect alike the ecclesiastical and secular history of the civilized world down to modern times. It was on Christmas Day, 800, or, according to the reckoning then in use in the West, the first day of the year 801. Charles, the members of his great court, the nobility of Rome, a multitude of private citizens, and the clergy from Italy and distant parts of the known world were present in St. Peter's, and the now exculpated Leo III performed in person the high mass in commemoration of the nativity of the Redeemer. The scene was one of great splendor, and such as Rome, wont to be splendid alike in her miseries and her joys, had not witnessed since the days of the Cæsars. The pope's voice fell; its cadences died away in the distant recesses of St. Peter's, and the vast multitude were mute and motionless. Amid the pause Leo III advanced toward his royal visitor, bearing a magnificent crown, which he placed upon Charles's head, saying: "Life and victory to Charles Augustus, crowned by God the great and pacific emperor!" * The multitude shouted their acclamations, and the pope, who was the first to bow the knee as subject to the emperor, concluded his act by anointing Charles, and then his son Pepin, with the holy oil of imperial consecration.

What, now, was the meaning of this papal conferral of imperial dignities? Far more than the outward circumstances, brilliant as they were, would seem to indicate. Charles affected to be surprised, and Eginhard, his secretary, wrote that the displeasure of the Frankish monarch at the act was very great, and that such a desecration of the place and the occasion would not have been tolerated if he had known of the pope's design; nevertheless, that he bore the contumacy "with great patience." †

* Anast. 199: "Carolo piissimo Augusto a Deo coronato, magno, pacifico imperatori, vita et victoria."

† Insidiam tamen suscepti nominis Romanis Imperatoribus super hoc indignantibus, magna tulit patientia, vicitque eorum contumaciam magnanimitate.—Vit. Kar., xxvii.

The affair was, in all probability, a fine piece of stage effect. Never was a public surprise more carefully prearranged. Without doubt it had been adroitly concerted over the winecups at Paderborn; for every step that the king and pope had taken since the papal visit to Germany had been tending that way, and is only explicable by the consummation in St. Peter's. It was the climax of tedious, careful, unwearied good management on both sides.

The coronation of Charles the Great by Leo III was, on the one hand, an affair of unblushing arrogance in the pope, for it claimed the necessity as well as right of papal consecration to imperial honors; but then, on the other, it was the selection and endowment, with all the traditional sanctities of the Church, of one man, with his family after him, as the fit and legitimate successors to the throne of the Cæsars. It is difficult to say which, King or Pope, was the greater gainer by the act. Both profited beyond computation; and yet the historian is seldom so fortunate in tracing evils to a positive and direct source as in ascribing the oppressions of the papal see, the arrogation of rights never contemplated in the early Church to spiritual guides, gross immorality in both clergy and laity, and all this for many centuries, to the coronation of Charles the Great, and the anointing which immediately followed, at the hands of Leo III. The new emperor, in recognition of his changed relation, laid aside his barbarian costume and clad himself in the tunic, chlamys, and sandals of the Roman.* The whole Western Empire was now under one mighty ruler, while the papacy, with Rome as the ecclesiastical metropolis of Latin Christendom, was supplied with complete and perpetual guaranties to territorial ownership. The bonds of emperor and pope were now intimate as never before; and as Leo III gave the new-crowned Charles his final embrace and lost sight of his splendid escort behind the outlying hills of the Campagna, each, for himself and his successors, entered upon a different career, and a new chapter in mediæval history and European civilization was introduced.

* Milman, *History of Latin Christianity*, vol. ii, pp. 459, *ff.*

John F. Hurst

ART. II.—THE TRUE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO PETER.

THERE is no denying the existence of a "higher criticism" in the study of the Bible. Some order of composition, some facts relating to authorship, date, and revision must be true. To ascertain the real order and the genuine facts is a legitimate aim of broad and sound scholarship. At some point of intellectual development in the Church these endeavors are natural, and while they may excite apprehensions as to the popular effect of such study they cannot be successfully opposed. Real harm may be done to the minds of persons unprepared for any change of views from the chaotic but traditional opinions that have long prevailed. In the progress of these investigations it would be singular if many false theories are not proposed before the correct one finally appears. But when the correct view comes to light we may reasonably expect that it will so meet all the demands of the situation as to strengthen faith in the authority of the Bible and tend greatly to the advantage of Christianity and true religion.

The center of interest in the higher criticism of the sacred Scriptures is naturally found in the four gospels, as containing the history of Him who is the fulfillment of the Old Testament and the agent of the new covenant between God and man. Right here, therefore, is where the battle of the critics has waged most fiercely, and where a multitude of diverse and conflicting theories have been propounded, without as yet achieving any clear and well-defined result. However, with the exception of Baur and his school, who seem to be seeking anything else than to establish the truth, most critical students and commentators acknowledge at least an apostolic basis of testimony, whether written or oral, as the foundation of the gospels, only leaving open the question as to when and how these four books came to be in their present form. One class of these, led by Eichhorn and Marsh, assume that there must have been certain original documents, now lost, from which our present gospels were composed. But, as this hypothesis only relieves one set of difficulties by introducing another set not less formidable, it may be passed by as unsatisfactory. A second class of critics have professed to find that some one of the first three

is the basis of the other two synoptical gospels; but, unfortunately, they are not agreed as to which gospel fully meets the required conditions. Yet, however, the more recent trend of opinion appears to be decidedly in favor of Mark as the true original. This view, first proposed by Herder, has been supported by such scholars as Weisse, Ewald, Lachmann, Reuss, Ritschl, Meyer, and lately by Professor Wendt, of Heidelberg. Some of the grounds for this opinion are quite obvious. For instance, it is found that all but about twenty-four verses of Mark are paralleled in the history as given by Matthew and Luke. True, this can be accounted for by supposing that Mark simply compiled his gospel by collecting facts from the other two. But the abundant and graphic details, the evident touches of nature, the irregular yet strong arrangement of the history, all seem to give this gospel the stamp of independence, if not of special originality, as compared with its cowitnesses. We shall examine this point more minutely a little farther on, for here we must again pause to meet another serious obstacle.

The voice of antiquity, it is said, unanimously assigns the first place to Matthew, and this puts a tangle in all our attempts at solving the problem. Besides, the shorter gospel is unanimously attributed to Mark, and he is said to have written it by direction of the apostle Peter while at Rome, perhaps about the year A. D. 62, at the very earliest. And, as many contend, this gospel contains evidence in its language, style, and scope that it was intended for Gentile Christians. Now, if anything can be taken as a settled principle of higher criticism, it is that historical testimonies as to authorship and canonicity are of less weight than the evidence of internal consistency and the general color and drift of the book. And we are confident that by further searching the internal evidence our perplexities will yet be solved and the true sequence of the gospels clearly shown. We have recently, in our casual reading, struck upon a clew which appears to be in such harmony with the known facts, and also to introduce such an order of logical connection between the gospels, that we wonder it has not been noticed before; yet we are unable to find it expressed in any of the critical works at our hand.* Our new idea is, essentially,

* The nearest approach that we can find to this hypothesis is that of Köstlin; but we are unable to ascertain exactly what his view was.

that the gospel according to Mark contains palpable traces of having been originally composed for Galileans. Let us first look at Galilee, then at the gospel.

Galilee and its people were peculiarly situated with respect to the common hope of Israel and the career of Jesus of Nazareth. The country or province was a part of the ancient territory belonging to the twelve tribes. Its people were mostly of the same blood, spoke the same language, and cherished the same religious ideas as those of southern Palestine; but they were separated by the intervening district of the Samaritans from Judea and Jerusalem, the traditional seat of theocratic institutions and national worship. Unlike the scattered communities of the dispersion among the Gentiles in Egypt, Asia Minor, Rome, and elsewhere, they were not affected by the distant contemplation of the land of their fathers, nor compelled by religious isolation to contrast sharply their own creed and customs with those of the wealthy and cultured heathen, so as to feel a sense of peculiar attachment to Jerusalem. On the contrary, the partial separation of Galilee from Judea was a circumstance to cause some conflict of interests between the two sections, more or less, similar to that which anciently existed between Judah and Israel. As related to the temple, the great feasts, the priesthood, and the rabbinical schools, the situation of the Galileans was, in short, provincial. They were not in immediate possession of the sacred institutions nor under the direct influence of the spirit of Judaism as developed at Jerusalem. They could not go up regularly to the great feasts, and in doing so they were recognized by their dialect as "country cousins" from Galilee. See Matt. xxvi, 73,. and Luke xxii, 59. Yet Galilee was too large, too populous and wealthy and proud, to meekly admit all the superior pretensions of her southern sister. In the time of Christ she enjoyed the dignity of a separate government, which was amply justified by her resources. Besides, being less amenable to the stricter Jewish sentiment and customs, the Galileans were probably influenced by the presence of a considerable foreign element in their midst. Some Romans there doubtless were, at least a military force (Matt. viii, 5, and Luke vii, 2). We are informed by Josephus that Greeks dwelt in the cities of Galilee,* and Strabo says that in

* *Life*, 12.

his time, shortly before Christ, it was largely inhabited by Phœnicians, Syrians, and Arabs. The result of this would be a more kindly regard for all men, regardless of nationality, and a religious sentiment less hampered by ceremonies or traditional prejudices.

It was here in Galilee, in this favorable religious soil, that Jesus of Nazareth was reared to manhood, and among this people he spent nearly nine tenths of his active ministry. Here were his relations, his friends, and his acquaintances, and here he selected his apostles and made most of his converts. But in view of the fact that Jesus closed his ministry at Jerusalem, and that after his departure the infant Church was formed, by his command, at that city instead of some city in Galilee, nothing is more natural than that the people of Galilee, disciples and all others, should desire some authoritative statement of the particulars concerning his sufferings and death at Jerusalem and of his resurrection. To such an account would naturally be prefixed some general narration of his career and preaching in Galilee for those who had only been fortunate enough to have seen the Saviour once or twice or to have heard a few fragments of his doctrines. In no other place on the earth was there such a demand for further information concerning Jesus for the first few years after his departure from this world.

That this desire was neither small nor prompted wholly by vain curiosity is shown from the early establishment and growth of the Church among the Galileans, and this was without any special help from the presence and labors of the twelve apostles. We read in the Acts that they, together with many other believers, continued at Jerusalem, preaching the word and baptizing thousands of converts, until "the persecution that arose about Stephen." The length of this time is not clearly given, but enough is reported to show that it must have been several weeks or months, or more likely much longer. Then the disciples "were scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria, except the apostles" (viii, 1), who still remained at Jerusalem for a season. But about three years later, after Paul's conversion and return from Arabia, we read of churches in "Judea and Galilee and Samaria" as existing in a most prosperous state (ix, 31).

Then, if not before, Galilee was ready for an authorized

history of Jesus's ministry, including his sufferings, death, resurrection, and ascension in Judea. Such a document would be desired and necessary to the instruction and edification of believers, especially in the absence of the apostles. Is it reasonable to think that such a demand would be met? We think so. It seems inevitable. For the sake of truth the apostles would even be compelled to send out some authorized story of their Master's life, a primitive gospel. Not that they took corporate action upon the subject, but the work must be done by one of their number. And who so likely to prepare that account as their recognized spokesman, the first confessor of Jesus's divinity, his defender in the garden of Gethsemane, the foremost witness and speaker on the day of Pentecost? Moreover, we read that at this very time Peter was traveling "throughout all quarters," and he would not have failed to visit Galilee (ix, 32) and personally learn the need of a history of his Master.

And here we may mention again that, although tradition is a unit in making Peter the original authority for Mark's gospel, yet the earliest writers totally disagree as to how Mark received the facts from Peter. It is only known that Mark published the gospel at Rome about the time of the apostle's martyrdom. May not Peter have committed his gospel to writing long before in a fragmentary form, leaving it to Mark to be filled out with reverential hand for the Church after his departure? It is well known that the gospel of Mark contains some incongruities of style. The last twelve verses have long been regarded as coming from a later hand than the original author. Yet they are quoted as genuine by so early a witness as Irenæus (A. D. 170), and as a condensed statement of facts they are very similar to the first thirteen verses of the gospel.

Let us turn to some other peculiarities. Passing by the first thirteen verses as only a compendium of facts, whoever may be the real author, and omitting the last twelve verses, we find that Mark is very much the shortest of the gospels. And this brevity is the more significant when we note how the narrative is expanded with details and impressions that are omitted by the other evangelists. It is a characteristic especially valuable in a witness of facts, and has often been remarked upon as a striking proof that the author of Mark's gospel must have been a companion of Jesus.

The style, too, reminds us at once of Peter recounting his Master's history to his own countrymen of Galilee. It agrees with all that we know of the man; abrupt, honest, impetuous. As we should expect from a fisherman, the principal facts and deepest impressions are given without much regard to order of time or logical completeness. This shows Peter as he was, a man of a strong mind and deep sensibilities, but not of education and literary training. Rather a man of action than of discourse, Peter speaks here as in his sermons recorded in the Acts and in his epistles, convincing more through sympathetic force than by a formal argument or rhetorical effort.

The language of this gospel, as distinguished from subject-matter or literary style, is a further support of Peter's authorship. It is generally said by the critics to be very bad Greek, such as would be used only among the more illiterate part of the people. Peter may have picked up some Greek while yet engaged in his calling at Capernaum, as Greeks were more or less numerous there. He would naturally become more conversant with that tongue in his subsequent experiences, though it goes without saying that he was never a Greek scholar. Mark is called by early writers Peter's interpreter. Some make the word to mean only a secretary. In any case it is not likely that a man employed in that capacity, who had been reared at Jerusalem and had traveled extensively in his youth among the centers of Greek culture and learning, would make such bad work of either translation or composition. Far more probable does it appear that Mark was too wise and reverent to change the writing of his spiritual father more than was strictly necessary to render it complete and intelligible to the Greek-speaking world. The Latinisms occurring in this gospel may have arisen from the commingling of Romans with the Galileans. The Aramaic expressions found here and there—"Talitha cumi" (v, 41), "Ephphatha" (vii, 34), "Abba" (xiv, 36)—show a Galilean atmosphere of thought.

The evidence to be gathered from the personal allusions in Mark's gospel are hardly conclusive; but it seems to us singular that the omission of Peter's name in some places, or of events in which he had a prominent part, should be taken by some for proof that he was not the author of the gospel. The same reasoning would establish beyond a doubt that John

had nothing to do with writing the fourth gospel. The omissions referred to would not have been made if Mark had been the sole author of the gospel now bearing his name. We see an evidence of modesty in the story of Peter's confession (viii, 29), and in the answer to his question concerning the recompense of the apostles (x, 28), as compared with the corresponding passages in Matthew. The mention of Boanerges as a surname given by Christ to the sons of Zebedee, and the failure to record their mother's ambition for them, are strongly suggestive of Peter as a near and considerate friend. Peter was impulsive and ardent, but not selfish nor egotistic. In these respects he surpassed both John and Paul. Rather his reluctance to give offense was the occasion of complaisance sometimes amounting to weakness (Gal. ii, 11–14). Perhaps this same characteristic may also account for some peculiarities in the gospel given out under his authority. At any rate, the Galilean standpoint of Mark's gospel is seen in the following particulars:

1. It makes no mention whatever of Christ's birth in Bethlehem, nor of any circumstances elsewhere related in connection with that event.

2. Except in the opening verses prefixed by Mark it contains no citations of Old Testament prophecies that were fulfilled in the life of Jesus.

3. The history largely relates to Christ's ministry in Galilee until just before his crucifixion at Jerusalem. (This is followed by Matthew and Luke.)

4. It gives several Aramaic expressions used by the Saviour and not found elsewhere. "Talitha cumi" (v, 41), "Ephphatha" (vii, 34), "Abba" (xiv, 36).

5. The names of persons and places in Galilee are treated more as present and familiar than in the other synoptic gospels. There is no commenting or explanation about the facts in Galilee, though names and circumstances are given more fully than elsewhere. Here only do we find mention of the Lord's evangelistic tours in Decapolis and the nationality of the Syrophenician woman. Herod is always called by his popular title of "king," not "tetrarch." Peter's own humble calling and place of residence, with the names of his associates, are fully given.

6. There is no such familiarity with the Jewish country and people. We are told as information that "the disciples of John and of the Pharisees used to fast" (ii, 18). The customs of the Pharisees as to washing of hands, of cups, and vessels are expressly described (vii, 3, 4). Mention is also made of the coming of the scribes and Pharisees from Jerusalem (vii, 1). The writer of Mark omits the name of the woman who anointed the Saviour's feet at Bethlehem, as she was not personally known in Galilee.

7. A slight recognition of sectional animus is perceptible here and there. The Saviour's rebuke of the Pharisees for traditionalism and hypocrisy is related (vii, 6–13); also his stern prophecy of their ultimate ruin because of rejecting him as Messiah (xii, 9–12). Our Lord's pathetic lament over the city of Jerusalem is not recorded by Mark, though given by both Matthew and Luke. The author tells how Peter was identified as one of the followers of Jesus of Nazareth by his Galilean dialect (xiv, 66–70). He also gives a very particular account of Barabbas, of the shameful conduct of the chief priests and others at the crucifixion, of Simon the Cyrenian, of the Galilean women who were present, and of Joseph of Arimathea. Many of these details would hardly be so important at Rome as in Galilee. But Pilate was not leniently judged, and the whole barbarous cruelty of the soldiers is related without one word about Herod, the Galilean king.

8. On the other hand, the author of Mark relates the story of John the Baptist's martyrdom at length as a matter of Galilean history. He mentions the Saviour's tender compassion for the common people that thronged about him "because they were as sheep not having a shepherd," and because of their infirmities and privations and the sacrifices they made to hear the Gospel (i, 34–41; vi, 34–50; viii, 2, 3). The story of the tribute money taken from the fish's mouth is omitted, probably because it might have given unnecessary offense to the local authorities still living at Capernaum. A remarkably significant omission is that of the Saviour's anathemas against Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum, as recorded by both Matthew (xi, 20–24) and Luke (x, 13–15).

9. This gospel, more than any other, makes prominent the humanity of Jesus Christ as he appeared to men around him.

He was a carpenter, had relations and neighbors, felt as a man, was weary, grieved, compassionate, angry (iii, 5). This is a strong proof of early date and Peter's authorship. If we admit that the human element may coexist in any degree with the divine inspiration of the sacred Scriptures, then this explanation of its origin takes nothing from the inspired authority of the gospel according to Mark. If possible, it rather strengthens that authority. The name of the gospel is of secondary importance; yet as Mark outlived Peter and published this gospel at Rome, being the responsible editor, it is not hard to see how the present title may have arisen.* The sacred canon was not always the same in the earliest writers; but it is possible to understand how this gospel came to be placed after Matthew.†

When we recall the dim tradition of a "gospel by Peter," and another "of the Nazarenes," whose nature is not really known, and that Christ's followers were long called "Galileans," or "Nazarenes," we seem to recover lost history (Acts xxiv, 5). The derivation of Matthew's gospel from the original one of Peter, before it was republished by Mark, seems to present no great difficulties. There was a demand at Jerusalem for a written history of Christ similar to that possessed by the Galileans. The latter was confessedly not a complete work, and from the standpoint of a Hebrew consciousness a new gospel was necessary. In undertaking this task Matthew, perhaps assisted by James, would naturally make use of the former gospel, condensing some portions, introducing much new matter, and filling out the plan to something like logical completeness. The idea was still to present, not a chronicle, but a picture of Christ and his mission. Therefore the division of his ministry into Galilean and Judean sections was left as before; but the point of view was changed in accordance with the audience.

* The real occasion for republishing this fragmentary gospel at Rome was, no doubt, the realized importance of Peter's testimony as a personal witness of Jesus's ministry, sufferings, death, and resurrection; also as one who was especially honored by the Saviour on more than one occasion, and who was, besides, the natural leader of the twelve apostles.

† The position of the books in the canon is of little weight in deciding their sequence of origin. Early authorities give different orders of the gospels. Besides, Matthew was probably at one time the leading gospel among Jewish Christians; and an earlier one, left in a fragmentary form by Peter and completed by Mark, may have been put in the second place by reason of its being less comprehensive.

The gospel according to Matthew is more elaborate and finished in every way than Mark. The style is better, the Greek is improved, and the logical arrangement is more apparent. It begins with the genealogy of Christ. Then come the history of his birth at Bethlehem and the various important episodes associated with that great event. The Sermon on the Mount, strangely omitted by Mark, is now reported in full, with some apparent references to the state of religion in Judea and Jerusalem (v, 20, 35; vii, 29). Many other sayings of Christ, with fresh incidents of his ministry and numerous parables before unmentioned, crowd the pages of Matthew's gospel, while few things given by Mark are here passed over altogether. But we see everywhere the indications of a new moral environment, of a Hebrew consciousness that is absent in Mark. The fulfillment of the prophecies in Christ is constantly noted. The new and more spiritual character of Christ's teaching is emphasized in contrast with the formality and coldness of Judaism; yet the author remarks Christ's recognition of the official dignity and authority of the scribes and Pharisees (xxiii, 2, 3). Again he dwells upon the mission of Christ to "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (x, 5, 6; xv, 24), and he records the Master's indictment of the Jewish hierarchy and his lament over the city of Jerusalem with unequaled fullness and pathos. In this gospel are no explanations concerning Jewish customs and the like. Everything in Judea is familiar. But not so with reference to Galilee. No mention is made of Joseph and Mary's residence at Nazareth before their sojourn at Bethlehem. The author states in a distant way that, after returning from Egypt, Joseph "turned aside into the parts of Galilee: and he came and dwelt in a city called Nazareth." The added prophecy seems almost an apology.

Again, he describes the beginning of the Saviour's ministry with a quotation from Isaiah, calling the north country "Galilee of the Gentiles" (iv, 15), and intimating that the people were in deep need of moral illumination. He also says of Jesus, "Leaving Nazareth, he came and dwelt in Capernaum, which is upon the sea coast" (iv, 13). Again, he says, as of something far off, "Jesus, walking by the Sea of Galilee," but Mark puts it vividly, "Now as he walked by the Sea of Galilee." He calls Herod the "tetrarch;" and his own former place

under the government of Galilee is perhaps the reason he so frequently recalls the Saviour's words concerning the class of "publicans." He omits the name of Jairus and of Decapolis, the blind man's cure at Bethsaida, the name of Bartimeus, and the story of the poor widow that put two mites into the treasury. All these doubtless impressed Matthew less than Peter. Yet Matthew was friendly to Peter, and could use his gospel in all good conscience as a source of information.

The gospel of Matthew must have been written early. The allusions to the calling of the Gentiles (viii, 11, 12; xx, 16; xxi, 43; xxii, 8–10; xxv, 32) imply a date not far from the time when Barnabas and Paul pleaded the cause of the Gentile converts before the council of the apostles (Acts xv). Such views could hardly have matured in their minds much before that time, and soon afterward the apostles were dispersed.

If our position in regard to the gospel of Mark and its relation to that of Matthew is fairly established, we can certainly feel greater confidence as to the relation of Luke. This is more like Matthew than like Mark, although it follows the general order of both in treating of the Saviour's ministry as Galilean and Judean, with special reference to incidents on the last journey up to Jerusalem. But here, for the first time, we come in contact with genuine Greek culture as revealed in correct grammar and a true literary style. Though there are traces of rabbinical learning, as well as of secular training (i, 5–80; ii, 1, 21–39; iii, 1, 2; ix, 53; xiii, 1–5; xxiii, 1–7, etc.), yet both the Galilean and Hebrew consciousness sink away out of sight in this gospel by Luke. The fulfillment of prophecy is noted only in a general way (xxiv, 25–27, 44–46). The Jews are condemned for blindness and hypocrisy, but the calling of the Gentiles is not emphasized. The author does not profess to have had personal acquaintance with Jesus, but he evidently made free use of the gospels already in existence, omitting, modifying, or adding from other sources of undoubted authority in consultation, as is supposed, with the apostle Paul. The whole fabric of the gospel is woven afresh, in accordance with a new and broader view of the Saviour's mission than was given before. In reporting the author makes more of the substance of Christ's teaching than of the literal precept, and he has an artistic sense of propriety and effect in composition. Among the new say-

ings, incidents, and parables here introduced we perceive an emotional element and an analysis of mental states not seen in any other gospel. We accept the usual view of the authorship, date, and purpose of this, the last of the synoptic books.

John's gospel, in relation to the others, is like the top of a tripod candlestick. The synoptic gospels represent the Galilean, Hebrew, and Græco-Roman standpoints of thought; but John, while recognizing the importance and correctness of their work, which he did not desire to change, had lived to outgrow his early and rudimentary views of Christ's mission in the world. He now desires, out of the fullness of a long, rare, and ripe experience, to complete the record and supply some elements heretofore omitted. Therefore he undertakes to fill some gaps left by the former gospels. He gives some important incidents of the Lord's early ministry that were previously known to but few. He describes the occasional visits of Jesus to Jerusalem, his discourses there in the temple, his relations to the family at Bethany, the raising of Lazarus, the circumstances of the last supper, and the remarkable words of our Lord upon that occasion, together with other details, which John alone, as a privileged person at the house of the high priest, and as the apostle most personally intimate with Jesus, would naturally be able to furnish. Over all, from the beginning of his gospel to its close, he throws the one quality that found such unusual development in his own mind as a Christian and theologian. It is simply that deep and clear apprehension of spiritual truth which the beloved apostle caught from his Master when all others were slow in its recognition. It needs no comment to show that the standpoint of this gospel is preeminently Christian, and that it was written for the "perfecting of the saints" in Christ.

This, in brief, is our view of the origin and sequence of the four gospels. It is not wholly new nor eminently critical; but it brings together a number of elements that have been floating disconnectedly and binds them into natural harmony.

Durbin Kemble.

Art. III.—"HAMLET," FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THEOLOGY.

To say, as most critics do, that the drama of "Hamlet" is the finished product of Shakespeare's pen is to assign it at once its place as the masterpiece of literature. For the incomparable genius whose works are the crowning glory of the English mind the diligent student comes to feel an admiration which rises almost to adulation, and which would be inexcusable were it not the case that those who are most capable of appreciating Shakespeare, because nearest him in gifts, are the ones who are most unreserved in their homage. Men like Milton and Dryden and Goethe and Carlyle look up to him as to some tallest peak of the Himalayas towering over the foothills that nestle at its base. As the fruit, therefore, of Shakespeare's ripened thought and observation, as a representation of human life into which he has poured his intensest powers, his "Hamlet" marks the highest point which the intellect of man, unaided by special inspiration, has reached.

But about this play hangs an obscurity strikingly in contrast with the naïve simplicity which elsewhere characterizes the poet's work. In its heart lies a secret which many have tried to fathom, but which yet defies discovery. The number of suggested explanations is the best evidence that none has commanded general assent; and, like a veiled Isis upon whose face none may look, the play of "Hamlet" still wears its mask of impenetrable mystery.

This very fact, however, leaves possible to us the supposition that such inscrutableness is a part of the poet's purpose. Perhaps he wished to portray a mystery; and his ability to place us, where he himself stood, confronted by an unsolved enigma, is the highest encomium upon his unrivaled art. May he not have meant to show us man himself rather than individual faculties—instead of striking single notes to sweep the gamut at a stroke? Have we not here a revelation of the poet's own struggles to find a unit of expression for that wayward and incomprehensible being we call man—a unit after which so many have striven, but ending at last, with Shakespeare as with others, in a confession of failure? Does the poet not

here teach us that man, placed in the midst of nature, must, after threading all its avenues and searching everywhere in its heights and depths to find some help for living and dying, be compelled to acknowledge nature's insufficiency to give this help, and return baffled and hopeless from his quest; and, by the discovery that his wings are not broad enough to touch the outer walls of the holy of holies in which he dwells, be forced to the conclusion, as was Socrates, that only a direct revelation from God can remove doubt and give clear light upon the pathway of duty and safety?

If this explanation is at all plausible, or even in the line of truth, the value of the drama to the theologian is incalculable. If a teacher, unexcelled by any of his race in the combination of profundity, breadth, insight, and sympathy; capable of appreciating and expressing every mood of our common humanity; one in whom the spirit of great nature seems to have incarnated itself, using his faculties as its oracles; and who had, therefore, all competency for his task with the sole exception of that special touch of God's Spirit which we call inspiration, is weak in matters relating to moral conduct and happiness, where Moses and Isaiah and Paul and John are strong, is empty where they are rich, is dubious and hesitating where they walk erect in clear light, and is compelled to clothe his thoughts with mystery and own his inability to "dissolve doubts"—what ampler proof than this can be given of our need of a Bible, or where shall we find deeper cause for gratitude that "holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost?" Whether this solution is tenable must be decided by examination of the history of the hero from whom the tragedy takes its name.

If heredity and environment are the controlling factors in human destiny and happiness, as many now say, it were hard to find one more favorably circumstanced than was Hamlet. Of princely birth and station, of "noble and most sovereign reason," of "unmatched form and feature," all natural gifts and graces uniting in him with the accomplishments of culture, the happiest auguries of the people combined with his own ideal dreams to predict a future as bright as purity, youth, and hope can create. Alas for us that such warm and fervid fancies, when they descend from their celestial birthplace into the cold atmosphere of earth, gender a mist that blinds, chills, and benumbs!

Out of the happy illusions in which the world lay bathed in a soft sunlight of peace the dreamer is awakened by a shock that rudely tests the foundation upon which hope and experience had been based. To such crises human life is exposed—an evidence of man's superiority to the mechanical apparatus of material existence. Such a crisis came to David Hume, to John Stuart Mill; such has come to many another soul; and its coming always makes an epoch. The form in which it came to Hamlet was this: His mother, the embodiment to him of all virtue and grace, had, within a brief period of his father's death and under circumstances which cruelly outraged his feelings of delicacy, married the brother of that father, now the sovereign of Denmark, but who was to Hamlet's own parent as a satyr to Hyperion. His happy isle lay devastated by a tornado, his bright dreams were eclipsed by the blackness of night, doubt and despair overwhelmed faith and hope, and life itself seemed insupportable.

In this state of skeptical uncertainty strange tidings were brought to him. The spirit of his father had left the invisible realm of death and had been seen by mortal eyes. At his demand it appeared to him, talked with him, disclosed the secrets of the past, gave him counsel as to duty in the future. On Hamlet the impression made was profound and lasting. At once the domain of the universe widened and knowledge was afforded of something beyond this world. The grave does not end all. The dead live. More than that, they possess memory, will, foresight, purpose. Human thought cannot be cramped within the limits of the seen and present. In fact, there came to him with intense power the conviction of the supernatural.

Thomas De Quincey, in one of the most eloquent paragraphs to be found in English literature, has said:

> What is life? Darkness and formless vacancy for a beginning, or something beyond all beginning; then next a dim lotus of human consciousness finding itself afloat upon the bosom of waters without a shore; then a few sunny smiles and many tears; a little love and infinite strife; whisperings from paradise and fierce mockeries from the anarchy of chaos; dust and ashes; and once more darkness circling round as if from the beginning, and in this way rounding or making an island of our fantastic existence—that is human life.

But if such had been Hamlet's conception the appearance of the ghost had shattered it forever. Human life an island? Nay, not so; a peninsula rather, a promontory jutting out into the boundless sea of being, but connected by a narrow isthmus swept by storms with some vast undiscovered continent over which vapors hang and on whose shore billows break, yet whose bourn lay open to his view.

There came to Hamlet, we have said, the conviction of the supernatural. We must define what we mean when we use this word. What is the supernatural? It is quite wide of the mark and astray from the path to divide the universe into two realms and call one nature and the other the supernatural. We shall simply waste our strength in the endeavor to discover the boundary line that separates them. The temptation will be irresistible, either with Drummond and his school to compress the supernatural within its narrowest possible limits short of extinction, or else with the faith-curists and others similarly deluded to enlarge its area until it almost obliterates nature. The distinction between them is not territorial. By the supernatural is meant not facts, but a power. The word in strictness of speech is not correctly applicable to things, events, processes, but to the force which controls and manifests itself through these. What is cognizable by the senses or comes under the domain of law is nature; and nothing appears in the supernatural which is not in nature save the supernatural itself. For this reason the proof of the supernatural is always difficult in this world of nature, since it is so easy for the positivist, who accepts only facts, to deny the force behind them. We are given means of judging as to this, since the poet in the play tells us that others besides Hamlet had seen the ghost. It had appeared to Bernardo, plain, blunt soldier of the matter-of-fact kind:

> A primrose by a river's brim
> A yellow primrose was to him,
> And it was nothing more.

He could tell how the ghost looked, how long it stayed, but the appearance of the specter aroused no deeper curiosity, and excited no further inquiry. It had appeared to Horatio, man of books, learned scholar, diligent student. In his mind it took its place with similar omens, wonders, prodigies—

strange, perhaps unaccountable things, but all within the realm of nature. To Polonius, worldly wise and practical politician, warped by the duplicities and hollowness of an artificial and conventional life; to Laertes, steeped in the lusts and low ambitions of sensual enjoyment, it did not condescend to reveal itself at all—that were casting pearls before swine. But to Hamlet the vision brought indubitable proof of the existence of the supernatural, not subjective certainty only, but objective as well; it existed, not in his fancy merely, but had a ground of being in the consciousness of others. More than this, the channels of communication between it and us are open. Did this assurance of the supernatural suffice for him? and could he rest with this? The sequel must answer.

This visitant from another sphere had not appeared simply to the eye. He had brought revelations to the mind, had told a harrowing tale of his iniquitous murder—tidings that could not elsewhere have been gathered. These must be tested. For into Hamlet's ear only had they been told; they came to him individually as a private revelation. What guarantee of their truth was there? Upon what grounds of reliability could the statements demand credence? There can never be for any human being an obligation to believe a lie; what is false cannot be made binding by any authority. Hamlet, therefore, devised the scheme of a pantomime, in which the details of the crime should be rehearsed in the sight of the guilty parties thereto, and by its observed effects on them was the revelation to be tested. The experiment was successful. As the terrible sin was unearthed before the eyes of the royal criminals there was needed only to see the convulsive tremors, the blanching lips, the self-convicting flight, to be assured that the ghost had spoken truly and to have unquestionable proof of the correctness of his revelations.

It is not, however, in the realm of intellect that the revelation of the supernatural finds its chief value. If "three fourths of human life is conduct," as Matthew Arnold says, then it must be to guide the moral act rather than to satisfy the inquisitive mind that its supervention is needed. Ethics is higher than dogma, as the end is higher than the means. Knowledge is not of itself and necessarily power. Portia said truly, "If to do were as easy as to know what were good to do, chapels

had been churches, and poor men's cottages princes' palaces." The primary motive for the appearance of the ghost was not to unlock the secrets of the grave, but to lay upon Hamlet a stern duty. He was commanded to avenge his father's death. But in the command itself lay this element of weakness, that no moral law can be authoritative which bases public and common duties on grounds that are individual solely. If Kant's doctrine be true that the first dictum of moral philosophy is, "So act as if thy maxim were a universal law," then the grounds upon which we act must be such as to justify themselves not to the personal part of our conscience only, but to the social as well. It was not possible for Hamlet, as has been said, nor is it for us, to subpœna a ghost at will. And in this lies the ineradicable fallacy which, despite Martineau's eloquent exposition, must vitiate the teaching, "Every man his own Bible." The "seat of authority in religion" cannot be the individual himself. Revelation must be more than instruction or inspiration to the private conscience.

The command, moreover, offended Hamlet's sense of justice. It enjoined the punishment of the guilty king, while it spared the perhaps no less guilty queen. Are, then, the beings above like frail men with human passions, partialities, prejudices? Hamlet felt sure that no command can be obligatory which enjoins unrighteousness. Omnipotence itself cannot make wrong right. Man is so really the image of his Creator that what is absolutely contradictory to the moral sense of one must be so to the other. No augury or miracle could ever compel a pagan to reverence Jove or Hermes, whose notions of social or sexual morality fell below his own. He might deprecate their wrath or propitiate their favor, but love and esteem them he could not. The Judge of all the earth must do right, and that cannot be his will which is not consonant with his character.

Hence, therefore, the assurance of the supernatural did not bring to Hamlet any quieting of doubts, or calm of spirit, or cessation of strife within, or indication of duty, or that coordination of conduct with conscience in which alone lies peace. What could do this? Nothing less than an open, written, public revelation from God—an inspired Bible. And for lack of this he faltered, wavered, doubted, failed, and fell. In this direction lies the lesson of the great drama. It is a commentary,

whether intended or not, unrivaled in its depth and power, upon the words of one infinitely greater than Shakespeare, "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead."

We may now compare with the above the interpretations put by others upon the drama. Goethe, the man who since Shakespeare's death has come nearest to him in gifts, saw in it the purpose to depict a great task laid upon a soul able to comprehend it, but unequal to its performance. This is all true, only that Goethe stops short of telling us, as he was fully competent to do, wherein Hamlet's incapacity lay. He leads us to the threshold of the mystery, but refuses to guide us to the shrine. That would have involved self-condemnation.

The trend of modern interpretation is toward that rendering which sees in Hamlet's vacillation an irreconcilable conflict between thought and action, and this is Coleridge's somewhat self-justifying theory. Thought, it is said, widens but weakens; action energizes and narrows. But thought and action are not necessarily exclusive of each other, even when both are exhibited in their highest forms. There have been men in whom were combined peerless power and range of thought with intensest energy and celerity of action. Moses, Paul, Alexander, Cæsar, Charlemagne, Napoleon were of this stamp, and such men spring to the front as the sovereigns of their race. Thought always precedes effective action and is its most fertile and prolific source. The war songs of Tyrtæus were worth more to the Spartans for inspiration than all the genius for action of their most consummate military leaders. There is the profoundest wisdom in Browning's "Rabbi Ben Ezra:"

> Not on the vulgar mass
> Called "work," must sentence pass,
> Things done, that took the eye and had the price;
> O'er which, from level stand,
> The low world laid its hand,
> Found straightway to its mind, could value in a trice:
>
> But all, the world's coarse thumb
> And finger failed to plumb,
> So passed in making up the main account:
> All instincts immature,
> All purposes unsure,
> That weighed not as his work, yet swelled the man's amount.

Decision and energy are high, but not the only, virtues; irresolution is not always vice. If so Hamlet would fall below Macbeth, or the jealous fool Othello, or Shylock, or that devil Iago, or even mad Lear, and Caliban would be rated higher than Ferdinand or Prospero himself. There is plenty of motion which is only circular, much exercise which adds nothing to real progress.

Hamlet himself was not lacking in capacity of action. Where duty was plain, where routine had marked out a path, as in the voyage to England and the encounter with the pirates, he was prompt, alert, decided, successful. It was in the high moral realm alone, in questions of large moment vitally affecting conduct and happiness, that he paused. On the low field he easily assumed the precedence which his abilities commanded; in the highest he halted. No lamp of God threw its light about his path, and he questioned, hesitated, failed. But "wisdom is justified of all her children." Better that the imperial eagle should pause on motionless wing in the free mid-heaven, if his keen eye sees no quarry worthy his prowess, than waste his energies in futile swoop. When the light which streams on the shaded avenues of life is entangled in the intercepting foliage, through which it falls only in mottled patches that hide the pitfalls, it is surely wiser to stand irresolute and ask if elsewhere there be no safer road.

But every man must have some philosophy of life, some code by which to measure the discharge of duty. If he does not have or will not take the Bible he must needs try that which seems to him the best. Hamlet's code—perhaps it was Shakespeare's own—was that which he commends in the matchless counsel to the players, an epitome which every public speaker should carefully study, namely, to seek the middle path, avoiding all extremes. It is not the best guide, but it is a good one. On this theory, if one is to shun the excess of the vile and base he must forego the other extreme of the high and noble. He may thereby miss paradise, but at least he escapes purgatory. He fails to hear the softest and sweetest harmonies of the soul, but its harshest discords do not jar upon his ears; and if he loses life's richest prizes, at least he is not cheated by its pinchbeck. This has certainly been the code of some of the world's greatest thinkers. It was that of the author of Ec-

clesiastes, with his "be not over much righteous" nor "wicked;" of Confucius, with his doctrine of "the mean;" of Aristotle, with his "nothing to excess;" of Bacon, who says that, "though a man side himself in the rising, it is good to balance himself when placed;" of Talleyrand, with his "above all, no enthusiasm;" of Lessing, who advises artists to "take passion or action not at its acme, either lowest or highest, but in the mean."

The inherent weakness of this code is that it cannot be continuously maintained. It can be available only in the quiet hours of life. And as pauses are few and passions strong, as crises come unexpectedly, and sorrows not as "single spies but in battalions," this philosophy fails in the momentous epochs. Nature always demands and exacts her rights. Passions may be smothered, but they smolder. Suppression here means volcano yonder. The ascetic who eliminates from his nature all pleasure of physical enjoyment simply makes room for intenser pride, fanaticism, and bitterness. Hamlet's code could not endure the strain of actual life. His gushing friendship for Horatio, his ardent love for Ophelia, passing that of "forty thousand brothers," his overwhelming emotions at the revelations of the ghost—these and a hundred other things swept him from his moorings into a seething sea without chart, pilot, or destination.

No code of morals can be complete or final which does not enjoin full and harmonious expansion of all the composite nature of man. Development, not dwarfing, is the law of well-being. It is not by reducing life to its lowest levels, but by directing it to the summits, that perfection comes. We may mourn that Rome did not heed the prudent counsels of Cicero, yet after all the world is richer for Cæsar and Antony; and though the moderation of Erasmus might have saved us some of the evils of four centuries of division, to the mass of mankind either Luther or Leo X will be the idol and hero. We hardly appreciate the service which the Bible has rendered to progress by evolving the strength of human character. The peace, assurance, and light upon duty that come from firm persuasion of its truth leave man's unreserved energies free for work. We know that the anchorage will hold, and are undisturbed whether the winds sweep inshore or seaward. If the soldier is sure that his goods and loved ones are safe within the stronghold he

can march without misgiving to the campaign, and on the day of battle deliver the full weight of his blow.

But Hamlet's code gave him no answer to doubts or guide to duty. He could neither decide what he ought to do nor be satisfied with his indecision. And so the inexorable laws of destiny drove him, equally with his less regal associates and with all his royal powers, over rapids to the awful plunge. The king had taken ambition for his law, and it had failed to quiet his remorse; Polonius had provided against all emergencies by diplomacy only to perish through a blunder; Laertes made honor his ideal, and dishonorably poisoned his rapier; Ophelia sought her ideal in love, and her shattered reason was jangled out of tune by disappointment; Horatio sought his in scholarship, and it could not cure him of his corroding and dissatisfying skepticism. And circumstances over which Hamlet had renounced or lost control carried him whither he would not, and with a cry of despair upon his lips the noble heart cracked and the sweet prince bade good-night to the world.

It has been said that Shakespeare never moralizes. This is not true. Who has ever spoken more impressively of the sanctities of life—of friendship, temperance, love, courage, justice, charity? His delineations of women are the most exquisite ever penned. Murillo's "Immaculate Conception," the most beautiful picture of joyous purity and innocent trust on which the eye can rest in the world of art, is not so entrancing as the portraitures of Miranda and Perdita, of Juliet and Imogen and Cordelia. Who has ever spoken more reverently and tenderly of death? Even Falstaff, glutton, libertine, coward, ribald, knave, does not set behind the clouds without some of the grandeur with which the king of terrors invests all who touch his staff. Says Dame Quickly:

> After I saw him fumble with the sheets, and play with flowers, and smile upon his finger ends, I knew there was but one way. . . . So 'a cried out "God, God, God!" three or four times: now I, to comfort him, bid him, 'a should not think of God; I hoped there was no need to trouble himself with any such thoughts yet. So 'a bade me lay more clothes on his feet: I put my hand into the bed, and felt them, and they were as cold as any stone.

But it is true that he never preaches. We wish he had done so. To mark out with buoys the channels of life is by no

means so noble a task as to pilot frail craft safely past the perilous places. The moralities of the here and now do not satisfy human needs. Man is a being of "large discourse, looking before and after;" and on the most momentous questions neither nature nor its great interpreter give guiding light. It is not simply mundane ethics we require, but cosmic and eternal as well.

But the poet has revealed to us his own conception of his task and its scope. It was "to hold, as 'twere, the mirror up to nature; to show virtue her own feature, scorn her own image, and the very age and body of the time his form and pressure" —a high ideal, truly; but it is distinctly and confessedly on a plane vastly lower than that of the sacred Scriptures, whose declared purpose is to hold the mirror that "we all, with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord," may be "changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord." The Bible is not merely a storehouse of information; it is a power for transformation.

If any man wishes proof that our race needs a written revelation, an inspired Bible, he may find convincing evidence in the study of Hamlet. No pen, save one to which God has himself communicated the fire of life, has delineated a loftier character. In Hamlet was found every essential to success except the possession of such a revelation, and the lack of this led to failure. How different might have been his fate had he been able to say with Paracelsus:

> If I stoop into a tremendous sea of cloud
> It is but for a time: I press God's lamp
> Close to my breast; its splendor soon or late
> Will pierce the gloom: I shall emerge some day!

A. H. Ames

Art. IV.—THE SANCTIFICATION OF THE PASSIONS.

Grace is equal to its every task. It is as infinite in capability and adaptability as God, from whom its energies proceed; yet how imperfect its effects all know who have profoundly studied Christian character. The reason is plain. Never until there is given him an instrument equal to his genius can the musician exhibit his full power. The problem of sanctification is the problem of taking that ruined instrument, the human soul, of putting it into the best possible repair, and of rendering it capable of its highest effects. It is the instrument we are to study, not the skill of the workman who constructs it, nor of the artist who employs it for the expression of his thought.

One of the principal sources of disharmony in human nature is the passions. The vast majority of Christians experience their chief difficulty in the control of the feelings. However we may conceive the relation of intelligence and sensibility, we must admit that only when thought is tinged with emotion are we conscious of approbation or of guilt. Pure intellectuality is morally colorless. But the thought cast up from the heaving ocean of feeling brings with it the odor of the emotion which tossed it upon the shore of consciousness. Passion is character. Or, more properly, the passions, in their interpenetrations and mutual balancings, distinguish the character of the individual. This gives the passions a place among the deepest elements of our being. They are to character what the mountain ranges are to a continent. They determine its fertility, its wealth, the direction and volume of its rivers, and give form to the surface of the land.

Popularly considered, the passions are the more sudden and violent ebullitions of feeling. He is passionate whose temperament leads him to sudden outbursts of anger or other emotions. To the passionate man, therefore, we ordinarily attribute but little of constancy and but a shallow depth of feeling. But it is doubtful whether these phenomena of the emotional nature, however striking, are worthy the name of passion. Kant, following Wolff, denominated every such exhibition of emotion an affection (*affekt*), and distinguished sharply between these and the passions which lie deeper and have more of intelligence

in them.* According to this distinction anger is an affection, but hate is a passion. It is perfectly evident that anger is thoughtless, while hate may be under the dominion of the intelligence. Anger evinces, at least in some measure, a lack of self-control. Hate is deliberate. It may be restrained or it may be gratified, as best suited to its purposes. Anger may be called a weakness. Hate is an evidence of sustained power. Anger may indicate no essential malevolence of disposition; it must be excited by external conditions. Hate is inherent in the soul, and will influence the soul even when there is no outward occasion for it. Anger proves the mobility of the feelings, and is often mere excitement accompanied by a minimum of resentment. Hate may maintain an outward and inward calm, and show itself only when it has had time to study how to strike the most fatal blow. A similar contrast might be drawn between many other emotions, although there are passions without any corresponding affections, and affections without any corresponding passions. It is of the nature of passion, however, that it may manifest itself when conditions are favorable in the most violent emotions. There is no anger so dreadful as that which derives its energy from some deep passion. He who hates his enemy may also be provoked to anger by him. Under such circumstances the ebullition of feeling is strengthened by the fundamental disposition of hate. A like terror of anger, however, may be supported by a benevolent as well as a malevolent emotion. The patriot may become furiously angry upon hearing of some unexpected act of treachery, being moved thereto solely by his love of country, and without any of the passion of hate. The affection robs of strength, the passion impels and incites to action. The former is never a motive, the latter always.

We may add that in essence what we here call passion includes also appetites and propensities. Hence the passions are both physical (appetites) and spiritual (propensities). Where the appetites and propensities combine, there passion is strongest. The natural and innocent desire for food in combination

* *Anthropologie*, Edition Kirchmann, p. 164. The difference between an "affection" in this sense of the word and an affection considered as a feeling of attachment, or a kindly emotion, must be carefully noted. See also Wundt, *Physiologische Psychologie*, vol. ii, p. 410,

with the propensity to self-indulgence causes gluttony. An affection may develop a passion if often indulged. The first effect of wine may be a pleasing sensation of taste, resulting in a mere affection. The desire for a repetition of this sensation may lead to frequent indulgence, whereby an artificial appetite or craving for wine is produced. So one who has never known hate may by frequent indulgence in anger develop the passion of hate. But this very fact proves that the passions and affections contain elements in common. Therefore, and also for the sake of comprehensiveness, we shall include under passion every form of emotion of which a description has now been given.

Strictly speaking, we should be obliged to use the term sanctification only in connection with those passions which God can approve; for sanctification looks toward employment, and the evil passions cannot be employed in God's service. But, yielding to the popular use, we shall employ the word here in its accustomed ambiguous sense, trusting to the *caveat* we have now entered to prevent misunderstanding. But are there any evil passions? Bishop Foster replies as follows:

> It is not the office of grace to eradicate human passions. There is nothing in them, when existing in a normal state, of the nature of sin. They were at first planted in the holy pair. They will remain in humanity while the earthly life remains. Holiness requires their proper subjugation and use. They are in their nature physical, and wholly void of moral character except as they become instruments of righteousness or unrighteousness.

Again the Bishop says:

> Evil dispositions and propensities are but perverted forms of good ones; and hence holiness or sanctification consists not in the eradication of them, but in the restoration of them to their legitimate character and use.*

The former quotation seems to have exclusive reference to what we have here called appetites. And so far what he says is probably wholly true. There certainly can be no harm in indulging the appetite for food merely because indulgence is strongly agreeable. It is not necessary to make our food and drink as unpalatable as possible, lest a sensuous enjoyment should be experienced. Were this avoidance of sensuous en-

* *Christian Purity*, pp. 68, 74.

joyment carried into the domain of all the senses it would lead us beyond the most extreme position which asceticism ever held concerning the permissibility of pleasure. The eye enjoys light and color and the ear musical sound, and the enjoyment is alike sensuous in each case. It cannot be sin to get satisfaction from our bodily appetites, since God has made them capable of enjoyment, has provided the means for their gratification, and has even made our very welfare and mental and moral development dependent, at least in some measure, upon their exercise.* Even that view which limits the innocence of indulgence to the end for which God appointed them is to be considered as extreme. It may be innocent to gratify the palate at other times than when taking food for nourishment. But if the pleasures of the palate lead us to overload our system, or to deplete our purses unduly, or to neglect the comfort of our dependents, indulgence would at once become wrong. Of some of the bodily appetites it must even be said that they seem to have no object but the gratification of their possessors. This is true of the craving for harmony and melody, for variety in color and form. With many these are as truly a passion as the appetite for food. It may be said that these minister to the cultivation of the æsthetic nature, while the so-called baser appetites only degrade. But the indulgence of the baser appetites does not degrade, but rather ennobles, if enjoyed in proper degree and with suitable restrictions. The æsthetic cravings, on the other hand, may and often do lead to effeminacy and voluptuousness. Music, painting, and sculpture may minister to the soul, or they may be mere instruments of sensuous pleasure. The physical passions are only sinful when they are overindulged or so indulged as to militate against the soul, which, it must be sadly confessed, is very frequently done.

With regard to the passions of the soul the case is different. All of the bodily passions minister to both soul and body if properly indulged. But of some at least of the spiritual passions must it be said that they have no function in the preservation or improvement of self, or in benefit to others, but work only injury wherever and in whatever degree they are manifest. What good did hate ever do? In the proper

* Bain, *Mental Science*, pp. 75, 77, well states the relation of pleasure to the increased activity of the vital functions.

sense of the word it is not a divine passion; for, although God hates sin, there is no malevolence in his hatred, but at most aversion. Yet malice is one of the chief ingredients in the human passion of hate. Indignation, a stern sense of justice, and similar emotions, all of which commend themselves in the exhibition, are wholly distinct and separate from the passion of hate, and indeed could scarcely exist where it exists. Anger may or may not coexist with it; but the proper exercise of the nobler passions is wholly out of the question in connection with an emotion so malevolent. Did any good ever come out of envy, or jealousy, or covetousness? They are not perversions of good passions. However it may be with others, these do not appear first in the form of virtues, which by some weakness or accident may be carried far enough to become vices. They are spiritual diseases, deformities of the soul. They are not to be transformed but supplanted. Neither they, their progenitors, nor their progeny have any place in the holy soul.

From the position now attained we may be able to discover the relation of the passions to the self. Does the "ego" include everything belonging to our inner conduct? Are the appetites, propensities, passions, and affections all constituent elements of ourselves? With regard to the first three we may answer unqualifiedly in the affirmative. They are in no sense external to us, but inherent in us. Without them our characters would not be what they are. Although up to a certain point in the knowledge of self their existence is often entirely unobserved and even unsuspected, yet they have determined our acts and, in part, at least, our thoughts. Whether good or bad they lie below the surface of consciousness, not, indeed, idle and inoperative, but all the more effective because they are not known to their possessor, and hence not guarded against. If the time arrives in the spiritual education of the individual when he discovers himself controlled by evil passions he must correct his own nature if he can. Then arises a conflict between the "ego" of choice and the "ego" of nature (heredity and education). Under such circumstances we discover within us two selves. But the will refuses to abdicate though every province in its rightful realm be in rebellion. The ruler insists that he is not responsible for the conduct of his perverse subjects. If one has risen to the Christian standpoint he cries out, "It is no

more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me." But the natural unit disputes the claim of the volitional unit to supremacy, and the latter is never content until the two units coincide. But this can never guiltlessly take place until the former is brought into perfect harmony with the latter, for the latter dare not give way. The relation of the affections to the "ego" is different from that of the passions, in so far as the former are not the mere expression of the latter. They are transient rather than constant, and are awakened by external conditions. Were it not that the historical associations of these terms might mislead we should designate the passions as substance and the affections as accident. The former are inherent in character, the latter lie in the realm of conduct. It is true that the affections are expressions of character elements; but these elements are often negative rather than positive, defects rather than vices; and in any case it is the sources from which they spring, and not the affections themselves, which belong to the "ego." They show weakness in the character, and hence the need of correction, but in a manner wholly different from the passions.

The necessity of the sanctification of the passions follows from their nature and from their relation to the self; but it is also indicated by two special facts. The first is that they often lead us into fatal self-deception. To the general recognition of this fact witness is borne by the proverbs, "The wish is father to the thought;" "There are none so blind as those who will not see;" and, "Convince a man against his will, and he is of the same opinion still." An illustration is found in Esau, whose appetite was so roused that he sought for reasons to justify him in selling his birthright. Because of our passions we play the sophist with ourselves, and extenuate deeds we should otherwise condemn. The judgment acts in the interest of the passions. This frame of mind when habitual unfits us for all judicial, dispassionate consideration of the practical concerns of life. When viewed apart from ethics we call it prejudice. Where morals are concerned we term it perversion. Under such circumstances is it that men learn to destroy the vital general distinctions of right and wrong, and in specific instances to call evil good. It is a peculiarly subtle and dangerous, because a semiunconscious, form of hypocrisy. This is sufficiently subversive of good morals; but far less so

than the second fact, namely, the power of the passions to bewilder and silence the conscience and understanding. In such cases reflection upon the moral quality of the act is suspended. The mind is wholly taken up with the impulse toward performance. So far as the intellect is at all engaged its function is merely to plan for execution. If at such times we can be hindered from acting long enough to come to ourselves we may be saved much sorrow. It is probable that, in the betrayal of our Lord, Judas Iscariot was thus controlled by passion; for when he reflected he would neither justify his act nor retain the price of blood. In most instances, as with Judas, reflection first begins after the passion has found gratification. In this respect the passions and affections are alike. For the time emotion almost wholly displaces thought, and we are in a transport of feeling.

We pursue now more closely the psychological processes of sanctification. And one of the most important facts to be noted here is the necessity of entire consecration, especially of its positive side of concentration. The will is so constituted that it can never act with energy and effect along more than one line at a time. "He that wavereth is like a wave of the sea." In order to concentration there must be a powerful attraction —something which will fix and hold the attention. On the psychological side the whole problem of the sanctification of the passions and affections is how to get the attention drawn away from them to Jesus Christ the Saviour. In order to this the Holy Spirit is necessary and sufficient. "The love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us." By a supernatural operation the soul is so affected that the passions no longer assert themselves. Such as are in themselves innocent, but needing restriction, however imperious they may formerly have been in their demands, are brought into easy subjection. Those which are evil, and over which we have long mourned, no more make themselves felt; and the uncontrollable, sinful emotions which we here call affections are no longer experienced. But the psychological explanation of it all is that we cease to look at self and look unto Jesus. And it is most necessary to insist upon this. As compared with that condition in which our evil passions are unrecognized by us because no conflict between them and

conscience has ever arisen, a marked advance in the right direction is that state of the mind in which the attention is strongly concentrated upon their sinfulness and the whole energy of the soul is directed toward their suppression. Every such awakening is the prophecy of a possible advance in holiness. But the experience of vain endeavor to suppress or displace these unholy emotions by our own effort is perfectly explicable. The very attention we bestow upon them contributes to their nourishment. The "law" which betrays our wickedness to us becomes thereby the minister of death. We find the power of evil greater after it appears as evil than before. Beyond a certain point, therefore, what is needed is not a larger development of the self-consciousness of evil within, but a complete withdrawal of the attention from it. But such a withdrawal of attention is not enough. This might be effected in such a way as to leave the passions essentially as they were before the awakening. Fear of the power of inward sin must give place to confidence in the greater power of God. For the rest, it is a divine work, wrought we know not how. Here human effort and divine energy coalesce in a union whose elements are no longer distinguishable. But the result is that the soul, which has been led by grace to this point, finds the conscious evil passions gone and the divine Spirit within. It may be said to be an instantaneous work. It certainly is a complete work so far as it goes. We are, in a sense, as though these passions had never existed within us. Nor are we of those who believe that they are still present but only dormant. A passion is an energy of our being directed toward a certain object by the forces which control us. When the controlling forces change the passions must change. In whatever portion of the soul God is the controlling force, there sin must give way to holiness.

If it be objected that this cannot be, since whenever one backslides after reclamation from any appetite or passion he falls back again at once into his old fault, we reply that this is to be otherwise accounted for. Peter, the profane and impulsive fisherman, when he fell from grace after conversion, showed that the old habits still possessed him. The reformed and converted, and even wholly sanctified, victim of drink will go back to his cups if he fall from grace; and the former debauchee

will return to his licentiousness. The spiritual propensities also show the same tendency to recurrence in those who have fallen from grace. But we have here merely the question of the explanation of the phenomena. This cannot be better made than on the supposition that the passions are only suppressed, not really displaced. Let us remember that a passion is an energy of the soul projected in a given direction by the controlling force within us. Let us suppose now that, instead of self or Satan, God becomes our controlling force. The passion disappears. We fall from grace and it reappears. By the very terms of the supposition the new, divine controlling force is gone. What more natural than that the old one should immediately reassert its supremacy? In this event the old passion would be almost certain to reappear; for grace does not change the potentialities of the soul; nor does it reconstruct, except by slow processes, its constitution. This remains the same, modifying the operations of grace and explaining why it is that not all Christians are exactly alike, but varied in their manifestations of divine principle within. A constitutional passion is not a passion which forms part of the constitution of the individual; for the constitution is the sum total of the capabilities, and these lie deeper than the passions which the capabilities produce under given conditions. Nevertheless, there is a relation between the constitution and the passions, some constitutions being more perfectly adapted to some passions than others. Hence, a constitutional passion is the one which is most easily and naturally produced by the capabilities of the soul. But a capability is only a capability, not an actuality. And if influences of different character operate in succession upon the soul the same aggregate of capabilities we will have a succession of results correspondent thereto. Hence it is that people are so often a surprise to themselves and to their most intimate friends. The untried soul can never predict what it will do under given conditions.

Does this seem to make the soul the prey of every external influence? Let it be replied that such would be the case were there not other laws operating to prevent this in some measure. The soul has the power of self-direction, at least within certain limits. But especially must we remember that impalpable but powerful influences acting upon us give us a certain direc-

tion often very decidedly emphasized long before we have reached the period when we are intellectually capable of discovering, accepting, or rejecting them. These are partly hereditary and prenatal, and partly such as are exercised upon us in our earliest years. As soon as we begin to be, action and reaction between the innate forces and possibilities of the soul and our environment begin. Arrived at the age when we become conscious personalities, we are still too young to do aught but enter upon the employment of our inheritance. It is only in later years that we begin in good earnest to adopt an ideal of life and compare ourselves therewith. By this time the tendencies of the soul are well established. When we open the soul, then, to new influences they have at first little power. This, together with the fact that we have a certain power of choice as to what new influences shall be allowed access to us, prevents the total annihilation of our identity. It is the perfection of this power of choice which constitutes the perfect freedom of the soul. He is not free who is involuntarily governed by what he inherited from the past; nor is he free who is so governed by the chance external influence of the hour. He is free who, with educated conscience and clarified reason, bows with the full conscious consent of his soul to the authority of God.

This seems to make man subject in order to be free, and to unsettle the firmest inward supports of conduct. It must be said in reply to this that if all men were absolutely free from every allegiance the result would be anarchy. Allegiance to Satan would result in bondage to passion again. Subjection to the world would produce a similar result. God only can rule a kingdom of freemen. Under God's government alone is the paradox of freedom in subjection abolished. As to the other difficulty, it is a question, after all, as to what is highest in character. It is a dream of the evolutionists that a time will come when every man's "spontaneous activities" shall be "congruous with the conditions imposed by the social environment formed by other such beings."

Conformably with the laws of evolution in general, and conformably with the laws of organization in particular, there has been and is in progress an adaptation of humanity to the social state, changing it in the direction of such an ideal congruity. . . .

The ultimate man is one in whom this process has gone so far as to produce a correspondence between all the promptings of his nature and all the requirements of his life as carried on in society. . . . In the conduct of the ideal man among ideal men that self-regulation which has for its motive to avoid giving pain practically disappears. No one having feelings which prompt acts that disagreeably affect others, there can exist no code of restraints referring to this division of conduct.*

Exactly such a state as this, so far as results are concerned, but with added accompaniments of blessedness, is the heaven of the Christian system. In heaven we can conceive of no clashing of interests, but only of perfect harmony. But if we correctly understand Mr. Spencer the methods by which this state is to be brought about are very different, in his conception, from those proposed by Christianity. We do not here refer to the forces employed, for it is evident that in this respect evolution and grace are radically different. But Mr. Spencer seems to refer the whole conduct of the ideal man to the promptings of his nature. The processes of evolution will have brought about in the ultimate man "a correspondence between all the promptings of his nature and all the requirements of his life as carried on in society." In that state no one will have "feelings which can prompt acts that disagreeably affect others," and hence "that self-regulation which has for its motive to avoid giving pain practically disappears." Such language undoubtedly indicates a condition in which the "spontaneous activities" of men will be right. They will do right because their feelings are right. In such persons there are no evil passions, and the good ones will have control of the life. "Self-regulation" will not be a necessity. Conduct will be unerringly right because the moving forces are unerringly right. This system appears at first sight as the most perfect conceivable. But look at it. It makes man a moral automaton. The clock provided with a compensation balance keeps perfect time because it is provided with perfect machinery. Neither Spencer's ideal man nor the clock needs any conscious self-regulation; both are perfectly adjusted to their conditions, and hence both will act with perfect precision. For the clock this may suffice, but for man it is not enough. Reason and will must always have their place in Christian con-

* Spencer, *Data of Ethics*, pp. 275, 286.

duct. Reason, passion, and volition must all be in harmony with each other and with God. And this is the state in which all will find themselves who enter heaven. It is not sufficient that reason know the right and the will enforce it. Better this than bad conduct. But a life conformed by volition to the demands of reason has in it a rigidity which is extremely displeasing as compared with the spontaneity of correct instincts. Such a life is full of conventionalities. It lacks grace and beauty, and there can be no wonder that so many men of faultless lives are therefore so unattractive. The perfect Christian ideal is that in which the individual has attained substantially the same emotional character with God; in which his judgments coincide with those of God; and in which his will is not swallowed up, but has become identical with his will—God's volitions man's volitions; not perforce, but by choice, emotion and reason completely concurring. This preserves to man his distinct identity, leaves him in the full responsible possession of the powers which conform him to the divine image, makes him morally like God by his own choice, and removes him from the category of the automata. Great as their influence is, therefore, we cannot believe that the passions sanctified would make the perfect man; for man is larger than his entire emotional nature.

Yet it must be confessed that were the evil passions displaced and the good ones devoted to their divinely appointed purposes, man would be incalculably holier than he now is. That this end may be attained we must despise no means within our reach. If the best time to begin a child's education is two hundred years before he is born, how much more true is it of the sanctification of the passions. God has so ordained that the strongest passions are those which are inborn. So far as they are bad they are most difficult of repression and displacement. So far as they are good they are most reliable and constant. Next to these, in respect to constancy and strength, are those which have been inwrought by early and long-continued education. Subsequent to the prenatal period, the best time for the sanctification of the passions is in infancy. Even the gracious virtues are not to be depended upon like those which are natural. The strongest characters are those whose passions, being inborn, have been developed by training and ennobled by

grace. But for the adult whose natural inheritance and education have placed him within the power of evil dispositions grace is yet sufficient. The holy emotions implanted by the divine Spirit may be as yet rather affections than passions, but by long-continued submission to the influences of heaven they will become thoroughly intrenched in the soul. What is needed meanwhile is that God should continue more inviting to the soul than all attractions beside. There is no propensity too powerful for grace to correct. Except for the limitations of our finite nature there is no conceivable perfection to which, by grace, the most depraved may not in time arise. But for such results it is needful that, like the chosen three on the mount of transfiguration, our eyes should henceforth see Jesus only. Here faith and consecration become coincident conceptions; and it is under such conditions that Jesus is made unto us "wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption."

Charles H. Rishell.

ART. V.—WHEELS, WORK, AND WAGES.

THE nineteenth century is on wheels and traveling with a speed never known before in history. It is literally and metaphorically the age of machinery. Nearly all the mechanical inventions and discoveries which are doing the world's work to-day are less than a century old. So rapidly have these inventions and discoveries succeeded each other that the transition from manual labor to machinery has taken place almost without our consciousness. Within the present century the entire coal industry of this continent has been developed, with the resulting multitudinous changes in mechanical, commercial, and domestic affairs. Yet, although the discovery of coal for fuel and illumination is of so recent date, we are already leaving the original discoveries as things of the past and are moving forward to new and better applications of this force. Crude coal will soon be discarded as fuel except under the engine boiler and the ovens of the gas works, and gas will take its place everywhere for fuel, while electricity will supersede gas for illuminating purposes.

This utilization of coal has revolutionized all travel, commerce, and manufacture, and has introduced a new civilization. Steam had been known and used to a limited extent before, but it only put on the harness for earnest work when coal was put under the boiler. The first successful steamboat ever built was the one by Robert Fulton, in 1807, which ran between New York and Albany; and the first steamships which ever crossed the ocean were the *Sirius* and *Great Western*, in 1838. The first locomotive engine was built in 1804, and the first railroad, from Manchester to Liverpool, in 1830. The oldest steam railroad in the United States was from Charleston to Hamburg, S. C., which was completed in 1833. Within three quarters of a century the old stagecoach and heavy teams have disappeared from the turnpike and the old sailing vessel from the ocean, except along the coast; and railroads network the land from shore to shore, while lines of fast steamships churn the sea into foam. A century ago great cities could be built only upon deep bays on the coast or at the head of navigation on large rivers, because then all heavy commerce had to be carried on by water.

Then cities like Chicago, Denver, Indianapolis, Columbus, and Atlanta would have been impossible. Now cities spring out of the earth as if by magic wherever agricultural or mineral wealth invites population. Then factories of all kinds had to be built not only near a seaport for the shipment of their products, but also in the valley upon a stream, because water was the only power by which they could be run. Now we build the mill and the factory on the prairie, on the mountain top, or wherever the material to be manufactured abounds. Not only do we travel and trade by machinery, but meanwhile we have learned to write and talk by machinery also. Who realizes that the telegraph is not yet fifty years old? The first telegraph in use was between Washington and Baltimore, in 1844. In 1858 the Atlantic cable was successfully laid, while within the recollection of all the telephone has been invented and utilized, so that to-day the near and the far stand face to face and the world is one vast whispering gallery.

Steam and electricity made possible a wider circulation of the printed page, and at once supply answered demand in new and marvelous machinery for this. The Columbian press, invented by George Clymer, of Philadelphia, and still in use for fine printing, made its appearance in 1818, but this was a hand press. Frederick König, of Saxony, was the first to construct a cylinder machine to run by steam, in 1814. By it eleven hundred impressions could be made per hour, while with Clymer's press only two hundred and fifty impressions per hour could be taken. In 1827 Messrs. Applegath & Cowper constructed a machine in which the type was set upon the surface of a cylinder instead of a plane surface, and this marks the new era in printing. Almost immediately Hoe's cylindrical press appeared in New York. The inventive genius, first of the father and then of the son, added one improvement after another until Hoe's eight and ten cylinder presses of almost absolute perfection completed the series. Were Franklin placed to-day in a great newspaper printing office he would find wheels everywhere, and iron hands doing all the work. Machinery sets the type and inks it; machinery supplies the paper and prints it; machinery cuts off the sheet and folds it; and the result is a quarter of a million papers per day, each a large volume in itself.

Clocks and watches had for ages been employed to mark the flight of time, but no one dreamed that they could be made by machinery. In 1807 a Mr. Terry, of Connecticut, commenced making wooden clocks by machinery. Not long thereafter brass was substituted for wood. About 1838 Chauncey Jerome, of Connecticut, commenced to manufacture one-day brass clocks made entirely by machinery. In 1842 he sent a consignment to England, and since then millions of them have crossed the ocean and ticked off the time in all quarters of the globe. Not, however, until 1850 did any one think that so delicate an instrument as a watch could be made by machinery. Dennison and Howard in that year ventured to make fifty eight-day watches, at Roxbury, Mass. The experiment was a failure, but it was followed by other experiments upon thirty-hour watches, which succeeded. In a few years the machine-made watches had captured the market, and the Swiss and English handmade watches were superseded.

Weaving is an art as old as civilization; but the looms of the ancients were very simple contrivances in which the treadles were worked by the feet and the shuttles were thrown by the hand of the weaver. The Cartwright power loom of 1787, though inaugurating a new era in weaving, was a clumsy thing. Not until the beginning of this century did the power loom take the place of the old hand loom. It was George Crompton who invented the fancy loom in 1837 which has revolutionized weaving. With this marvelous machine, in which machinery winds the bobbins, lifts the warp, and throws the shuttles, the weaver has little to do but stand and supervise the work while iron hands and fingers execute patterns of rare artistic merit.

Husbandry is no longer carried on by manual labor. The sickle, which had been used from the most remote antiquity for reaping, gradually gave way to the mowing and cradling scythes of modern times. In 1826 Rev. Patrick Bell, of Scotland, invented a reaper which is still in use, and is the original from which all subsequent ones have been copied. Notwithstanding the success of this machine, so great was the opposition to its employment by the laboring classes that it fell into disuse. A couple of inventions in this country early in the century met with a similar fate. It was not until 1833 that Obed Hussey patented his reaper, which has nearly supplanted

all others, both in America and England, and which is popularly known as the McCormick Reaper. Along with the machine reaper came the threshing machine, harnessed to steam and mounted upon wheels, and made portable. The farmer once walked behind the plow and carried the bag of grain around his neck as he walked over the field sowing his seed. Within the last half century he has learned to sit upon the plow which turns the furrow, and to ride upon the "drill" which plants his grain. The needlework of other days has been supplanted by that of the sewing machine of our times. As late as 1841 Elias Howe patented the first sewing machine, which to-day is sewing not only garments, but shoes, harness, sails, and upholstery of every sort. And what shall I more say? For the time would fail me to tell of the machinery which presses bricks, grooves and planes boards, and even carries the hod to the top of the building; of the machinery that measures grain and grinds flour and kneads bread; of machines which dig railroads and canals, build ships, cars, and wagons, and even break stones for the turnpike; and last, but not least, of the untold machinery for working metal, producing almost every conceivable article from a pin to the shaft of a steamboat. Of all the ages into which history may be divided the nineteenth century is preeminently the age of machinery; and of all the countries in the world the United States is the land of wheels.

Not only are this age and country on literal wheels, but they are run by metaphorical machinery as well. Combinations among men for political, commercial, and mechanical ends are not new, but as old as civilization; yet it remains for our day and country to witness these combinations upon a scale more gigantic than was ever dreamed of before. Indeed, until the discovery of steam and the telegraph men separated by wide distances could not cooperate effectively. Now continents and oceans interpose no barrier, and combinations which girdle the globe can easily be formed and worked; and already the little wheels which heretofore turned independently, each in its limited locality, are being geared together into vast machines whose power makes all the land to tremble. Personal independence and individual influence are swallowed up and lost in corporate power and action. Perhaps this obliteration of the

individual is nowhere seen to better advantage than in the army. It used to be that victories were won by the personal bravery and prowess of the individual soldier. To-day the fighting is done by machinery, and the army itself is resolved into a machine. In politics platforms are constructed, the press is subsidized, and opinions are manufactured for the people. An independent candidate stands little chance of election. Even when the party lash becomes unendurable, and men in consequence bolt the caucus and inaugurate independent action, they simply substitute one machine for another. Some concert of action is necessary to success, and perhaps political organizations are inevitable. We only note the fact of the machine in politics without stopping to condemn or approve. In commerce and manufactures great combinations are being formed by which each separate establishment becomes a wheel within a wheel. Syndicates, corporations, and trusts are organized to crush out all competition, to control production and prices, and thus monopolize the market. So gigantic have these combinations become in our day that they trample all opposition under foot, defy the law, corrupt legislatures and Congress, and terrorize judges and juries. So vast is the capital invested in these corporations that small merchants and manufacturers stand no chance in competition. There seems to be nothing to limit such combinations to a single country. With the Atlantic cable binding the two hemispheres together, no reason is apparent why the manufacturers and merchants of the civilized globe may not combine to control the output and the price of every human product, and thus monopolize the markets of the world.

Corresponding with these combinations of capital, the independent laborer is rapidly being absorbed by great labor organizations. Mechanical guilds have existed for centuries in England and in continental Europe, but at first they were little more than local beneficial societies. To-day almost every industry has its laborers organized into an association which covers the continent, and these in turn are only wheels in another great machine which includes the knights of all labor. These organizations propose to control the number of apprentices admitted to each trade, the men to be employed by each establishment, the wages to be paid each employee, and the number of hours constituting a day's work. They do this by

strikes, by boycotts, by intimidating employers on the one hand and nonunion men on the other, and sometimes by bloodshed and the wholesale destruction of property. The effect of all such combinations is to obliterate the individual by burying him in the mass. One man may be a much better mechanic than another, but his superior skill avails him little. If he be a member of a labor organization he gets the common wage fixed for that craft, and if he remain outside the organization he cannot get employment.

Even the Church forms no exception to the rule. We have societies for foreign missions, for woman's foreign missions, for home missions; for general church extension and local church extension; for Conference education and general education; for Bible distribution and tract distribution; for the old folks' home, the orphanage, and the hospital; for temperance and "social purity;" and also King's Daughters, Epworth Leagues, and Christian Endeavor societies, with a host of others. Nothing more can be done by the individual. If he would give a loaf of bread to a starving family or a pair of shoes to a barefooted child he must join a society and sign its constitution. Even the various denominations are coming closer together, and are federating for combined action for the conquest of the world.

But the introduction of machinery into all branches of industry and the combination of capital and labor in vast organizations have necessarily wrought a revolution in all kinds of work, and have changed the relations subsisting between capital and labor, between employer and employee. With every mechanical invention large numbers of people find their trades obsolete and their occupations gone. While the manufacture of these machines opens up new fields of labor, and gives employment to large numbers of mechanics, in all cases the introduction of machinery renders the old trade comparatively useless and necessitates the learning of a new one.

Then, again, the trades are divided into various branches, and each mechanic learns only one branch. It is said that there is not a man in all England who can make a gun. One makes the stock, another the barrel, and still another the lock. Even these branches are subdivided again and again. One saws the

stock out, another carves it, and still another polishes and paints it. One welds the barrel, another bores it, and still another finishes it. One makes the spring of the lock, another the tumbler, another the hammer, and still another the trigger; while the putting of these parts together is a department distinct from all the rest. The same division of labor is apparent everywhere in this country. The old trades of half a century ago no longer exist. A house carpenter of the olden stamp had to score and hew the timbers for the frame, to groove and plane the boards, to make doors, shutters, and sash, to saw scrolls, rive shingles, and to be architect as well. Now the trade is divided into a dozen branches, and the carpenter needs to learn little more than how to put together the parts, which come to him from the mills, according to the plans which are furnished him. It takes a dozen workers in wood to build a frame house to-day. Each specialist may be a more skilled workman in his department, and the result may be a better building at a smaller cost, but no one of them knows an independent trade. Moreover, he has not acquired skill in handicraft so much as acquaintance with machinery. He is no longer a mechanic, but an operative. The machine does the work and he feeds and runs it. As the mechanic is powerless without tools, so he is dependent upon his machine and is inseparable from it. The inevitable result is to tie the man to a machine, and since each of these does the work only of part of a trade a large number must be bound together in cooperation. This means a factory or mill requiring large capital, in which men are mere operatives, dependent upon their employer.

All machinery, in order to find employment, must be labor-saving; that is, it must accomplish more work of the same kind, and at the same cost, than could be done by hand. It follows either that fewer men must be employed or there must be greater production. If one man with a machine can produce as much as three men working by hand, then either two men must be thrown out of employment or the output must be trebled. One of the men might find employment in the manufacture of the machines, but the other is doomed to idleness, unless production is doubled. If production can be doubled at the same cost, then each man can buy twice as much for his wages, and hence consumption can be doubled. All such

machinery would be an unmixed blessing to labor if there was a market for all the product. But where all had the necessaries of life before, this additional amount must be made up of luxuries. While all could double their consumption, all do not and will not, and hence there is overproduction and a glut in the market. When men cannot be induced to purchase the only remedy is to limit production—by shutting down the mills, by running on half time, or by the discharge of some of the operatives. Capital can do without the luxuries of life, and hence can dispense with one half of labor, and live on what it did before the introduction of machinery; but labor cannot go back to its old-time trades and find employment there. The supply of labor is in excess of the demand, and the laborer, therefore, in the power of the capitalist. If we regard all the labor of the country, together with the machinery and the capital engaged in production, as a unity, it is easy to see that society at large will be benefited by the introduction of labor-saving machinery to the extent that production is increased. If the country can produce twice as much at the same cost it has twice as much remuneration for its work. It does not matter whether we double wages and profits, leaving prices the same, or whether we reduce prices by one half and leave wages and profits the same as before. In either case the labor and capital of the country, considered jointly, reap a double harvest. When, however, we consider capital and labor as competitors with each other, and capitalists and laborers as competing among themselves for the lion's share of the profits, we find that the distribution of this increased wealth becomes very unequal. The moment supply exceeds the demand some capital must remain idle and some labor must be unemployed. It does not matter how high wages are to the laborer who has no work, nor how low prices are to the man who has no money; without work he gets no wages, and without wages he gets no bread. Horace Greeley once saw a Swiss peasant cutting grain with a sickle, and said to him, "My dear sir, why don't you get a cradling scythe? You could cut four times as much grain with it." "Well," responded the peasant, "I have not four times as much grain to cut." The peasant was a better political economist than the great New York editor. Before the introduction of machinery all labor was

required to supply the demand, and hence no laborer needed to be unemployed. Since machinery multiplies production labor is in excess of the demand, and some must, therefore, stand in the market place all the day idle. To avoid a glut in the market capital combines to limit production. To avoid a glut in the labor market laborers strike for fewer hours as a day's work. They used to work twelve hours a day; now they demand that eight hours shall be the limit. Both movements acknowledge a capacity for and a tendency toward overproduction; and wherever such capacity exists, there labor must suffer for want of employment.

It is not true in an absolute sense that since the introduction of machinery the poor become poorer, while the rich become richer. The laboring classes are better off to-day than ever before. Their labor, coupled with machinery, produces vastly more than formerly, and the purchasing power of their wage is in consequence greater. Notwithstanding they work fewer hours per day, and are not constantly employed, still the poor man's home has many comforts and conveniences which were sadly wanting at the beginning of the century. The truth is that all have become richer, and the poor man has shared in the general wealth. But while the laborer has not absolutely become poorer he has relatively. Riches and poverty are largely relative terms. In general, to be rich is to have more than one's neighbors, and to be poor is to have less. A man with twenty-five thousand dollars in a remote country village is a person of wealth, while in New York city nothing short of five millions will admit him to the circle of the rich. In the large cities a man who can make only ten dollars per week is pitiably poor, while in the country he would be comfortable on five hundred a year. It is not, therefore, any definite amount of money in itself which makes a man either rich or poor, nor yet the purchasing power of such amount of money, but the amount of money which he has as compared with that of other people around him. Our natural wants are few, while our conventional wants are many. We wish to live as other people do; when we cannot do this we are poor by comparison, and our poverty is measured by the disproportion between what we have and what others possess. Estimated in this way the laboring classes are poorer than they were at the

beginning of the century. They earn more wages, can purchase more with them, and in consequence enjoy many comforts to which they were formerly strangers; yet the distance between them and their employers grows wider and wider all the time. While machinery has multiplied the production of the country, and while labor has received a share of this increased wealth, capital has taken half a dozen shares.

But great as is the distance between employer and employee in point of wealth the distance in social position is greater still. It used to be that master and man worked side by side at the same bench, ate together at the table and sat side by side in the pew. They visited each other upon terms of equality, and their families intermarried. There were no great corporations or gigantic firms or princely merchants then, employing men by the hundred. The manufacturer had his little mill, the mechanic his little shop, and the merchant his little store, each employing a small number of hands, while in almost every case the employer was himself a laborer in his own place of business. The apprentice who learned a trade or the clerk who learned a business generally had his board and lodging with his employer and was received into his family on terms of equality. Now all this is changed. The little stores are being swallowed up by the larger ones, the mechanic's little shop is superseded by the great factory, and the little mills are united together into one gigantic trust. Men are employed, supervised, and paid by an agent of the company. The employer never comes into contact with them. In hundreds of cases he does not know the men either by sight or by name. Any social intercourse between his family and theirs is out of the question. They live in tenement houses down by the factory; he lives in a marble palace up on the avenue.

We know that there are many exceptions to the customs which we have described, but that the trend of the times is steadily toward a wider separation between employer and employee cannot reasonably be doubted. A man takes rank according to the machine he runs. If a mechanical machine, he belongs to the class of laborers, and if a metaphorical machine, he takes rank as a capitalist. Machines of one kind or another have rent society asunder and put an impassable gulf between its extremes. Hence we have, as descriptive of the different

divisions, the un-American terms, "the classes" and "the masses," "capital and labor," "employer and employee," "the four hundred" and "the rabble." Labor has been revolutionized by the introduction of machinery, and has suffered social degradation as the consequence.

Perhaps the most serious political and religious problem of the age is to be found in the relative positions of capital and labor. The two classes have drifted apart until each regards the other as an antagonist. Each seeks its own interest regardless of the other, and each invokes the aid of government in furtherance of its ends. Capital has money and influence with which to corrupt legislatures, and labor holds the ballots with which to elect them. In the political struggle between them no prophet can foretell the outcome. Labor seems sullen on account of real or fancied wrongs, and is determined to revolutionize legislation in its interest. Capital, on the contrary, is alert, and has its lobbyists in legislatures and places of power supplied with funds to shape all measures for its benefit. If corruption on the one hand shall lead to violence on the other the conflict will be one which will shake society to its center and endanger the very existence of our form of government.

A similar condition of things exists in the Church. Employer and employee no longer worship at the same altar. If both are Christians, as a rule they attend different churches, the one belonging to what is popularly known as a "rich man's church" and the other to the "poor man's church." Such separation is so manifestly unchristian that large bodies of workingmen attend no church, and are coming to look upon the Church as their enemy rather than their friend. Let no one delude himself with the idea that all such are foreigners and anarchists of despicable character, who hate the Church only because it condemns their vile practices. There are hundreds of thousands of native Americans and law-abiding citizens who never darken the doors of our churches. Many of them were reared in Christian homes and are themselves nominal Christians. They send their children to the Sunday school and teach them the principles of the Christian faith, but they will not humiliate themselves by attending a church which is controlled by wealth, in which they are treated with condescension, contempt, or patronage. The result is the strange spectacle of large bodies of

men who reverence the name of Christ but hate the Christian Church. The question so often discussed in religious assemblies of the way in which to reach the masses, and the changing methods adopted for this purpose, are a practical confession that the Church has drifted away from these masses and is no longer in touch with them.

At the bottom of the whole difficulty, both in politics and religion, lies the changed relation between capital and labor resulting from the introduction of machinery into all industries. The remedy is not to be found in the removal of machinery, for neither capital nor labor would consent to go back to the old methods, with the consequent loss of production. Some scheme must be devised by which a workman can run a machine without being degraded to the level of a machine, and by which he shall get his full share of the increased production of machinery. Any adjustment which promises the accomplishment of these ends will bind employer and employee together in common interest and mutual respect. In the State they will then be fellow-citizens seeking to uphold the government with equal patriotism, while in the Church they will be brethren in their Father's house.

What wages shall be is the one great question which is agitating society to its depths, and upon the solution of which the stability and peace of the nation depend.

While the old industrial *régime* continued supply and demand, competition and contract, solved the whole labor question to the satisfaction of both employer and employee. So long have these economic principles been employed that they have come to be regarded as axiomatic truths. They lie at the basis of our whole industrial and commercial system, and are supposed to embody ultimate truth. But, notwithstanding their venerable age and their hitherto universal acceptance, the changed relations of society, resulting from the introduction of machinery, to-day challenge their accuracy as a measure of right and deny their ability to solve the wage problem either satisfactorily or justly. We know that to question these economic principles is to assault the foundations of society; but if the foundations are unsound the sooner they are removed the better..

What does the phrase "supply and demand" mean as an arbiter in the wage question to-day? Since machines in almost

every industry do the work of half a dozen men, the supply of labor is always in excess of the demand. In a new country like ours, where land is to be cleared, railroads and turnpikes constructed, rivers bridged and cities built, the men thus thrown out of employment can measurably find employment at something else. But even here, with all these advantages, there is constantly an army of men out of employment. Proof of this is found in the rapidity with which the place of strikers is supplied and in the number of applicants answering any advertisement of a situation. If already the supply is in excess of the demand what will it be when the country is fully populated, its industries stereotyped, and no new avenues open to labor? With three men seeking work where there is only work for one, the question of supply and demand as a rule by which to determine the wage of the worker becomes a club in the hand of the employer with which to beat the laborer down to starvation rates. Under this system the more work a man has the more wages he gets, and the less he has to do the less he gets for doing even that—a strange fulfillment, though foreign to its meaning, of the Scriptural passage, "For he that hath, to him shall be given; and he that hath not, from him shall be taken even that which he hath."

"Competition and contract," with a glut in the labor market —what do they mean for the toilers? Simply that each man will underbid the other until the limit is reached at which he can live. Any wages on which life can be sustained are better than no work with starvation. The question is not as to what his work is worth, or what the man can earn for his employer, but simply what he can get, and the lowest bidder gets the work. He bargains, it is true, to take the wage which he gets; it was a fair contract; he may even have named the figure himself; but will our sense of justice say that such competition and contract secure for him the wage which he ought to have? Esau, at starvation's door, sold his birthright for a mess of pottage; but will any man affirm that because he signed the contract the transaction was righteous? If so, then Shylock had a right to his pound of flesh, because it was "so nominated in the bond."

Nothing is ever settled until it is settled aright. There is a deep feeling in the mind of the working classes everywhere that

they have been defrauded by their employers; not that they do not receive the wage for which they bargained, but that such wage is not their fair share of the profits. When, as at Homestead, the strikers take possession of the mill, and deny the right of the owner to introduce other men without their consent, they are simply expressing an undefined conviction that they have some property in the mill. If questioned their crude thought will be something like this: "Our labor, coupled with the capital of our employer, built that mill, and we, therefore, have some rights in it."

"But did you not get the wages agreed upon for your work?"

"Yes, but our work was worth more than we received. We only earned a bare living, while our employer has become a millionaire."

It is only another way of saying they did not get their fair share of the joint product of his capital and their labor. They understand that they received all that the law will allow them; they know that they have no legal claim upon the mill; but still there is a vague conviction that the equities of the case have not been satisfied. If the employer had not made so much they would have been satisfied with less. But if he rolls in wealth derived from the profits of their labor, while they remain poor, they will always feel that a part of what is his in law belongs of right to them.

In monarchical countries, where the masses are ruled by the classes and where popular education does not obtain, all such feelings may be suppressed by the strong arm of government, and the demands of labor may be ignored by capital; but in a country like ours, with free schools and government, these muttering protests of the masses will make themselves heard and understood in the halls of legislation and will take shape in articulate legal enactments. If the law oppresses the lawmakers they will soon change the law. This inchoate feeling of labor that a just wage cannot be determined by competition and contract, but that the product of labor ought to be equitably divided between capital and labor, has already forced recognition, and the justness of its claim has been measurably conceded. The sliding scale of wages adopted in many of our mines and mills, by which the worker gets less when profits

are small and more when profits are great, concedes the whole claim that the just wage of the workman is not a fixed sum, but a certain proportion of the profits. What proportion of the profits labor should receive in any given industry is a very complicated question, and one which will depend for its answer upon a large variety of conditions; but the principle of an equitable division of the product between capital and labor has already forged to the front and forced recognition. More and more must this principle dominate the labor market and be incorporated into the law of the land.

Not without protest, however, will this principle win its way. The capitalist demands, "Am I not entitled to all that is left after the workmen have been paid as much as they could have elsewhere made? If by my superior ability in management I can increase the productiveness of the concern, may I not justly claim all the profits above what the same labor could produce elsewhere? If John Smith pays his workmen all his business will warrant, and I pay my hands as much as he, then all the balance belongs to me. Business ability should have its reward." Yes, if, unaided, it can earn one; but when such ability depends upon and unites with labor in order to secure a reward, then that reward must be equitably divided between them. Capital and management are as powerless without labor as labor without them. It is what the two jointly produce that is to be divided. Why then shall the profits which John Smith can make from his capital and the labor of his workmen be made the standard by which to determine the wage of other workmen? It may be that John Smith is incompetent to manage the business. Most assuredly he is if another man can take the same workmen and double the profits. And is the workman then entitled only to the wage which his labor under incompetent management can produce, while when the business is properly managed all profits in excess of this belong to the management? This is simply saying that the laborer must share all the losses in the business, but must have no share in the profits. What if John Smith should make nothing beyond his living, and in consequence not be able to pay any wages at all; must the men in the successful establishment work for nothing because John Smith can afford to pay no more? Why not begin at the other end of the line, with

the amount which the business competently managed will afford, and make that the standard for determining the amount of wages for workmen in that industry? It is true John Smith could not afford to pay it, and would have to go out of the business. But if his incapacity is robbing the laborer of what he could make under better management, then he ought to go out of business and take his place among the workmen, where he belongs. No standard wage can, with any show of justice, be established upon any other basis than an equitable division of the product of labor with average ability in the management of the business. If the manager have exceptional ability, and if his talents must have as their reward all that he can make more than the average competitor, then, in all fairness, a manager who falls below the average in business capacity ought to bear all the deficiency resulting from his incapacity. Equity demands one of two things: either a sliding scale by which labor shares all the profits and losses or a standard wage based upon average profits when the business is conducted with average ability. But as the money value of any standard will be a variable quantity the wage must be not a fixed sum of money but a definite proportion of the product.

The statement so often and so confidently made that capital is compelled to assume all risks and bear all losses, and therefore is entitled to all the profits, is without foundation in fact. The laborer, in his measure, shares all the risks and losses in the business. Let prices decline, and a reduction in wages is sure to follow. Let there be a dull market, and the mills shut down or run on half time. Let the employer fail, and the workmen are thrown out of employment and frequently lose their overdue pay. Their loss, severally, may be small compared with that of the capitalist, but in the aggregate it may be, and often is, greater than his. If, then, there is no security for their wages when the business is run at a loss, there can be no reason for excluding them from a share in the profits over and above the standard wage when the business prospers. Not a few large employers are beginning to feel the force of this reasoning and are recognizing the principle by distributing a dividend among their employees at the end of the year. What is now done in this respect in exceptional cases, voluntarily and as an act of generosity, remains to be established as the rule.

It will be objected that these workingmen would only spend their share of the profits in drink and debauchery. Yet this objection is a double-edged sword which cuts both ways. What does the employer do with the money? The number of employers is small compared with that of laborers, but perhaps the proportion of them who spend their money viciously is as great. The only question before us, however, is not what use will be made of the money, but to whom it belongs. If the workman has a right to a share in the profits no man can justly withhold it from him. Such affected patronage is nothing less than robbery, and it is poor atonement for the crime to take a part of the money and build a workingmen's library, or to bequeath it at death to charitable and religious purposes. A just wage cannot be fixed by supply and demand, nor by competition and contract, nor yet can it be left to generosity and charity. It has its taproot down in the equities of the case. If industrial commodities are the joint product of capital and labor, then each owns a certain share of them, proportioned to the contribution which each made in their production. That share is not any fixed sum of money, irrespective of the market value of the product, but a fixed share of the product, variable in value according to the market. An advance in wages where the wage is a certain fixed sum of money does not necessarily mean an improvement in the pecuniary condition of the wage-earner. He may often get much larger pay and yet be no better off. Suppose the price of wages in all industries were doubled; as the market value of an article depends upon the amount of labor entering into it the price of every commodity would also be instantly doubled; so that the double wage would buy no more now than the single wage did before. It is useless, therefore, to attempt to quell the rising discontent of labor by showing that wages are higher now than formerly, or by offering an additional increase to their present money value. The workman wants what his labor produced, be its money value small or great, and not until he is satisfied that he gets it will labor agitations cease, nor will the public conscience feel that they ought to cease.

To determine the precise equities between capital and labor is the greatest problem of the age, and he who succeeds in solving it will be the greatest benefactor of the race. Perhaps civilization is not yet ripe for its solution. But while we may

not be able to formulate the law of equity in the case with exactness we can discover where it lies and approximately outline it. The gigantic trusts, syndicates, and corporations of the day have themselves eliminated one of the most perplexing factors of the problem. It used to be that the capitalist and manager of the business were one and the same, and then the question which defied solution was how much of the success of the business was due to the management. But in all these great companies capital is separated from the management. The owners of the stock do not run the business, but employ an agent for that purpose at a fixed salary. The amount of profits due to the management, therefore, is a fixed sum which leaves the balance to be divided simply between capital and labor.

Let us take a standard industry of the country—for example, the manufacture of cotton goods—as an illustration, and attempt the solution of the problem. Suppose the plant with its machinery to be worth $125,000, the raw material used per annum $500,000, and the capital required to run the business $200,000, while the number of hands employed is 500. At the end of the year the output of the mill is ascertained to have been $800,000, exclusive of all commissions and freight paid to market it. How would a court of equity distribute that amount? In the first place, the raw material must be paid for. Then the rental value of the mill, including ordinary wear and tear and necessary repairs, amounting to about $10,000, must be deducted. After this, insurance, both on the plant and stock, must be paid, aggregating some $2,000. Then the manager must be paid his salary, about $3,000. Next a fund should be created to replace obsolete machinery and to cover all possible loss by accident in the business. This should be an undivided fund, belonging neither to employer nor employees, but to the concern, and should not be used for the improvement of the plant, which is the sole property of the capitalist. Let this fund be made ample, so as to give the capitalist as good security for his money as any other investment. Suppose, for this purpose, we set aside $20,000 per annum. Finally, add for fuel, light, tax, office and traveling expenses, and for incidentals $6,000, making in all $546,000. Now, the capitalist has nothing left in the business but simply $200,000 in money, for which he has as good security as any other investment could

furnish. To what rate is he entitled for the use of his money? The public conscience, which has enacted a legal rate for each State, has thus decided that that is all the money is worth. But suppose we grant forty per cent more, to cover any possible risk which such investment may involve more than another. Five per cent. is all that first-class security will pay; let us give the employer seven per cent. This will make his share $14,000. Deducting all these amounts from the value of the output, we have left $240,000 to be divided among the laborers. It is what their toil produced; it belongs of right to them; it is their just wage and remains to be divided among them, not equally, but equitably, according to the relative value of each man's labor in producing the output. This amount is thirty per cent of the value of the finished product. The figures which we have named may not be accurate; they may be too great in some cases and too small in others; but their sum total will not vary very widely from the truth. After all other claims have been met something like thirty per cent of the output will be left as the amount due to labor. With this amount, be its money value small or great, labor must be content, except that whatever surplus there may be in the fund set apart to cover losses by accident and for improved machinery belongs to labor and must be distributed in dividends among the workmen. Or, better still, having thus determined approximately the relative share of capital, labor, and management, deduct from the value of the entire output all fixed claims and then divide what is left among these three in the proportion which each sustains to the other, namely, capital, 3; labor, 30; and management, 1.

Should it be objected that this plan is impracticable, because the workmen could not wait till the end of the year for their wages, while the amount to which they are entitled could not be ascertained before, the answer is that if the principle be correct its practice will not be impossible. Let a minimum wage, agreed upon, be drawn weekly and the balance at the end of the quarter or six months or year, whenever the amount due them can be ascertained. This is precisely what is done now by the partners in nearly all business firms. That some such plan is feasible is rendered indubitable by the cooperative establishments already in successful operation. Let the experiment be made upon a large scale and the results be carefully

tabulated, and in a quarter of a century the proportionate value of labor to the finished product in any given industry could be determined as accurately as the value of any other commodity. The combined labor and capital of the country produce annually sufficient to give every person a comfortable living, with a considerable surplus for luxuries. It needs only that an equitable division should be made—that each man should be given the share which his labor or skill or capital has contributed to the general wealth—to satisfy the public conscience and to secure general contentment. Since the vast syndicates, trusts, and corporations which control the industries of the land are created by law and constantly invoke the powers of government to protect their rights, it is only just that the law should provide against the abuse of their privileges by requiring that they shall neither overcharge the public on the one hand nor underpay their employees on the other. We sadly mistake the trend of the times if there is not a steady march toward the enactment of statutes which shall determine the wage of the workman and give him a claim, in a court of equity, for a fair share of the profits. Bellamy's *Looking Backward* is causing many men to look forward. His dream may be Utopian in many respects, but there is much in it, nevertheless, capable of realization. In a government like ours, where the people are sovereign, Vulcan, and not Pluto, must ultimately reign. The man with the paper cap, the hammer, and the leathern apron is elbowing his way to the front amid a wilderness of wheels, compelling the recognition of his manhood and the dignity of labor. It may be that under the present industrial *régime* labor gets its full share of the profits in many cases, and where it does not the employer is not so much to blame as the system which necessitates the grinding down of labor. But the old system is rapidly becoming effete and is giving way to something better. The eastern sky is already streaked with gray, foretelling a new industrial day. The old order changeth. Get ready for the new.

Jacob Todd

ART. VI.—THE RELATIONS AND RESULTS OF OUR EARLY MISSIONARY WORK IN OREGON.

THE relation of our early missionary work on the North Pacific coast to the Americanization of Oregon and its social and educational culture is a part of our history which has not hitherto received that careful analysis and plain statement that its importance demands. The writer desires in this paper to supply this deficiency, and so give the work its proper credit, not only as an agency of purely spiritual influence, but also as almost the only embodiment and representative of American principles during the determining struggle between the United States and Great Britain for the ownership of Oregon.

Two things may be premised: Our review of this subject must proceed from a purely historic standpoint and be largely summarizations of facts rather than elaborate and historical discussions of them. Also, if we write almost exclusively of our Methodist Episcopal missionary work on this coast, we do not forget or ignore the fact that the same things here written about our work would be true in their measure of the work of other American missions in the same field.

Leading up to our subject a few undisputed statements of history should be made:

1. Oregon, by which name, as used in this paper, we understand all the region of country west of the Rocky Mountains and north of the forty-second degree of north latitude as far as the forty-ninth degree, was practically unknown to the lettered world up to 1792, only one hundred years ago, when Captain Robert Gray, commanding the Boston ship *Columbia*, discovered the mouth of the great river of the West and named it "Columbia," after the vessel he commanded.

2. Nothing was understood of the geographical or topographical character of its great interior until, under the orders of President Jefferson, Captains Lewis and Clark crossed the summits of the Rocky Mountains, and, striking the head waters of the Columbia, followed it downward until they reached the Pacific Ocean, on the 15th of November, 1805, only eighty-seven years ago.

3. The first effort to establish a localized commercial interest

in Oregon was made by the Pacific Fur Company, under the direction of John Jacob Astor, in the founding of "Astoria," in 1811, a little less than eighty-two years ago.

4. During the last war between the United States and Great Britain, in 1814, Astoria, including all its merchandise of every description, was disposed of by its resident partners of Mr. Astor, who were British subjects, to the Northwestern Company, a British corporation. The American name, Astoria, was superseded by the British name, "Fort George," and the British flag took the place of the Stars and Stripes.

5. By a consolidation of the Northwestern Company with the Hudson's Bay Company, another corporation operating under letters patent from the British crown, the Hudson's Bay Company not only secured a complete monopoly of the trade of the valley of the Columbia, but became the recognized representative of British pretensions to the ownership of the country itself; so that from 1821 to 1848, the period historically known as that of "joint occupancy," that company was the very right arm of British power in its fierce struggle against the ownership of the country by the United States.

6. The Hudson's Bay Company, thus constituted, was one of the most powerful commercial monopolies in the world. Its commercial capital reached millions, and its partners, clerks, and servants numbered high into the thousands, when, on the 19th of October, 1834, nearly fifty-nine years ago, the Methodist Episcopal Church, in the person of her noble representative, Jason Lee, opened her evangel of light in an established mission that embodied and typified both American civilization and evangelical Christianity in the sight at once of the unrelieved paganism of untold ages and the un-American and un-Protestant power which had held the destiny of Oregon in its grip of steel so long. And these were the contesting forces that here and there entered the lists in the great intellectual and moral tournament which was to decide the social, religious, and national destiny of Oregon.

From this historical standpoint we are now prepared to study first the relations of our missionary work thus established to the Americanization of Oregon. What we mean by the "Americanization of Oregon" is the settlement of the question of the ownership of the country, which had been so long in controversy

between the United States and Great Britain, in favor of the United States, thus making it American and not British territory. Previous to the establishment of the mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Oregon, in 1834, a number of attempts had been made to establish American commercial interests and American settlements in the valley of the Columbia. The three historically most prominent and most ably sustained were that of the Pacific Fur Company, at the head of which was John Jacob Astor, in 1811; that of Captain Bonneville, an officer of the United States army, on furlough for that purpose, and having the quasi support of the government, together with the patronage of some of the most prominent merchants of New York, in 1832-34; and that of Mr. Nathaniel Wyethe, who invested a large private fortune, for that time, in his enterprise, besides having strong financial and moral support from the wealth and culture of Boston. But for reasons that will soon appear these were all utter failures, and when Mr. Lee introduced himself to Dr. John McLoughlin, the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company west of the Rocky Mountains, on September 15, 1834, there was really nothing of American influence in the entire region over which this able governor presided. Therefore when those two men met that day there stood face to face causes and destinies of wonderful import to Oregon, and even to civilization itself, the world over.

They were both typical and representative men. One was Scotch-English, with all the stalwart grip and force of that splendid blood. The other was of pure New England parentage, a revised and improved edition of the Anglo-Saxon of the seagirt isle. Each stood over six feet in height and looked on a level into the other's eyes. Seldom in all history have two such splendid representatives of opposing forces and antagonistic purposes stood face to face with each other as in the case of these two men. One is tempted to stand and gaze long upon this strange moral and intellectual tableau thus thrown against the foreground of an opening and against the background of a departing era; for when their hands clasped it was suggestive of the old unconsciously welcoming the new, and the new almost as unconsciously bidding the old adieu.

Dr. McLoughlin, as the representative of the Hudson's Bay Company, and hence the embodiment of British power and

purpose in Oregon, could not meet Mr. Lee as he could and did meet Mr. Nathaniel Wyethe. The cases and the causes were entirely dissimilar. Mr. Wyethe came with merchandise —came as a trader—to set up a rival establishment within sound of the morning guns of Fort Vancouver. Mr. Lee came as a missionary to bring help and moral uplift to degraded men. Mr. Wyethe had arms in his hands; Mr. Lee had ideas and moral purposes in his mind and heart. The one could be met with arms if necessary, and the Hudson's Bay Company be thus rid of the annoyance of his commercial opposition, and Britain of the more hated pestilence of his Americanism. The other could only be met by ideas and moral purposes better than Dr. McLoughlin's own. One cannot shoot an idea to death, he cannot kill a moral influence with gunpowder; and, besides, those who knew Dr. McLoughlin in his lifetime knew very well that his moral nature was far superior to the purposes and work of the soulless corporation of which he was then the executive head. Still, justice requires the statement that it is not probable that Dr. McLoughlin was well enough skilled in moral casuistry or sufficiently acquainted with the history and results of missionary enterprises in other parts of the world to comprehend the meaning to the future history of this coast that was wrapped up in the white folds of Mr. Lee's commission. Otherwise he might have hindered when he helped, and thwarted when he counseled and upheld.

It is not our purpose in this paper to follow in detail the history of our early missionary work further than to show how potentially this and succeeding missionary establishments became the nucleus around which gathered whatever there was of American life and purpose in Oregon for ten years or more following 1834. Hence the story of that work as it related to the Indian population will be entirely omitted here.

After two years and a half of most self-denying, but still hopefully successful, work by Messrs. Jason Lee, Daniel Lee, Cyrus Shepard, and P. L. Edwards, in establishing this mission, three men and three women were added to their numbers by appointment of our missionary board, arriving in Oregon in May, 1837. The first marriage of a white man to a white woman in Oregon took place on the 16th of July following. The contracting parties were Jason Lee and Miss Anna Maria

Pittman, the pioneer American missionary thus becoming the pioneer American home builder in the valley of the Willamette. On the same day Mr. Cyrus Shepard and Miss Susan Downing, both of the mission, were married. In September following Rev. David Leslie, accompanied by his wife and several children, a thorough New England family, having some of the best blood of old Massachusetts flowing in their veins, arrived. These were the beginnings of American home life in this valley. Did not this mean something for American civilization in Oregon? We shall see further on, though we must pass through the work of years in single sentences. Up to this time there had scarcely been the semblance of a home, as we understand that word, in Oregon. But here were educated and cultivated white women, accustomed to the refinements of the parlors of Boston and Lynn, of Newark and New York, able to grace any social life, as well as aid in lifting up a fallen and degraded race. Thus an American community, with all the elements of increase and perpetuity in itself, was established in the very heart of Oregon—consisting of men, women, and children, with homes, schools, and worship, with flocks and herds and plows and harvests—peaceably but successfully confronting the rule of the British Hudson's Bay Company over the fair realm it had dominated so long. In less than three years more fifty-one other persons, including thirteen families, were added to this settlement. Thus, in less than six years after its first missionary contingent of three men had reached Oregon, the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church had not only planted an American community in Oregon, but had made it so strong that it was ineradicable, doing what fur traders and commercial adventurers and even the United States government had failed to do in fifty years of effort.

Having thus summarily noted the beginning and traced the development of this entirely and intensely American force in Oregon up to the autumn of 1840, we are in possession of the following facts: The entire number of adults, men and women, that our missionary board had transplanted from the best life of the old States into Oregon was forty, constituting not far from twenty American homes. Probably these homes held at that time not far from sixty children, born to an inheritance of American patriotism which certainly would not be diminished

when they contrasted their own with the homes of those who disputed with them the dominion of Oregon.

Meantime, to understand the true position and measure the actual work of this American missionary community, we should know what the Hudson's Bay Company, as representing British pretensions to Oregon, had been doing during the six years in which this formidable and opposing force had been developing before it. Surely such astute leaders and such faithful men as McLoughlin and Douglas, intrusted by their company and by their government with such vast mercantile and national interests, could not be insensible or indifferent to the ominous threat against those interests involved in the very presence of these American missionary communities near them. Two things they did, both in themselves well chosen for the end they sought. First, they introduced, in 1838, two French Canadian Roman Catholic priests. These were British subjects, and, of course, strongly in favor of British and against American rule in Oregon. Second, in 1842 they brought a colony of one hundred and twenty-five persons, also British subjects, from Winnipeg, to settle in Oregon and attach themselves to its soil. Thus, at the two points where that great company feared the influence of the American missions the most, they made the most strenuous efforts to counteract that influence. They knew the greatness of the prize at issue, and they were not men to neglect any fair means to win that prize for the country they represented. We are not complaining of this action, but are simply recording it. There is a measure of honor that we accord them. They did what they could, and in the best way they could, to counteract the influence which they could not but see must, if left unchecked, give the long-disputed Oregon, coveted equally by England and the United States, to the latter nation. Their faithfulness to their trust was honorable.

We are now in a position to study with something of intelligence the elements that entered into and finally decided the struggle for Oregon. There were two: the one was political, British against American; the other was religious, Romanist against Protestant—British and Romanist, American and Protestant. Thus they stood in array over against each other. It seems a strange coincidence, but history can make no other

record of that period of the struggle for Oregon. The claims and interests of Great Britain at this period, it is safe to say, were sustained by a greater number of people than were those of the United States. But they were a conglomerate of various colors and cultures, with little of moral or social adhesiveness. Noble and cultured white men, English and Scotch, mostly, were in the lead, but their followers were largely French Canadians, or half-castes from the Red River country. Their social and home life seemed to weaken rather than strengthen the moral and intellectual fiber of the best men among them. The traders, the chief factors, and even the governor himself, were as the *voyageurs* and trailmen in this regard. Their children were, as a body, without any large and worthy ambition—too high to be Indians and too low to be white men. Among them all there was not a single white wife and mother. On the side of the American community, embodied up to this time, and later, in the missions and missionaries, there was a homogeneity of moral and intellectual and national idea that gave it the strength of welded steel. They were among the hardiest and most aspiring people of the New World. They had been trained in the furrows and in the shops and at the forges where human frames are annealed unto endurance and tempered into elasticity. They were educated. Many, both men and women, had high literary ability and culture. They had ambition, that supreme energizer which forever lifts great souls toward the skies. They comprehended their responsibility and accurately measured their opportunity. And this was the body of men who stood undauntedly for American interests and supremacy in Oregon against the great Hudson's Bay Company, representing British interests and supremacy. Can we not now see the moral and philosophical reason for the final issue of the struggle?

We have carried the parallel and contrast between the Hudson's Bay Company and the American missions only down to 1840, because after that date comparatively few persons were added to the original missionary force in Oregon, and for two or three years following the "missionary influence," as it was called, was at its zenith. But the relative power of the Hudson's Bay Company grew less, and its grip on the destiny of Oregon was forever loosened.

The writer would not detract from the praise due any man, or any class of men, for labor on behalf of early Oregon, nor would he add to the laurels of any one more than is his due; but, up to this period, the American interest in Oregon owed more to the work and influence of Jason Lee than to those of any other one man, if not, indeed, of all other men in the country combined. He was really the corypheus of the American community, as was Dr. McLoughlin of the Hudson's Bay Company influence. Being first in the field, he very early made himself acquainted with the country from the Umpqua to Puget Sound and from the ocean to the Rocky Mountains. His manuscript journal, now open before me, shows that he estimated highly the agricultural capabilities of the country, and especially of the Willamette valley, and as early as 1835 believed it would soon be occupied by a civilized people. His correspondence with the Board of Missions, under whose directions he labored, which was published in New York in 1835–38, also evidenced this conviction. Following up his belief upon this point, in 1838 he returned overland to the States, and before the missionary board in New York, in the public prints, and before great audiences, from Maine to South Carolina, and from Boston to St. Louis, set forth the character, needs, and advantages of Oregon. He spent a full year in this employment, visiting Washington and conferring with the secretary of state and the secretary of war, and receiving substantial aid from the officers of the general government for the furtherance of the purpose for which he was in the East—the organization and equipment of a strong reinforcement for his missionary work in Oregon. His purpose was completely successful, and in October of 1839 he sailed from New York in a ship chartered by the missionary board, with what was really an American colony—ministers, mechanics, farmers, teachers—and with supplies for the work upon which they had engaged, to the value of twenty-five thousand dollars. It was the largest and best equipped company that, on such a purpose, had ever sailed from any port; and when it reached its western destination in 1840, with Mr. Lee at its head, it morally fixed the national status of Oregon, because it put the American influence far in advance of the British.

A single other point in our view of the relation of those mis-

sionary stations to the Americanization of Oregon it is necessary to notice. It is this: these stations became the centers around which gathered all there was of American sentiment or American people in the country. This was especially true of the Willamette station. True to its purpose, and the nation under whose charter it pursued that purpose, the Hudson's Bay Company would do nothing to induce or foster American settlement. While it would sell its goods to Americans it would buy nothing of them. This was the surest system of antagonism it could possibly have adopted. It had forced the Americans out of the country before the missionary stations were established, and, until an organization able to cope with itself in mercantile operations could take up the work of colonization, it could keep them out. Rivalry in trade it did not fear, for that it could easily withstand. But the missionary establishments, while independent and self-supporting, were not trading posts. The Hudson's Bay Company could not prevent the ministry of hospitality which the missionaries were always ready to exercise toward their countrymen, and all others, indeed, who came to their doors or pitched their tents under the shadows of their sanctuary. Hence, though the missionaries were not traders, nor their stations depots of commerce, they became, in the only way in which rivalry could have been successful, the rivals of that mighty monopoly; and by the time any considerable number of American citizens were prepared to follow the path the missionaries had blazed out into the valleys of Oregon the latter had prepared an asylum for them and broken the right arm of the power of the Hudson's Bay Company. Never afterward did it, or the British nation it had so ably and faithfully represented, recover its supremacy in Oregon. Morally the contest was ended, and Oregon was Americanized. It remained only for a treaty between England and the United States to register this moral decision, and this was soon done.

But the full influence and importance of our early missionary work in Oregon cannot be understood unless we consider its relation to the social and educational culture of the country, as well as to its Americanization. As this branch of our theme is so broad in itself, and requires so extended and philosophical a treatment for its full understanding, we can here review it only in part. The elements of this class of culture are dis-

covered in two things—persons and the work they perform. There is never a creation without a creator; there is never a social state without a social being who is the creator of it; there is never an intellectual culture without a culturing intellect to produce it. We can therefore best consider this question in the following order: first, the persons, men and women whom our Missionary Society gave to Oregon, and, secondly, the work which they accomplished.

While we count the strictly missionary era of our work in Oregon to have closed with the organization of a regular Annual Conference in 1853, we do not by any means limit the relations and influence of that work on the social and educational culture of Oregon to that period. It was germinal rather than final and finished, and has touched and molded every subsequent period up to and including the present even more potentially than it did its own. Within this classification who were the men and the women thus given by our Missionary Society to Oregon? Let us write their names, for the pen that lingers on the names of heroes becomes itself heroic. Of ministers there were Jason Lee, Daniel Lee, David Leslie, H. K. W. Perkins, J. P. Richmond, J. H. Frost, Alvan F. Waller, Gustavus Hines, George Gary, William Roberts, James H. Wilbur, Nehemiah Doane, Thomas H. Pearne, Isaac Dillon, J. W. Miller, F. S. Hoyt, C. S. Kingsley, J. F. Devore, William Royal, T. F. Royal, J. W. Hines, H. K. Hines, P. G. Buchanan—a quarter of a hundred men each of whom brought with him a Deborah, or a Miriam, or a Hannah, or a Lydia, or a Dorcas, or a Lois, or a Eunice, or a Monica, or a Susannah Wesley, or a Madam Guyon, or any of the noble sisterhood of the ancient or the modern Church. Of laymen there were Cyrus Shepard, P. L. Edwards, H. B. Brewer, Dr. I. L. Babcock, James Olley, J. L. Parrish, who afterward became a minister; Hamilton Campbell, whose honored widow still graces her place in the Christian life of the city of Portland, and whose daughter, Mrs. Maria Smith, by her personal devotion and her large benefactions has put her name in such noble relief that the historian of Methodism in Oregon will be compelled to write her name by the side of the most "elect ladies" in the Church; and, named last because in some sense crowning all, George Abernethy, the first American Governor of Oregon.

Let us select from this list a few names and give the men who bore them the limning of a sentence:

Jason Lee, standing six feet three inches in stature, with a frame of molded steel, open, strong, manly face, his blue Saxon eye looking squarely and calmly into the flushed and noble face of Dr. McLoughlin—a very king of men—and preaching his revered and beloved Christ with equal power to high and low alike, the man of whom Dr. Fisk, when *the* man—the *providential* man—to found the Oregon Mission was sought, wrote: "I know but one man, Jason Lee." This companion and confidant of Osmon C. Baker, Miner Raymond, and others like them, this student and spiritual disciple of Fisk at Wilbraham, took into the deep wilds of Oregon in 1834 a nature of breadth and power that eminently fitted him to be a founder of empire as well as a successful minister of Christ, both of which he actually became.

Following Lee in the superintendency of the mission came George Gary. Who and what was he? In our boyhood and early manhood we could enter no Methodist cottage or palace from the Hudson to Lake Erie, or from Canada to Pennsylvania, where the name of George Gary was not held as the synonym for gentleness and loveliness of life and for eloquence and power in the pulpit. Short in stature, yet broad of shoulder and deep of chest, his round white face was as open as the sky, his full blue eye as clear as the light, his smile a sunbeam; and when we knew him his silver hair was a bannered crown upon his head in the midst of his impassioned oratory. He nearly reached the highest honors of his Church, and beautifully and sweetly would he have graced them. Such was George Gary, the second superintendent of the Oregon Mission.

To speak or write of William Roberts one needs his own purity and precision of rhetoric, his own superbly trained and perfectly modulated voice, his clear and ringing enunciation that never missed a tone nor made a discord. For forty years that splendid voice and cultured oratory proclaimed a Gospel neither added to nor taken from, with the same logical precision and the same effectiveness of appeal, in the schoolhouses, in the cabins, in the groves, or in the city pulpits throughout Oregon. He was the third and last superintendent of the Oregon Mission.

Alvan F. Waller was another man who stood full six feet in height. Lithe, sinewy, alert, indomitable; with clear insight and calm, trustful outlook; with a penetrating thought that never missed the heart of the truth nor mistook its covering for its core; with a directness and power of appeal that often smote like an unexpected thunderbolt; immovable as granite yet elastic as tempered steel, he left an impress on the life of his age in Oregon such as but few men are able to make.

Gustavus Hines, the Conference classmate in old Genesee of Waller, and his lifelong friend and companion, should be mentioned by his side. They came to Oregon together, they wrought hand in hand, and they sleep the honored sleep but a few feet apart. Strong in both body and mind, a presence that gave the world assurance of a man perfectly devoted to an evangelical ministry, a preacher of great thoughtfulness and power, a writer of more than ordinary ability, a man beloved and a friend trusted, he, too, gave the spiritual and intellectual life of Oregon an enduring impress for good.

And we cannot close these representative sketches of men given to Oregon by our missionary work without mentioning another name that represents in our history a personality which, perhaps as much as any of our missionary era, left its mark upon that era and upon the future of this portion of our national life. The place filled by James H. Wilbur was as exceptional as his personality was unique. He grappled his friends to himself with hooks of steel softened and tempered with tears. In his purposes he was unrelenting. His will was as imperious as Cæsar's, while his heart was as tender as a woman's. Some man like him must needs have lived in his day in Oregon to make the full-orbed manhood of our ministry and its vigor and conservatism and success incomparable and complete. The quarter of a century of his life devoted to the elevation of the Yakima Indian nation gave him a national reputation and influence that made him a counselor of presidents and cabinets on questions which related to the welfare of the Indian tribes. Like Lee and Waller and Hines, his physical presence was imposing and princely. As Napier said of Ridge, writing from the field on which he fell, "No men fell on the field that day with more glory than he; yet many fell, and there was much glory."

But time and space would fail us to speak of those of whom these were but representatives. Could such men have lived their long years and poured the fire and culture of their eloquence, the purity and consecration of their Christian service, into the hearts and homes, over the assemblies and congregations, of the Oregon that was, without having imparted the best and truest impulse to the Oregon that now is and that which is yet to be? Were we to take by the hand and lead into the presence of our audience of readers the women who stood by their side and gave these heroes the benediction of their love and confidence both at home and abroad, in the study and in the pulpit, the statement would not seem strange that no equal number of women of any profession ever left so strong and benign an influence on the life of Oregon as those given the State by the selection and appointment of our missionary board from 1834 to 1853.

The writer's thoughts move on, but his pen must cease to record them. He has stood, while writing this paper, in the light of the memory of men whom his heart almost apotheosizes. How they touched, moved, and melted us, and how their work as the years roll on enlarges to our comprehension! Greater opportunity has not been given to mortals since the foot of the Pilgrim stepped on Plymouth Rock. No better men for the opportunity did God ever find among his chosen than were those who laid the foundations of what is to be the greatest, grandest, central State of the ultimate West, in the Americanization of Oregon and the stamp and mold they put on its early social and intellectual life.

H. K. Hines,

ART. VII.—THE ORDER OF MELCHIZEDEK.

THE supply of antiquities still hidden away in the pyramids, temples, and tombs and covered by the soil of Egypt seems to be literally inexhaustible. It is a land of wonders and a land of startling surprises. Though discoveries in this land of archæological marvels have been many and important, that of the Tel el-Amarna tablets will doubtless remain one of the great achievements of the century. The proceedings of learned societies, special monographs by eminent Orientalists and Egyptologists, and periodicals devoted to archæological subjects have furnished studies, criticisms, and translations which have earned for their authors the gratitude of the general student. Professor Sayce presents translations which have been published in the new series of the *Records of the Past.* His admirable introductions are rich in facts and suggestions. The condition of Palestine one hundred years before the Israelitish conquest is shown us in an interesting light. Its numerous cities are tributary to Egypt, and their kings, governors, or princes report to the reigning Pharaoh. They furnish their contingent of soldiers, horses, and war chariots to the king's army upon his demand; and when their own territory is threatened they may appeal to Egypt for help. The king is governed by no uniform rule in his treatment of these dependencies, except to insure their loyalty and maintain their good will by severity or generosity, each case being judged on its own merits. Egyptian governors are appointed to certain cities, while in other cities native princes retain their positions and titles and exercise limited powers. The latter must pay tribute regularly, admit an Egyptian garrison at the pleasure of the great king, and receive the visits of a commissioner who makes an investigation of their political condition and communicates the results to the Pharaoh. Sometimes an Egyptian governor sits by the side of the native prince, but in such case the power of the latter is doubtless nominal. When a native prince is left in power the dependent territory is still called "the country of the king," and an Egyptian governor is appointed over each of its important towns. In this manner the power of the most favored is greatly reduced. The Egyp-

tian soldiers in Palestine consist of several classes. The "soldiers of the palace" are a sort of bodyguard of the prince, and are the most highly honored. The "soldiers of the garrison" are the most numerous, and hold responsible positions. It is possible that the "soldiers of the kingdom" are hired foreign mercenaries, and "the plunderers"—the modern Bedouins are their descendants, at least in character—seem to be in the pay of the Egyptian government. We may express the hope that the last were seldom employed.

The Tel el-Amarna tablets were written in the time of Amenophis III and his son Amenophis IV, or Khuenaten, "the heretic king." They consist, for the most part, of dispatches sent from the governors in Palestine and Syria to the Pharaoh. Several of these letters speak of some common danger which threatens the integrity of the empire. The subject States hold themselves in readiness to resist the foe. The Hittites and their allies are already pressing upon the empire from the north. The peoples of Naharaim and Babylonia will not leave them in peace. Later letters show a disturbed condition of the country which can only exist when the central authority has become weak and is ready to fall. Not only are enemies invading the land, but princes are fighting among themselves. There are criminations and counter-criminations and professions of loyalty. Appeals to Egypt multiply and become pitiable. Evidently the Pharaoh has more than he can do to attend to the religious revolt at home, which finally overthrows his dynasty and inaugurates anew the old *régime*. He must leave Palestine to its fate.

There is one governor who occupies a position quite peculiar and independent. He is the governor of Jerusalem, and his name is Ebed-tob. He is a priest-king, and has been designated to his position by the oracle of the god of the city. This divine appointment to his office evidently gives him great satisfaction, and he refers to the exceptional fact again and again. "Behold, neither my father nor my mother has exalted me in this place; the prophecy of the mighty king has caused me to enter the house of my father." "Behold, this country of the city of Jerusalem neither my father nor my mother has given to me; it was an oracle that gave it to me, even to me." The letter shows that "the mighty king" is the god of Jerusalem.

The king of Egypt is called "the great king," *sarru rabu*, but not "the mighty king," *sarru dannu*. The prophet of Jerusalem in the days of Ebed-tob was the spiritual predecessor of the Jewish prophets of later date, in bringing foreign nations within the range of his vision. We have the very words of one of his prophetic utterances: "While there is a ship in the midst of the sea"—this is the oracle of the mighty king—"the conquests shall continue of the country of Nakhrima and the country of Babylonia," or Kasim, as Babylonia is now under a Kassite dynasty. The translation of Zimmern gives a different reading: "The arm of the mighty king shall conquer the countries of Naharaim and Babylonia." Both translations, however, witness to the historic character of the campaign of Chedorlaomer and the oppression of Chushan-rishathaim (Gen. xiv; Judg. iii, 8–10).

The historicity of that passage of Manetho is defended wherein he relates that when the Hyksos were expelled from Egypt they built or fortified Jerusalem, that they might successfully defend themselves against the attacks from the Assyrians—the Babylonians being known as Assyrians in the time of the historian.

Fortunately the name of the god of Jerusalem has not been lost. In one of his reports Ebed-tob declares that the country of the king has gone over to the Khabiri, or Confederates, and continues: "And now at this moment the city of the mountain of Jerusalem, the city of the temple of the god Uras whose name is 'Salim, the city of the king, is separated from the locality of the men of the city of Keilah." As the priest of 'Salim, Ebed-tob was more than a mere political governor, and makes such a claim. He calls himself, in our letter, "the ally of the king." He professes, nevertheless, perfect loyalty, defends himself against unjust accusations, and does not fail to declare, in humility, "I at the feet of the king my lord seven times seven prostrate myself." His government ranks high among the principalities of Palestine. He is a priest-king, and more a priest than a king. He is priest of 'Salim, and not king of Jerusalem. In Assyria priests of the god Assur preceded kings of the city Assur. The same may be said of the kingdom of Saba in southern Arabia. The government is a theocracy, like that of Israel before the establishment of the monarchy.

We have already learned that Jerusalem was threatened by the Khabiri, or Confederates, and it would seem that Elimelech was at that time their king. The Khabiri are "Hebronites," and Hebron, "the Confederacy," was in their possession and served as their rallying point. Previous to this occupancy the name of the city was Kirjath-arba. This confederacy was formed of Hittites and Amorites. Ebed-tob repeatedly appeals to the Pharaoh for help. "The king has established his name in the country of Jerusalem forever, and he cannot forsake the districts of the city of Jerusalem." "The Confederates have wasted all the countries of the king. If auxiliaries come this year the countries of the king the lord will be preserved; but if no auxiliaries come the countries of the king my lord are destroyed." These appeals would seem to have been in vain. Khuenaten—Amenophis IV—was expelled from his throne, met a sudden death, and was buried in haste. This becomes evident from a careful study of his recently discovered tomb. Before his burial was complete enemies broke into the tomb, took the mummy from the sarcophagus and tore its wrappings into shreds, destroyed the sarcophagus, and effaced the name and image of his god from the walls of the chamber of the dead. The Egyptian troops are withdrawn from Palestine, and the Confederates conquer Jerusalem. When the Israelites enter Canaan, Jerusalem has become Jebus and is held by the Jebusites, a powerful and warlike tribe of Amorites, and its citadel remained in their power till the reign of David. We have in this fragment of history an explanation of a passage in the prophecy of Ezekiel: "Thus said the Lord God unto Jerusalem; Thy birth and thy nativity is of the land of Canaan; thy father was an Amorite, and thy mother a Hittite" (Ezek. xvi, 3, 45). The confederacy of Hebron is the same in character as that of which Abraham the Hebrew was the overlord (Gen. xiv, 13). These confederacies were natural and influential and doubtless frequent in early Palestinian history.

We return to a further consideration of the god 'Salim. His character is apparently that of a sun-god, since he is connected with the Babylonian sun-god Uras, the god of Nipur. The etymology of Jerusalem is given in the tablets *Uru-salim*. Uru means "city," and therefore Jerusalem is "the city of the

god 'Salim" and the seat of his special worship. 'Salim—the word is very familiar under the form of the Hebrew *shalôm*, "peace"—is "the god of peace." Here, then, is a most sacred sanctuary, where all feuds are laid aside and all peoples can meet in unity under the protection of "the god of peace." It is appropriate that the priest of 'Salim be raised to higher honors than the ordinary governors of provinces. The reign of Solomon, "the peaceful king," was a reign of peace. Sallimmanu, "the god of peace," was especially honored in Assyria, and the name is found as an element in the names of many ancient kings. It would seem that he bore the character of a fish-god, which fact would point to Lower Babylonia as the original seat of his worship and a possible connection with Ea, the god of culture, represented in human form, but partially inclosed in the body or skin of a fish which hangs down his back and surmounts him with its head. In an inscription we read: "Sallimmanu, the fish, the god of the city of Temen-Sallim, 'the foundation of peace.'" In the time of Shalmaneser II—the name may be translated "O 'Salim, help!"—there was a royal scribe at Sadikan, the modern Arban, who bore the cumbrous name Sallimmanu-nunu-sar-ilani, "Sallimmanu, the fish, is king of the gods." There are other references to this god in Assyria, but we come nearer to the scene of our present studies and note that, in the time of Tiglath-Pileser III, Salamanu was the name of the Moabite king.

Ebed-tob, "servant of Tob," represents a series of names of which the Bible furnishes many examples. In the Tel el-Amarna tablets we meet with Ebed-Ashera, "servant of Ashera." The word *Ebed* as an element of proper names is too frequent in the Bible to require especial mention. With Ebed-tob we may compare Tab-rimon of 1 Kings xv, 18, and Tab-eal of Isa. vii, 6.

We now take up the name Melchizedek. Its last element is Sydyk, the name of an old Phœnician god who, in connection with seven or eight Khabiri, his sons, is the center of a vast, mysterious, and extensive mythology. Ebed-tob employs the word *tsaduk*, "just," in his correspondence, but it is not a native Assyrian word. The only other king of Jerusalem whose name has been preserved—and he also stood at the head of a confederacy of cities—is Adonizedek, who, with other allied

kings, was captured and slain by Joshua. We may translate the names of the two kings of Jerusalem, "Sydyk is my king," and "Sydyk is my lord." We may be justified in the suggestion that the god of Jerusalem may have been worshiped under the names *Zedek*, "the righteous one," or "righteousness," and *Tob*, "the good one," or "goodness," if the latter element have the meaning usually assigned. The word *Zedek* may be purely attributive, and in such case the name of the two kings may be translated, "My king is righteous," or "He is the king of righteousness," and "My lord is righteous," or "He is the lord of righteousness." There are other biblical names which contain the same element. The word occurs in Assyro-Babylonian names, but has evidently been borrowed. In *The Assyrian Chronicle* we have the record, "Tsidqi-ilu of the country of Tuskhan, at home." The date is B. C. 764. The name may be translated: "Sydyk is my god," "The god of righteousness," or "My god is righteous." We also meet with a Babylonian king who bears the name Ammi-zadugga, which, if *zadugga* be the name of a god, we may translate, "Sydyk is my trusted friend;" or, perhaps better, with Professor Sayce we may take the first element in the compound as the name of a god and translate, "Ammi is just." In one of the Minæan inscriptions discovered by Halévy in the south of Arabia mention is made of one 'Ammi-tsadiqa, governor of the district of Ashur and also of the fortress of Zar on the Egyptian frontier. Professor Hommel assigns this inscription to a very early epoch, probably that of the Hyksos domination in Egypt. His appointment was made by the Minæan king Abi-yada'. In another Minæan inscription is found a third variant of the same name, 'Ammi-tsaduq. There is also the name of a King Waqah-il-tsaduq.

The name of Melchizedek is not an invention, but is properly formed of known elements and is placed in an appropriate setting. It is Semitic, but not Assyrian, and may be translated like other Semitic names and yields a similar meaning. Melchizedek is a worshiper of the "most high God," or "God most high"—*El-Elion*—which god may with probability be identified with 'Salim, "the god of peace." This is the first place in which the title "most high" occurs in the Bible. It is interesting to remark that Baalam, another alien from the

family of Abraham, uses the same title. Sanchoniathon, the Phœnician historian, mentions Elion as the name of a Phœnician deity. It has been assumed that Abraham recognized Melchizedek as a worshiper of the true God, but the evidence does not necessitate such a conclusion, except in the same sense in which Paul recognized the Athenians as worshipers of the true God. Melchizedek, "the priest of the most high god," has blessed Abraham and blessed "the most high god" who has delivered his enemies into his hands, and has assumed that this god, whom he describes as "the possessor of heaven and earth," is the God whom Abraham worships. The patriarch does not dispute this view, but when the first opportunity is presented declares that Jehovah is "the most high God." "I have lift up mine hand unto the Lord, the most high God, the possessor of heaven and earth"—*Jehovah El-Elion*, "Jehovah, God most high." The force, solemnity, and majesty of the declaration are characteristic of this grandest type of patriarchal gentleman. Jehovah is not a tribal god, but the God of all the families of the earth.

There is peculiar appropriateness in the part which Melchizedek plays in the account of the campaign of Abraham against Chedorlaomer. When the enemy had been defeated and driven from the land, and the conqueror was returning from his brilliant exploit, and the whole country was again at rest and in the full enjoyment of an honorable peace, then it was that the priest of 'Salim, "the god of peace," came forth to meet Abraham and to pronounce upon him his blessing. The bread and wine were for his refreshment after his long and rapid marches, and partly also, possibly, to be used as offerings to the god of peace to whom his success was due. We may understand, furthermore, why Abraham gave tithes of all his spoil. He was within the territorial domain of Jerusalem, and the tithes were due to Melchizedek as the ruling prince, due by virtue of both his kingly and his priestly character. He could demand them as his right, and the laws of war required their payment.

Professor Sayce may be right in attaching especial significance to the use of "my gods" in addressing the king of Egypt. Though "my god" is the more usual expression and shows a practical knowledge of the singular form, the occurrence of "my gods" is too frequent to be accounted for as an individual

peculiarity or extravagance, or yet a mistake on the part of those scribes who were imperfectly acquainted with the Assyrian language. It is not an Egyptian form of expression, but belongs to the language of Canaan. Its connection may be seen in sentences like the following: "I, Su-yardata thy servant, the dust of thy feet, at the feet of the king my lord, my gods, my sun-god, seven times seven prostrate myself." "I, Malchiel thy servant, the dust of thy feet, at the feet of the king my lord, my gods, my sun-god, seven times seven prostrate myself. Word has been sent by the king my lord, my gods, my sun-god, to me. Now is health enjoyed by the king my lord, the sun-god who rises from heaven; and verily knows the king my lord, my gods, my sun-god, that this is the place of the king my lord which he has intrusted to me." Most elaborate is the introduction of the letter of the governor of Sidon: "To the king my lord, my gods, my sun-god, my king, my lord, speak thus: I, Zimriddi, the governor of the city of Sidon, at the feet of my lord, my gods, my king, who is my lord, at the feet of my lord, my gods, my sun-god, my king, my lord, seven times seven prostrate myself." The king of Egypt was not only "the son of the sun," but also the sun-god himself, being completely identified with this divinity; but no Egyptian would address him as "my gods." We do not find this expression in the letters of Ebed-tob, but it is used by the princess Su-yardata and Malchiel and others whose territories are contiguous to his own. It would make the god to whom it is applied absolutely supreme, containing within his own nature and being all attributes and essences of all gods. Familiarity with this usage on the part of the Canaanites may have been preparatory to the appreciation of the Hebrew plural form Elohim, the god who contains within his own nature and being all possible divine attributes and essences. This Semitism, which has called forth so much learned discussion, philological, theological, and rhetorical, certainly antedates the writings of Moses by nearly a century.

We should guard against finding in the monuments confirmations of the Bible where they are questionable or do not exist at all. We recognize the fact that archæological research has not only settled many questions concerning biblical subjects, but has also raised not a few which still await future discover-

ies for their full elucidation. We may, however, call attention to a remarkable coincidence. The Assyrian *Sar 'Salim*, "king of Salem," or "priest of 'Salim," the god of peace, is letter for letter identical with the title which Isa. ix, 6, gives prophetically to the Messiah—*Sar Shalôm*, "Prince of Peace."

The information which the Old Testament affords concerning Melchizedek is soon exhausted. The author of Genesis gives his name and office, the seat of his authority, and a single incident in his life. He meets Abraham with bread and wine, blesses him, and receives from him the tithes of the spoil. There is but a single reference elsewhere. One of the Psalms—cx, 4—contains, as from the Lord, the prophecy, "Thou art a priest forever after the order of Melchizedek." Paul interprets the passage as pointing to the priesthood of Christ. It is plain, however, that the use which Paul makes of the character and office of Melchizedek is not justified by the Old Testament fragment of his history, if taken alone. He could hardly have been taken as a type of Christ, in illustrating the divine origin and unchangeableness of his priesthood. Much less could Paul have described him as "without father, without mother, without descent, having neither beginning of days, nor end of life; but made like unto the Son of God." Paul must have had access to other sources of information. The only other source of information known even up to the present day is the correspondence preserved in the Tel el-Amarna tablets; but Paul knew as little of these tablets as of the hieroglyphic writings of Uxmal and Palenque. Even had these tablets been known to Paul, he would not, in all probability, have written as he did.

Ebed-tob, the successor of Melchizedek, was not elected to his office by the people, nor by any college of nobles or ecclesiastics; he came not to his position of influence and authority by virtue of belonging to any priestly tribe or family; he was not appointed by any king or high official; he did not usurp the priesthood; he was designated to his office by the oracle of 'Salim, "the god of peace." Melchizedek, like Ebed-tob, was probably the overlord of a confederacy of cities or provinces. He was priest of the same god, appointed to his office by the same divine oracle, and served at the same sanctuary which was established on Mount Moriah. The description of him which Paul presents is not that of the historian. It is such an

account as would be given by an author whose mind has been divinely quickened to recognize spiritual connections and interpret prophetic types, and whose knowledge of the character whose portrait he paints is exact but general, rather than minute and circumstantial. His portrait is true to the facts revealed in the correspondence of the tablets, and these facts explain the whole "conundrum" of Melchizedek. Paul could not have written from the Old Testament history, and he could not have written from information such as the tablets afford, unless this were supplemented from other sources. Whence did Paul derive his knowledge of Melchizedek?

We may now name several priests belonging to "the order of Melchizedek." When Jerusalem appears on the page of history it is already a holy city, the city of 'Salim. Melchizedek is its priest-king, its government being a theocracy. He receives tithes and pronounces his priestly blessing. 'Salim, "the god of peace," is called "the most high god," and is said to be the "possessor of heaven and earth." It is instructive to note that here is the first occurrence of the word "priest" in the Bible, and that the incumbent of the office is alien to the family of Abraham. As we learn from the correspondence of his successor, this priest is selected and consecrated to the priesthood by the oracle of his god, who has his sanctuary on Mount Moriah. Abraham does not directly deny that 'Salim is the true God, but does declare that Jehovah is "God most high." We are not told that Melchizedek offers sacrifices, but we may assume that this is the case.

We are able to supplement this account. About thirty years after the campaign against Chedorlaomer, Abraham visits the old sanctuary on Mount Moriah for the supreme trial of his faith. While at Beer-sheba, Abraham planted a "grove," or tamarisk tree, and called on the name of the Lord, the everlasting God—*Jehovah El-Olam*, "Jehovah, God of Eternity." Perhaps *El-Olam* was the name of a local divinity, or a local name for the Supreme Being, like *El-Elion*. "The God," that is, "this same God," commanded the patriarch to offer his son Isaac as a burnt offering in "the land of Moriah." When he is about to complete the sacrifice by slaying his son upon the altar which he has erected "the Angel of Jehovah," who can be none other than he whom Isaiah calls "the Prince of

Peace," arrests his hand. We may be permitted to hazard the suggestion that Abraham just at this time might have been in danger of adopting the belief of the surrounding heathen tribes and nations, that a human sacrifice, especially the sacrifice of an only son, was peculiarly meritorious and acceptable to God, and that the lesson taught on Mount Moriah might have saved the Abrahamic Church at a most critical period in the very beginning of its history. When Abraham gave to God not only his dearest possession, but all his possessions and himself, any victim suitable and perfect in itself would sufficiently represent this sacrifice. The word *Moriah* means "the vision of Jehovah," or, "the manifestation of Jehovah." Abraham now christens it with a name of similar meaning, *Jehovah-jireh*, "Jehovah will see," or, "Jehovah will provide." All local gods, whether 'Salim or El-Elion or El-Olam, in so far as they are not names of the Supreme Being, must yield to Jehovah, to whom alone worship is to be accorded, even in the very presence of the sanctuary of "the god of peace."

The next mention of the holy city is found in the correspondence of Ebed-tob, and the date is about a hundred years before the Exodus. He is priest of the god 'Salim, who is worshiped on "the mountain of Jerusalem." We have discussed this fragment of history at some length, and need only refer to the subject in this connection.

At the time of the conquest of Palestine by Joshua, Adonizedek was king of Jerusalem and overlord of an Amorite confederacy consisting of the five cities, Jerusalem, Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish, and Eglon. We are not informed as to his priestly functions, but may infer from the name that he was a successor of Ebed-tob. It is probable that, upon the conquest of Jerusalem by the Amorites and Hittites, Adonizedek was confirmed in his office (Josh. x, 1–5).

Another period of three or four hundred years, and we reach the age of David. Because of the sin of David a destroying angel was sent "unto Jerusalem to destroy it." "And the angel of the Lord stood by the threshing floor of Ornan the Jebusite. And David lifted up his eyes, and saw the angel of the Lord stand between the earth and the heaven, having a drawn sword in his hand stretched out over Jerusalem." And the Lord repented of the evil, and the city was

spared, but the pestilence had already swept away seventy thousand men of Israel. The angel of Jehovah commanded David to build "an altar unto the Lord in the threshing floor of Ornan the Jebusite." The threshing floor was purchased of Ornan the Jebusite, and the full price was paid. David, like his great ancestor Abraham, did not use the strange altar of the ancient sanctuary, if indeed this still remained, but erected a new altar, and offered sacrifices thereon unto the Lord. So the hand of the destroying angel was stayed. "At that time when David saw that the Lord had answered him in the threshing floor of Ornan the Jebusite, then he sacrificed there." This holy place was on Mount Moriah, and here Solomon afterward built "the house of the Lord" (2 Sam. xxiv, 10–25; 1 Chron. xxi, 9–30; xxvii, 24; 2 Chron. iii, 1).

As Melchizedek and Ebed-tob were designated to their office by the oracle of the god 'Salim, in like manner David and Solomon were appointed to the throne by the word of the God of Israel, and performed also high priestly functions.

The last member of the order of Melchizedek is Christ, who has entered upon his everlasting priesthood. He belongs not to the tribe of Levi, but to the tribe of Judah. He is the "Sent of God." He is the "Prince of Peace," whose advent is announced as the promise and prophecy of "peace." His last will and testament declares to his sorrowing disciples, "My peace I give unto you." Through conquest he will conduct to perfect, uninterrupted, and everlasting peace. He is "a priest forever after the order of Melchizedek."

Again we inquire, Whence did the apostle derive that information which enabled him to describe so accurately that "king of Salem" to whom Abraham gave tithes?

J. N. Fradenburgh.

ART. VIII.—THE SEMICENTENNIAL OF THE SCOTCH FREE CHURCH AND OF ITS MEMORABLE DISRUPTION CONTROVERSY.

ON the 18th of May, 1893, the day when the next Free Church Assembly meets, will occur the fiftieth anniversary of the famous Disruption of May 18, 1843, the date of the birth or emergence of the Free from the Established Church of Scotland. That was a very remarkable event, one of the most interesting and important in the history of British Protestantism. No wonder that the Free Church proposes to commemorate it with a jubilee which shall duly honor the truly notable epoch. Meanwhile, all intelligent members of other evangelical communions will be pleased, we feel assured, to be put in possession of the material facts in this case.

Owing to the fact that the exact relations of the Scottish Kirk to the State have never been accurately or positively defined they cannot be very definitely understood. It is well known, however, that one of the most important privileges to which the State, in return for the maintenance of the clergy of an establishment, lays claim is the right of what is called patronage; that is, the right of conferring upon those nobles who, as the owners of the estates, are charged with the payment of the salaries of the pastors, the unrestricted right of nominating or "presenting" these pastors to the "livings." Now, however great may be the advantages resulting from a union of the Church and State upon such conditions, it is evident at the outset that these advantages must be far more than counterbalanced by the fact that such a license necessarily leaves the right of choosing pastors—the most sacredly guarded right of all—liable to be committed to men of every degree of imbecility, ignorance, irreligion, and immorality, and hence subjects the people to the dread, not to say fatal, contingency of being conveyed by thousands over to the supervision of some patronage-courting clergyman who knows little about and cares less for the religion he professes to teach. The Scotch Kirk, perceiving early and but too well what evils must flow from such an unrestricted patronage, had taken care not to be defranded altogether of her right of free self-government, by reserving the

power, in case of dissatisfaction, to veto the nomination of the patron. This privilege of rejecting the patron's nominee remained for ages unquestioned. At the close of the last century, however, resulting in a great measure, it is to be presumed, from the low state of religion among them at that time, a strong antipathy on the part of a large proportion of the ministry of the Kirk began to be publicly expressed for that popular taste, or choice, which had hitherto stood guard over the liberties of the Church, and which, whenever and wherever it is allowed to express itself, gives its testimony so unequivocally in favor of the purity and warmth by which a truly evangelical ministry is ever distinguished. At length, indeed, it was decided by the highest judicatory in the Church, the General Assembly, that the concurrence of the people should no longer be regarded as an indispensable element in the formation of the pastoral tie, but that, on the other hand, the presentation of the patron alone, with entire disregard for any opposition on the part of the people, however prevalent or strong, should have effect; superseding thus, and very ruthlessly, a usage authorized and held as sacred by all the standards of the Church, from the Reformation down. Alarmed by this grossly unjust and unwarrantable assumption of power on the part of their ecclesiastical authorities, those in the Church, both ministers and people, who still remained loyal to her true interests and longed to see introduced the principles and practices of an earlier and purer period, engaged at once in active preparations for making a determined and obstinate resistance to this encroachment upon their liberties, which would be fatal unless arrested, and for eventually throwing off altogether this yoke of patronage, which became every day more intolerably galling as its chains daily became more firmly riveted. As the result of this popular reaction the liberal party in the Church was in due time reinforced by a class of men whose energy, talents, and piety were successful in restoring to the evangelical party the balance of power in the General Assembly. Hardly, however, had this victory been achieved when another form of opposition was developed, which was even more formidable than that which had just been so successfully overcome.

Guided by the precedent already established by the General Assembly, the civil courts determined henceforth to maintain

at all hazards the unrestricted right of patronage. The evangelical party began now to assume a more definite shape and to give its energy a still more specific direction. The conservative wing of it, at the head of which was Dr. Thomas Chalmers, strenuously opposed the abolition of patronage altogether, yet demanded that it should be so limited, regulated, or restrained that the conscientious convictions and religious susceptibilities of Christian congregations should never more be violated; that, in a word, an effectual provision be made for all the future against the unfeeling outrages which, in the exercise of a reckless, high-handed patronage reigning uncontrolled, had so often been perpetrated. The radical wing took for its first note of assault that the compulsory support of religious institutions is inconsistent with the nature of religion, the spirit of the Gospel, the express appointment of Jesus Christ, and the rights of man, its tendencies as exhibited in its effects being to secularize religion, to promote hypocrisy, perpetuate error, produce infidelity, destroy the unity and purity of the Church, and to disturb the peace and order of civil society.

Such was the attitude of the evangelical party when the famous Auchterarder case came up, a case which, from the fact that it was generally understood to involve the constitutionality or legality of the usage of rejecting the patron's nominee, awakened a wide and very profound interest. A presentation of one Mr. Young was issued by the Earl of Kinnoull to the vacant parish of Auchterarder. After the former had duly preached on trial it was decided, on the part of the congregation, by a vote of six to one, that the candidate was unacceptable. Mr. Young appealed. Presbytery, Synod, and General Assembly, however, in turn, sustained the decision of the congregation. Appealing then from the ecclesiastical to the civil courts, the redoubtable nominee brought an action against the Presbytery before the supreme civil court, the Court of Session. Here, on the 18th of May, 1838, it was decided that the rejection of Mr. Young by the various church tribunals was illegal and in violation of duty. In nearly one year from that date the Auchterarder case was heard before the House of Lords. After the delivery of Lord Brougham's opinion confirming the decision of the Court of Session the appeal was finally dismissed.

The principle which, in this important finding of the House

of Lords, seemed now to be finally and decisively defined and settled was that, whereas a voluntary Church may regulate and decide in reference to its own officers and be separate from and in no wise subject to civil authority, a Church preferring to participate in the advantages of an establishment, enjoying all the immunities and privileges growing out of a connection with the State, must not claim exemption from the obligations which that relation implies, among which is that of yielding implicit obedience to certain decisions of the civil courts. Preferring to dissolve at once their connection with the State rather than make the required concession to her demands—so utterly and so manifestly repugnant to the whole spirit and letter of the ancient constitution of the Church—without a murmur, as also without debate, the entire nonintrusion or Free Church party resolved to withdraw from the Establishment. On the 18th of May, 1843, while the General Assembly was sitting in Edinburgh, more than four hundred ministers solemnly arose, withdrew, repaired to a hall of their own, and in four days had formally and legally completed the disruption and organized and established the Free Church of Scotland.

It may be questioned whether since the days of the apostles an event involving more of moral sublimity has ever occurred. Let it be remembered that in taking the step above described these four hundred and seventy-four clergymen, and all for Christ's sake, voluntarily renounced the emoluments and preferments of a wealthy Establishment, and thereby accordingly subjected themselves to all the inconveniences, privations, hardships, poverty, and persecutions which almost invariably pursue a dissenting body. They returned to their various fields of labor with not one single church edifice or parsonage in all the land which they could properly call their own—a scene which, it is said, drew tears from even Lord Jeffrey, extorting from him the confession that no country but Scotland could have exhibited a spectacle so morally sublime, and all for the keeping of a good conscience.

Dr. Hanna, in his *Memoirs of Dr. Chalmers*, speaking of the hardships incurred by many of these dissenting ministers and their devoted congregations, eloquently writes:

> Many ministers were driven from the loveliest homes, compelled to study in garrets, and to sleep frequently with nothing between

them and the open heavens but the cold slate. The privation and exposure were often too much for them, and they sunk to their graves martyrs for those great principles for which they had abandoned their earthly all. . . . Here and there the hand of tyranny was stretched out; and from the church and churchyard, from the bare hillside, the grove and public highways, on all of which they sought to assemble and to worship God, ministers and people were driven, till they took their station within high-water mark on the lone seabeach, their feet upon the damp and tangled seaweed, the roll of the breakers, whose spray the breeze drove over them, keeping time to their solemn psalmody.

Professor W. Garden Blaikie, D.D., having himself been one of that heroic band that fifty years ago thus surrendered everything for the truth's sake with only the very darkest prospects for the future, writing in a late number of the *New York Observer* concerning this same most soul-stirring event, says:

You can hardly comprehend a state of things where, the whole land being in the hands of a few aristocratic owners, it was often impossible to get a site for church or manse, and where, in bleakest winter, congregations had to worship on the public road or on the hillside, and ministers were glad of a single room in a rough cottage, so that they might live among their people. Many a minister could look for nothing but poverty, privation, and persecution.

But what, it may be asked, is the status of this Free Church to-day? Dr. Blaikie—who, by the way, is one of the thirty-four surviving ministers of the four hundred and seventy-four that a half century ago severed their connection with the State, Dr. McCosh, of Princeton, being another—Dr. Blaikie writes:

That fifty years would see our Church doubled and its ministers enjoying a provision not very much less than that which they left, with a full equipment of churches, manses, colleges, normal schools, libraries, bursaries, and what not; our income for foreign missions increased tenfold; our colonies recruited, and many stations provided on the continent of Europe; not a little done at home to reclaim the lapsed and provide for increasing population, was more than any one dreamed of in his most sanguine hours. The promise of compensation for sacrifices incurred for the sake of Christ has been so amply fulfilled that some imagine there could have been little sacrifice in the case. But this is unfair; so far as the eye of sense could guide us the leap at the disruption was a leap in the dark, into poverty, difficulty, and misery; but then, as ever, faith had its reward, and the more prosperous circumstances in which we now are simply afford fresh proof of

God's faithfulness to them that trust him, and are evidence that now, as much as in the days of Abraham, his memorial is Jehovah-jireh—"the Lord will provide."

The whole Church of God on earth cannot but feel most fervently thankful for such a magnificent example of self-sacrifice and disinterested toil on the part of this grand Church, congratulate it on its truly monumental success, and wish for it a most happy time in connection with its forthcoming jubilee. Meanwhile, not a few of the most illustrious names that have ever graced the annals of the Christian pulpit or adorned the records of religious authorship were identified with the movement. Easily chief among these is Dr. Chalmers, the orator of the cause. Next comes Dr. Robert Smith Candlish, who may be characterized as the statesman of the movement. Then we have the gifted, incomparable Guthrie, who, more than any other man, by tongue and pen, raised funds for building manses for the destitute Free Church ministers. And who has not read the masterly sermons of Dr. Thomas Guthrie? Dr. Norman McLeod, one of the brightest lights of the Scottish pulpit, was one of the representative men of the Free Church. But the popular favorite, as well as the pamphleteer and newspaper writer of this enterprise, was that marvelous stonecutter and self-made geologist, Hugh Miller. The tractate of the latter, addressed to Lord Brougham, reviewing the argument of the great speech in which that eminent statesman supported the finding of the House of Lords, was the means of introducing this layman and commoner to the people of Scotland and designating him as one eminently calculated to act a conspicuous part in the coming struggle. It is said that, at the time of the triumphant exodus of the Free Church, already described, when her ministers and members in the full flush of victory assembled in Tanfield Hall, Canonmills, none of her defenders in the vast and animated throng, among whom Chalmers and Candlish stood conspicuous, elicited plaudits longer or louder than did Hugh Miller when seen lifting his stalwart and noble head among the people.

R. N. Howard

EDITORIAL NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

OPINION.

THE supernatural is continually inviting. As a theme of meditation it occupies perhaps the most constant place in intellectual processes; in its extent of influence the wide race dreams of its felicities and is ravished with its entrancing visions; as a tenet of formal theology its statement is indispensable to a perfect code of religious doctrine. On which latter point Max Müller has well declared that without a belief in immortality "religion surely is like an arch resting on one pillar, like a bridge ending in an abyss"—a declaration which needs no modification save to the extent of saying that the arch and the bridge under such circumstances would be of less stability than is implied. But there can be no controversy as to the universality of man's belief in the supernatural. The nations which hold the truth of the Christian system are not peculiar in this respect. The story is too familiar to the scholar to necessitate particular review. Alike in the sacred books of the Hindoos, among the early Egyptians and Polynesians, in the religious system of the Persians, and in the practical belief of the Chinese, as well as among the Hebrews and their successors—the Christian Church—has immortality been the hope of men. No fact in human history is more clear than the attitude of the nations upon this point of faith. Ancient or modern, barbaric or educated, pagan or Christian, they have united in the confident anticipation of a hereafter. However at variance in their religious tenets, as exponents of the different religious systems of the earth, they have been essentially a unit in such assumptions as the existence of a superior deity, the survival of the soul, and a place of blessedness for the departed. No chapter in comparative religion is more fascinating than that containing the blissful dream of a future world which has buoyed the souls of the succeeding nations of the globe. All literature is crowded with these fancies, hopes, and aspirations of men for immortality. Nor is belief in the supersensible degrading. As a moving factor in the elevation of human life no confidence of the soul is more influential than faith in immortality. There is no inspiring quality in skepticism. A negation has never turned upside down the established faiths of the world. It is a poor watchword for battle; it does not send the life blood bounding in enthusiasm through the veins of its disciples; nor for it are men glad to lay down their lives and die. But the thought of personal immortality has entered into the largest performances of the race. As an influencing force upon human thinking, resolve, enthusiasm, it has led men's souls whithersoever it would. Always has it roused to extreme zeal, supported men in the dungeon and at the stake, made the lone missionary to put ten thousand to flight, given a rainbow hue to the falling tears of sorrow, and

lit the bed of death with glory. If the doctrine of immortality be a mistake, as some would have us think, we are confronted with the inexplicable fact of the ennobling of the race through a madman's dream. If it be true—as the consensus of human judgment declares it to be—it should shape every thought and action with its molding power.

We are favored or afflicted with several visitations from the Orient, more or less religious. An American consul to a Mohammedan country, who was not provided with any religion to speak of, becoming vaguely aware that it is a respectable thing for a man to have a religion of some kind, has decided that Mohammedanism is good enough for him, and brings a new convert's enthusiasm home with him, yearning to ensnare us all in the meshes of the Mohammedan web and substitute in the home of Western civilization the faith of the crescent for that of the cross. His step-ladder is not long enough to enable him to reach up and set back the hands on the dial of human progress. He is but a momentary amusement and a target for newspapers on the lookout for a chance to shoot folly as it flies, having for their motto, "What fools we mortals be!" Theosophy, too, "the Wisdom Religion," visits us from afar from time to time in the persons of such missionaries as Madame Blavatsky, Colonel Olcutt, Mrs. Anne Besant. It also hails from the dreamy Orient and comes to convert the Occident. With the mild delirium of hasheesh swimming in its eyes it feebly stretches out its soft and inefficient hands to direct and push on the intense interests and urgent affairs of this practical land. It attempts to bring reverie to bear upon action and achievement. It produces a weak literature, attempts limited philanthropies, establishes a few sewing schools, soup kitchens, homes for children, *crèches*, Sunday schools, clubs for working men and women, all on a slim foundation and with prospects of duration as precarious as morning dew. It calls conventions, holds talk-exhibitions, and is to have, we are told, two whole days in the Parliament of Religions at the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago for expounding its profundities. It advertises its expectation of universal victory which is to be won by "the force of the few, the spiritual force of quality, and not by the brute force of numbers." Theosophy, as it calls itself, were unworthy of notice in these pages but for the fact that it serves as well as some more pretentious and somewhat intellectually respectable systems to suggest certain facts long and widely observed. Flimsy as it is, it illustrates and typifies the character and value of every attempt to do without a creed. It roams at large in a region without survey or boundaries. Its discourses are geography without maps or outlines, geometry without figures or propositions. It pretends to believe something while pledging itself to refrain from distinctly saying what. The moment one says "I believe," and extends the sentence further by putting an object after that transitive verb, that moment he has a creed, he has constructed a formula of faith. Theosophy to the utmost of its power abstains from doctrines, and those which it cannot avoid having are strictly esoteric. If a theoso-

phist has a creed he keeps it carefully hidden. The truth he claims to possess is, on his representation, so deadly dangerous to all other faiths, and is so completely covered from sight, as to suggest to the malignant mind of a prowling enemy the possibility of having him arrested and locked up under the statute against carrying concealed weapons. "The Wisdom Religion" does not propose to give away its secrets even in the Parliament of Religions. Its participation in the religious and ethical congress at Chicago is not to involve it in any declaration of principles, not to commit the Theosophical Society or any of its members to any form of belief or any creed or dogma. What it knows about "psychic laws and phenomena" it will not publicly tell. Its exposition will not expose anything—except unintentionally its own emptiness. "Occult" appears to be theosophy's favorite word. It professes to give tuition in "occultism"—occult arts, occult practices, occult psychical developments. The human mind under its influence drifts drowsily upon a lotus-eater's voyage, unable to tell cloud from coast, mountains from mist. As clearly, though not as fully as some stronger teachings, theosophy illustrates that so much of true or good as appears under other names is included in Christianity; that whatever of religious value is taught from other than Christian quarters is better taught by Christianity, and that whatever worthy and needful work is attempted by nonchristian hands under antichristian schemes has already been done, or can be accomplished more efficiently and perfectly by the forces marshaled under the banner of the cross. All that is valuable or admirable in such teachings is a plagiarism from Jesus Christ. Not only is it true that theosophy mumbles and mutters instead of articulating; it is also a fact that in all the good it contains we hear no resident and original voices, but only remote and confused echoes of that authoritative and informing Voice once heard from Sinai and the Mount of Olives. There is only space to add that this moonbeam named theosophy, reflected from a sun invisible to those who group themselves to bask in its cold plagiarisms, illustrates as well as some more articulate and influential thinking the fact that whatever antagonizes Christianity is close akin to paganism and naturally affiliates with heathendom, preferring to grope in the dimness of ungospeled civilizations or even in barbaric darkness. Theosophy, not content with asserting the parity of all religions, affirms the superiority of the Hindoo faiths over Christianity. It is the civilization of ancient India against the twentieth century. The future belongs not to the past.

AGAIN does the Convent of St. Catharine on Mount Sinai yield up to Christian scholarship a treasure of inestimable worth. Tischendorf's discovery in its ancient abbey of the famous Sinaitic manuscript, in the year 1859, gave to the world of letters the entire New Testament in Greek, under the date of the fourth century; the recent finding of a palimpsest, which proves to be an early copy of the Syriac version of the four gospels, deepens the conviction that St. Catharine's Convent is "an immense storehouse for early Christian literature," and must send a thrill of joy to

the hearts of all New Testament scholars. The strange discovery of this manuscript has already been graphically told. That the nineteenth-century art of photography, in its resistless zeal, should have found its way into the musty abode of monks and brought therefrom the reproduction of certain pages of this ancient palimpsest is a new contribution of science to religion. So are all the forces of nature and mind—celestial and terrestrial, inanimate and alive, good and evil—to lend their aid to the triumph of Christianity in the earth. But it is with the statement that this newly found manuscript omits the last twelve verses of the gospel of St. Mark that we are most deeply concerned. The claim is by no means a new one that these verses are an interpolation dating from one of the early centuries. Remembering the existence of this theory, the revisers of the New Testament have inserted in the margin of the text the statement that "the two oldest Greek manuscripts, and some other authorities, omit from verse nine to the end." The discovery of the new Syriac version will probably give a fresh impulse to the discussion as to the genuineness of these verses; and it is a discussion whose scope we would not now anticipate. Yet we may bethink ourselves at this early stage of what are at least sentimental reasons which would call for the retention of these last verses of St. Mark. Devout and obedient souls, on recurring Easter Sabbaths, would be perplexed by the hiatus in the resurrection story found in this portion of the chapter, and would grieve over its excision. An interpolation though it could be proven, in what impressive simplicity is there recorded Christ's first appearance to Mary Magdalene, her message to the disciples, and the Lord's manifestation of himself to the Emmaus pilgrims! It is not strange that credulous faith should cling to this scripture. In its simple majesty the reader finds it hard to believe it spurious. Or what a clarion call to duty has the fifteenth verse of the chapter been, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature!" Through the earlier ages of Christian evangelism we know not how many hesitant workers have heard the voice of the great Master of souls speaking in this solemn passage. In the pioneer history of Methodism the wandering circuit-rider has fortified his soul with its authoritative mandate. And in these last years of Christian ambassadorship how many have found its edict an obstacle over which they might not pass to secular work, and, as if they heard the very voice of their risen Lord in sacred command, have renounced the world for the ministry of reconciliation! Critical scholarship may, it is true, discover reasons for the elimination of these last verses in St. Mark. But untutored faith nevertheless is rash enough to cry out for their continuance as a part of the canonical gospels, and will always find the presence of the risen Jesus in their record.

Like a foregleam of the millennial concord seems the anticipated gathering of the World's Parliament of Religions at Chicago, in September. As arranged by the Exposition Committee on Religious Congresses, unless the realization shall strongly belie the anticipation, the Parliament bids fair

to become the most famous religious gathering in the world's history. Its programme, beginning with the fundamental doctrine of God and sweeping through the whole gamut of theistic, anthropological, and philanthropic themes, is worthy in its stateliness of so grand a gathering. In its *personnel* it promises no less to be the marked religious congress of the centuries. From the Russian, Bulgarian, and Armenian Churches delegates will probably come. Buddhist scholars, "representing both the Northern and Southern Church," are expected to be in attendance. Parsees from Bombay, Moslem scholars from India, Hindoo representatives, a Confucian scholar sent by the Chinese government, a high priest of Shintoism, and the most able representatives of the many branches of Christianity will grace the occasion with their presence and their scholarship. August the company and bewildering the range of their discussions! But the presence of Christianity in this heterogeneous gathering will particularly interest the observer. Accustomed in the pursuit of its great mission to enter many doors and to sit at the firesides of the most diverse members of the human family, it is now to meet the many religions of the earth in formal assembly and to contend for its belief before the gathered world. Yet in the presence of Buddhist, Moslem, and Parsee, Christianity may lift its head in confidence. Its doctrines are such as the reason approves and the heart commends. In its theistic teachings and its emphasis of human dignity no religious system of the world besides is its equal. Nor are the performances of Christianity altogether in discord with its theories. Holding to the value and necessity of worship, it has in all lands raised its altars whereon men may offer heart-sacrifices to the triune God. Emphasizing the renewing power of the Gospel, it has reformed the face of the continents and made old things new. Believing in the inestimable value of every human soul, though living in base surroundings, it has built its asylums, refuges, homes, hospitals, and schools in the midst of the world's deepest degradation. Not that the record of the Church is unspotted. There are too many sullied pages in the story of her progress. Because of the jealousies, strifes, and formalism that has marked her history she may well feel herself to be an unprofitable servant. Yet if performance be the standard of comparison no religious system represented at the World's Parliament will wear laurels so bright. Nor has any faith there to be present as great a hope for the future. A merely philosophic observer, though he be not a Christian devotee, must feel the force of this position. No other religion of the world is so marked by the characteristics of inward purification, disinterested benevolence, or satisfying quality. If there be any force in these excellences they must finally win the victory. It is probable that Christianity has little to learn from Hindooism, Confucianism, and the rest. Yet she should have an open eye to this possibility and be willing to be taught by any of these oriental systems. But it is certainly the fact that she has instructions for the ancient religions of the East as to her beneficent doctrines and her benign spirit; and thus to see face to face will be one of the inestimable benefits of this expected Parliament.

CURRENT DISCUSSIONS.

EDITORIAL SALUTATORY.

To him upon whom the Church, through its constituted authority, has seen fit to lay this editorial responsibility the present seems a somewhat solemn juncture for the advent of a new editor in the office of the *Methodist Review*. The shadow of death lies upon the threshold we are bidden to cross, reminding us that this office door opens into eternity. Two men in succession have laid down editorial work at this table at the summons of death; two strong and cunning right hands have grown nerveless here. Scarcely silent are the echoes of memorial eulogies over the deeply lamented departure of Dr. Mendenhall, whose conduct of the *Review* for four years was such as to induce the General Conference to return him with enthusiasm by a large vote to a second quadrennium. The rugged, ruddy face and shaggy white head of Dr. Curry, a fine Carlylean subject for a study in color by a portrait painter, are still so little faded from the Church's consciousness that it would scarcely startle us to see the gaunt form rise and hear the nervous and incisive voice resume discussion where it was left off. So powerfully alive and pervasive was he that debaters are not yet entirely solid in the confidence inspired by the assumption that he is no longer here to answer them. If by any miracle he should reappear in this sanctum and claim the right to fill out his unexpired term the present intruder would submit without a syllable of protest and retire as far as possible into the region whence he came.

In addition to the subduing thoughts thus inevitably occurring to one about to enter on a position twice made vacant by death, it will not be deemed strange that to us, sitting down to appointed work in this fourth-floor office, the power of a personal friendship brings to fresh and vivid remembrance that eminent servant of God and the Church, Mr. John M. Phillips, a strong, wise, judicious man, essentially great, to whom, with others who might be named, this stately and commodious building, housing for a century to come the *Review* and other publications of Methodism, is in large degree a monument, the completion of which his eyes saw not; for while the hammers of the workmen were still sounding "God's finger touched him and he slept," honored of all men.

Conscious of these memorial shadows on this office and this building, we enter on our first experience in taking up a dead man's task. Accustomed only to living predecessors, we have sometimes availed ourselves of their experience by consulting with them. With the single exception of Dr. O. H. Tiffany, predecessor at St. James's Church, New Brunswick, N. J., all whom we have immediately followed in any position are still alive. In our present place, however, we cannot counsel with any who have occupied it, all being now numbered with

> Those faithful souls who, earning God's discharge,
> Have passed triumphant over time's dim marge
> Into the perfect peace, the life more large.

Dr. Mendenhall did his work with splendid bravery under the painful disability of increasing invalidism, suffering while he worked, the disease which was gradually consuming him lending a peculiar fiery intensity and extraordinary brilliancy to his mental action. Dr. Curry spent the waning strength of his sinewy and vigorous life upon the *Review;* the only man in our knowledge ever elected to any place at the age of seventy-five on a call the most distinct note in which was a demand for a young man. One man there is who will long remain most completely identified in the mind of the Church with this *Review.* The name and fame of Whedon fill more than a quarter of a century in the history of this office with splendor. Twenty-eight volumes of the *Quarterly* are a rich treasure-house of his matchless editorial work; and many years must pass, and generations that knew him not must take possession of the scene, before the Church can cease to long for another Whedon. President Raymond, of Wesleyan, truly says, "The touch of his pen was electric, and sent an intellectual thrill through Methodism with every number of the *Review.*" In the background of the recollection of those still among us who have been longest on the stage of life appear the broad-domed brow, wide-surveying mind, and fearless spirit of McClintock, a type of man to whom one wonders why the latter half of the nineteenth century has not produced in Methodism a larger number of approximations.

Such are the men who, without bequeathing us their great brains, acquired skill, or accumulations of knowledge, have left us the formidable task of treading in their footsteps. Charles Sumner, in his closing days, expressed to a confidential friend regret that the learning and experience obtained by his long life of laborious study and severe self-discipline could not be transferred to some survivor for the continued service of mankind. A newcomer to this office has reason for deploring that the rarest property is intransmissible: the skilled master workman dies and takes his skill with him. If the *Review* office had as an endowment all the power, intelligence, and culture which it has held in the past, of what an estate the editor would now be administrator! But in all places the world, as to such riches, is forever beginning life over again in poverty.

Whedon's leather-covered, iron-framed chair remains here; but sitting in Whittier's seat at Holderness last summer did not make a poet, nor did the chair of an heroic martyr in the cause of human freedom increase our stock of courage. We have vainly searched this office for the dashing fountain-pen, copiously fluent, which made so sharp a mark with its diamond point upon the editorial pages of the *Review* during the last quadrennium. We are informed that the owner took it away with him to the General Conference last May and has not sent it back; so that a quill, which is softer and requires to be frequently dipped, must now do the work. Our predecessors seem to have been careful to leave us neither their genius nor their implements.

In the administration of President R. B. Hayes a cabinet minister, in whose office hung a number of portraits, said: "When my integrity needs strengthening I look up at Washington; when my backbone wants

stiffening I turn to Stanton; and when I lack patience I take a good look at Lincoln." In this office hang no portraits, but the memory of great men gone must admonish all occupants, as Henry Martyn's picture spoke to Charles Simeon, "Be serious, be in earnest, don't trifle."

While the past of the *Review* thus shadows the newcomer with solemnity there are, also, in the immediate circumstances attending his accession, some peculiar elements calculated to sober any sensitive mind. Usually the selection of an editor to this office occurs at the General Conference, along with numerous other elections of perhaps greater popular interest, and, in the press of manifold business, is but an incident attracting no universal, or at least no prolonged, attention. The appointee slips quietly into his place, comparatively unobserved. In the present case the approach of the February meeting of the Book Committee found the Church sufficiently at leisure from other interests to give particular attention to the editorial vacancy in the *Review*, and an almost universal discussion of the needs of this office ensued. Few committees have received so large an assortment of gratuitous, yet justly interested, advice. In some of the Church periodicals symposia were invited, and a long list of eminent men called upon to enumerate the qualifications necessary to fill their ideal of the perfect *Review* editor. To a certain quiet observer who supposed himself unlikely to be molested by the election it seemed that the Book Committee must take one of two courses—either turn the symposium into an editorial syndicate and commit the *Review* to its charge, or, with the published demands of the Church before them, announce, "The man described in the order is not to be found; we therefore suspend the publication of the *Review* until the Church can grow the man."

The best equipped and boldest, unless a colossal egotist, might well shrink from stepping into sight in the focus of such concentrated critical scrutiny and alongside the impossible standard which has been set up. The authorities who constructed the composite ideal also declared that the man to be elected at Chicago should not be at liberty to decline. "The summons must be imperative, no matter what pulpit or chair it empties." On the other hand, an admonitory editorial voice nearer by sent out in the very week of the election this solemn warning to the appointee, whoever he should be: "All over this land in the pastorates of the churches that settle their ministers, in the bishopric" (names not given), "in college chairs, in official positions, are men with heavy hearts, who often sigh for the things they left behind and wish in the depths of their souls that they had had the resolution to say 'Nay' to the well-meaning tempter who led them from the work in which—until he came—they felt supremely blest." Editors are not specified among these wretched victims of remorse, but are manifestly included. These confusing expressions and the situation of which they are a part have caused the writer to recall the words of one who, assigned to work for which he felt himself insufficient, wrote, in 1836, "I beheld terror and dismay arrayed with acceptance, and I saw them arrayed with a refusal to accept."

The object of the Book Committee's choice, aware of an atmospheric

pressure of public demand sufficient to produce suffocation, receives into his hands a subscription list swollen under the last administration to unprecedented dimensions, difficult, if not impossible, to maintain. In addition there is the feeling of regret in the Church over its failure to secure for this editorial chair the services of Dr. Henry A. Buttz, the honored President of Drew Theological Seminary.

To any who may be surprised at the latest selection we offer with sincere sympathy our personal solution of the mystery. The Book Committee, laudably cherishing a high ideal, having chosen an editor last September on the sole consideration of preeminent fitness and acknowledged scholarship, had the experience of receiving from him a declination necessitated by the needs of the position he has so long and ably filled. Other men naturally thought of and named for the editorship were too firmly rooted in places of prime importance, with critical interests dependent on their remaining, to justify the committee in risking a repetition of the September history. Thus it came to pass that, as often happens in human affairs, an endeavor which began with a pursuit of the ideal finally submitted to considerations of availability and conscripted a man from a pastoral position which any one of a hundred men could fill. To any perplexed friend of the *Review*, if such there be, who at present knows no other reason for the Book Committee's action, we beg leave to tender the use of this, our private theory, in explanation of what to him may appear inscrutable.

The official call of the Church found the present incumbent settled in an attractive pastorate under the eaves of a university, with free access to large libraries, reading rooms, and varied courses of lectures, affording welcome opportunity through four prospective years for wide reading, congenial study, and mental ripening, feeling no need of more conspicuous place nor craving for more arduous responsibilities amid severe demands. It is not upon his own opinion, but upon the expressed judgment of others, official and unofficial, that he ventures to attempt the duty assigned him. Not having recommended himself for this work, his responsibility begins and will end with doing the best he can in a delicate, difficult, and exacting place.

It is proper that one of the first acts of this pen should be to record that during the interim since the death of Dr. Mendenhall the *Review* has not suffered by the absence of an editor-in-chief, its management having been conducted with admirable skill by the Rev. Arthur B. Sanford, M.A., and its editorial pages enriched by much material from his practiced pen.

Taking up unexpectedly an unfamiliar work, it is impossible that we should have plans sufficiently matured for announcement. Inasmuch as the character of a periodical, however directed by studied adaptation to the needs of its constituency, must in great measure reflect the editorial personality and be determined by his peculiar proclivities and powers, it seems probable that the Mendenhall *régime* cannot be repeated, the present occupant being conscious of not possessing some of the most striking qualities which characterized that quadrennium. As to the desires of the constituency, we are impressed that, if the ideal editor who has been com-

positely portrayed in the denominational journals were here, he would be at a loss to know precisely what is wanted of him, for the Church itself cannot tell, or at least has not defined, what it wishes the *Review* to be. Not only is there no agreement of opinion, but absolutely antipodean things are suggested. A college president writes, "You come to your task with so large a supply of printed advice that you cannot miss the road to success." The advice referred to is appalling in mass and bewildering in variety, and the degree of consentaneity may be inferred from these two sample statements: "The *Review* should be made a quarterly publication;" "The *Review* should be issued monthly." The one requisite editorial attribute, the necessity of which seems to stand out most conspicuously by the combination of opinion, is omniscience.

Self-knowledge comes slowly and is apt to be imperfect. An oculist fitted glasses to other people's eyes for thirty years, looking at the radiant testing lines almost every day, without detecting an astigmatism in his own eyes which is believed to have been present most of those years. Yet we believe the record corroborates the report of self-knowledge that the new incumbent does not in anything belong to the class of brilliant beginners, but has a habit of proceeding by gradual methods which may, it is hoped, prove cumulative. Nor is he endowed with a temperament perilously oversanguine. The uncertainties besetting entrance upon an untried sphere recall the maxim of Solon: "Call no man happy till he dies." A well-known man, whose life achievements were not small and whose words were hungered for by the civilized world, said, "My father always wrote with the angel of hope looking over his shoulder, but I never expected to succeed in anything I undertook." An English historian, nearing the end of his five-volume task, wrote to a friend, "I work with scarcely an intermission from 7 A. M. to 7 P. M. I have armed myself with all philosophy for the event of a failure. When I compare my book with what I think history ought to be I am dejected and ashamed." It is comforting to observe that the work concerning which Macaulay thus wrote in 1848 has not yet outlived its usefulness or lost its place. Dr. Whedon told a near friend that, when he sent out his first number of the *Quarterly* in 1856, he ventured it into uncertainty between hope and fear, having no definite idea as to its quality and suitability, nor confident opinion how it would strike the mind of the Church; and added that no man is competent to be a trustworthy judge of his own work. So strong and clear and calm a man as Whedon sat in his office not knowing what the verdict would be, until the echoes of the issue had time to come back to him. Yet doubtless after public comment had spoken he was competent to criticise the verdict.

What quality of editorial matter may be possible the future will develop. That it will be uniform is not likely. Most men have times of lacking full possession of what wits they have, and forced work, done in hours of cerebral weariness and mental ineptitude, must show signs of superficiality. Whatever ideals may inspire and rule the editorial pages we shall not aim at quantity, being persuaded that in a periodical like this a

pen that pauses because of a mind that meditates is better than writing *currente calamo*. The editor may sometimes venture into the contributors' columns, while other pens may occasionally furnish editorial materials.

Endowed undoubtedly with a fair share of the average human genius for blundering, reinforced by the inexperience of a novice, we shall, in spite of efforts at prudence, probably purchase wisdom at some cost, and become more deeply impressed than ever with the superiority of calm afterthought over the judgment of the moment. Forbearance during his apprenticeship toward one who is set to learn a new trade may fairly be asked from those whose duty or disposition is to criticise. The mastering of unfamiliar details of practical management is unfavorable, while it lasts, to purely editorial work. As the joiner of Antæus was rational in no other place but his own shop, so one in a new environment is unlikely to be at his best for serene and sound thinking until the place becomes somewhat homelike and grows to seem his own so far, at least, that he loses the feeling of an interloper expecting the return of the proper owner.

It is probably known that the gladiatorial propensity does not predominate in the new editor; yet his life has been devoted to the study of Christian truth and its defenses; and, without affirming or implying anything as to the present case, it may be permissible to address to the atmosphere the impersonal remark that here and there in the world it has been noticed that a simple sense of duty may prove adequate upon occasion to make a sufficient soldier of a man who has no militant proclivities.

If, owing to the habits of more than twenty years in the pastorate, together with a strong ancestral infusion, the preaching strain comes out unduly, it will not be surprising. If the solemn theologic mind shall be offended at the creeping in at first of something in lighter literary vein among the serious themes which custom has prescribed for the traditional Church *Review*, it is possible that such offense may be less frequent as the manager becomes a sadder and a wiser man.

If Dryasdust, opening the *Review*, notices any exuberance due to lingering youthfulness, he may check his stern impatience and comfort himself with the reflection that this will probably be tamed in the treadmill of routine; and if any capacity of learning be left in us, experience, aided by various auxiliaries, will doubtless sow some seed of graver wisdom in the furrows which after a while time and anxiety may plough.

For the literary countenance to be "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought" seems to many the proper and canonical thing, but is it wholly a misfortune if a healthy vitality occasionally paints from within upon the cheek an innocent unnecessary flush? If some day in spring, when "the lapwing gets himself another crest," a sentence on these pages shall imitate Aaron's rod and bud or even burst into bloom, we plead for it that it be not classed with worldly vanities, counted reprobate, and cut off in its sins. God's world is enormously guilty of blooming.

Our present conception regards it as the chief function of this office to concentrate the brains and scholarship of Episcopal Methodism upon the pages of the *Review*, the editor being the servant of the Church to invite

herein a perpetual convention of the highest abilities. From the first Methodism has been characterized by exceptional mental vigor. The amount of studious and learned scholarship increases yearly. The literary possibilities of our Church are large and varied. Without reflecting upon previous management or guaranteeing the future, it may be confessed that the literary wealth of the denomination has not yet been poured into the *Review* as fully as is desirable; and, without depreciating the great importance of other publications, it may be said that the *Review* is entitled to receive, as it is expected to furnish, the richest fruits of the trained minds of the Church. The pages of non-Methodist periodicals are observed to contain powerful and brilliant articles from Methodist pens. The right of authors to use other than denominational channels for reaching the public mind is not to be denied, yet it should be possible for the home market to claim and obtain these articles. An officer of the general Church writes, "I have prayed for Methodism, that culture, scholarship, sincere truth-finding, and biblical criticism of a humble Christian spirit might come to our best literature." We invite the pactolian streams of erudition and culture, now accumulating head or diverted into other channels, to turn their current this way and drop their gold upon these pages. To a young preacher Dr. Whedon once said, "Do you know why the *Quarterly* is published? To teach the young men how to write." From the most virile, mature, and skilled minds among us there should come such matter as may be, in style and substance, an education and an inspiration to the younger generation of preachers and laymen. There are men now past their meridian who date some of the epochal intellectual arousements of their youth from certain articles in the *Quarterly Review*. In this office there is to-day no more distinct ambition than to make the *Review*, to its utmost possibility, helpful and attractive to our rising ministry, especially to the more than three thousand who are pursuing the courses of Conference studies, for we count that nothing is too good for them. If we could by any means bring it to pass that the *Review* should attain such character and value that no one of them could afford to dispense with it, great would be our joy, sufficient and gratifying would be our reward.

The *Review*, in our judgment, must be primarily and chiefly a periodical for ministers and for such of the more intelligent and thoughtful of our laity as are interested in themes and materials belonging to those realms of thought in which the ministerial mind needs to be at home. It cannot attempt to fill in any degree the place once occupied by the *Ladies' Repository* and the *National Repository*, or to compete with popular magazines of a general character, like the *Century* and *Harper's Monthly*. While it need not be exclusively theological, any more than a minister's education should be so, it yet must be guided and limited by the requirements of the class to whom preeminently it is sent to minister.

The *Review* expects to admit opinions which may not coincide with its own; to do otherwise would be to limit its scope to the editor's personal horizon. Recognizing that its mission of safe service forbids the indis-

criminate admission of everything, it is yet obvious that any such publication as this is useless unless the loyal, devout, instructed, and capable intelligence of the Church is allowed freedom therein.

In 1848 Dr. John McClintock, taking charge of the *Quarterly*, and speaking of subjects relating to the faith, organization, usages, history, and discipline of our Church, wrote: "On all these topics we shall admit of *free discussion*, within the limits, of course, of sound prudence and discretion. Nothing is gained to religion or to the Church by attempts to cut off investigation or to stifle honest opinions. Time was when this was thought to be a Christian duty. There are, doubtless, some who think it such still, who would shut up men's minds forever in *their own* narrow inclosure, putting a barrier to inquiry at the precise point which *they* have reached, as if wisdom must die with *them*. To these men every new view of the wants or duties of the Church is heresy, and all scrutiny of an old one presumption. With such we have no sympathy." After the lapse of nearly half a century of enlargement, enlightenment, and progress since those words were written it is scarcely to be supposed that there are any men still alive who are so far behind Dr. McClintock that they ought to have died not later than 1848.

The *Review* intends to be stanchly devoted to all that makes for the highest possibilities of Christianity in general and of Methodism in particular, counting it good fortune to belong to a Church to whose doctrines and theology it is easy for a reasonable intelligence to be substantially and steadily loyal through all the changing phases of world-thought and varying phrases of expression.

"All noble things are difficult" is the life motto of a distinguished Scotch scholar. At Niagara, Anthony Trollope found an artist attempting to paint the great falls, and said, "You have chosen a difficult subject;" to which the painter replied, "All things are difficult to a man who desires to do well." The editing of the *Methodist Review* is a noble work; its editor has some desire to do well; he does not expect to find it easy. With reverential awe for a lofty and sacred task, we now proceed under orders from the Church to investigate our capabilities by the experimental method, believing that life was never so well worth living to the Christian thinker nor so hopeful for mankind, and that our cherished Methodism, planning great things for God and expecting great things from him, may go forward with confidence upon a mission not yet fulfilled, rejoicing that

> Such a voice calls to her from the years to come,
> And such a length of bright horizon rims the dark.

THE APPLICATION OF CHRISTIAN ETHICS TO SOCIAL LIFE.

THE thorough application of Christian ethics to social life is an imperative necessity of the times. This application as it is now made is in feeble, imperfect fashion, and within limited areas. It should be effected universally, and with all the intelligence and strength of which

the ethicist is capable. Choicest culture and richest acquisition will here find their noblest uses.

Christian ethics are few, simple, and "easy understanded of the people." But they cover every relation of sentient life. Better understood than explained is the law of perfect love to the God and Father of all spirits, of loving one's neighbor even as self is loved, the sublimest possible development of this law being the eleventh commandment, promulgated by our Lord Jesus Christ: "A new commandment I give unto you, That ye love one another; *as I have loved you, that ye also love one another*" (John xiii, 34); and also that law of equity so strikingly epitomized by the great Hillel, and yet more forcefully and in best form by Jesus of Nazareth, doing unto others as we would be done by if the relative positions of the doers were reversed.

The application of these divine rules of conduct to social life is the positive outcome of revealed religion and the normal exercise of private judgment. To study and promote it is the urgent business of every Christian. The study itself is a charming occupation, the subject studied one of the richest vouchsafements of Providence and humanity. To promote it is to take on the Christ character and to share in the bliss of the divine nature. Nothing is of greater importance to society. What is more winsome and beautiful than a typical American household, a family distinguished by the Master's life and spirit? It cannot but be that its women are pure, sweet, sunny, gentle, and gracious; its men strong, manly, courteous, and beneficent; its children vivacious, piquant, loving, and beloved. Each sex complements the other, converts domestic society into a type and prophecy of heaven, and constitutes the real unit in the indestructible fabric of American nationality. The reform of every family in this polyglot land on this model is surely the pet project of philanthropist and patriot. In achieving such reform each and every one of the major and minor Christian ethics is called into active play.

Outside the family circle Christian ethics should not be less operative. What is, not what ought to be, is the theme of political economy. Therein lies its radical defect, the default that necessarily brands it as the "dismal science." It affirms warfare to be the natural condition of society, each individual, firm, corporation, and community avariciously holding its own and covetously seizing, or attempting to seize, what is possessed by others; and that without regard to revealed ethics, which it scornfully rejects as "Sunday school politics" or as the iridescent dream of fanatical *doctrinaires*. Were this postulate true the bitter *dictum* of pessimism that "society is not worth saving" would be undeniably correct. Such society—and there is too much of it in existence—badly needs reform; nor are courageous souls, full of faith and hope in the higher possibilities of human nature, wanting who are not only willing to undertake the task, but are slowly though surely accomplishing it.

Of all who enter into business, at Boston ninety-two per cent, at Philadelphia ninety-four per cent, at New York ninety-six per cent are reported by commercial agencies as failing sooner or later. Why does the

percentage of eight, six, and four in the respective cities succeed? Careful and exhaustive study of the question while preparing the material for a series of twenty-six articles on the commerce, manufactures, and insurance companies of New York led a diligent inquirer to the conclusion that —other things, such as strength, brain, culture, and opportunity, being equal—the determining factor of success is the intelligent, rigid application of Christian ethics. The successful plainly avowed this conclusion; they did not wear profession on the sleeve, but let habitual action attest the sincerity of their creed. Yet New York is not exceptional in the relative number of its philosophic business men. At other business centers they are quite as numerous and fully as emphatic in their testimony to the wisdom of divine ethics and the productive value of their incorporation with the individual and social life of the people. Neither commercial transaction nor financial obligation, in their deliberate opinion, has any adequate security, excepting what springs from the ethical sentiments and moral character of the parties thereto.

It is also true that all the enumerated elements of business success do not afford the guarantee that it will assuredly follow their operation. It is better to deserve success than to achieve it. There is something that men call chance, luck, or fate that frequently decides what shall be success and what failure. Enlightened men reverently call it providence. It is impossible to eliminate God from human affairs. Still, such is the beneficent, continuous power of Christian ethics in secular matters that prescient men cannot fail to recommend and rejoice in their application.

Thorough study of commercial exchanges, banks, and trust companies —Jews and Gentiles, Roman Catholics and Protestants—in this and other cities brings into vivid relief upon the background of intense social activities the worth of applied Christian ethics, the demonstrated fact that "godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come" (1 Tim. iv, 8). Selfishness is stupidity. Altruism, as when the disciples distributed the loaves and fishes among the hungry multitude, augments its store of blessings in proportion to the magnitude of those gifts with which it lovingly parts.

Men, personally and in the aggregate, are "slow of heart" to believe in the ethics of the great Teacher. Belief in many is clear and confident now, although it was dark and despondent thirty years ago. So blind and foolish was the majority that it practically repudiated them in relation to slavery, pauperism, intemperance, the liquor traffic, crime, and kindred evils. Taught by dire experience, they have learned the expediency of dutiful application, delight in the resultant good, and—exempt the Mongols from full participation in the benefit!

Intelligent and fearless application of Christian ethics to the needs of women and children, to the education of the rising generation, to the instruction of the ignorant, to the family constitution, to the relations existing between capital and labor, to private and public corporations, to the functions of civil governments, to Sabbath legislation, ecclesiastical controversies, and many other burning questions, is duty and pleasure

to patriot and humanitarian. The difficulties associated with bimetallism, silver coinage, suffrage, immigration, impudent claims of anachronistic foreign potentates and powers, protection, tariff, and free trade, foreign policies, and international relations all disappear under the working of this universal solvent. Nothing is so adamantine as to resist its force, nothing so dark that it does not illumine. It concretes the abstract, gives substance to ideas, demonstrates the solidarity of all human interests, the brotherhood of man, the fatherhood of God, and the certainty of the coming millennium.

GOD'S HAND IN OUR NATION'S HISTORY.

THE Columbian Quadricentennial, whose industrial exposition this month of May inaugurates, has directed the attention of all the world to American history. And the one thing concerning this history which it seems particularly appropriate here to emphasize can be no other than the divine leadings made manifest therein. That the Lord God omnipotent reigneth, ruling among the nations as well as in the hearts of men, every land proclaims. It declares also that righteousness exalteth and sin reproacheth any people, and that only those banners which are set up in the name of the All-Holy can finally triumph. All history assures us that the distinctions between right and wrong are eternal; that justice and truth alone endure; that the people which is morally corrupt becomes physically weak; and that national wickedness means national decay.

To trace the proofs of these propositions and find them illustrated in the complicated unfoldings of events, to note how Providence turns and overturns among the occurrences where human passion and greed seem to be raging in defiance of his law, and to mark the movings of a divine hand in the midst of the cross purposes of men, is an occupation of surpassing interest. And especially where one's own country is the scene of the search no more profitable theme can be proffered for study. If there is one land which, more than another, invites such investigation, surely it is this land of liberty, of law, and of religion, this free America. For, from the remotest beginnings of our career down to the present, it is scarcely possible that any candid man can refuse to recognize a divine design in operation upon this continent—a purpose which is not of earth, and which is truly marvelous to all beholders. Mere human aims and human foresight cannot explain what has occurred in connection with the discovery and the settlement, the development and the enfranchisement, of this portion of the globe. A number of particulars combine to convince the student that the same God who guided Israel has guided these United States, and that the same principles which ruled his administration of all the affairs of that ancient people rule here and now.

I. THE DISCOVERY.

In the first place, how wonderfully God reserved this continent for freedom! He hid it for long ages behind the western wave till the proper

hour had struck and all was ready for its disclosure to the race. How remarkable that nothing whatever came of the discovery and partial settlement of America by the Norsemen! Lief Erickson, nearly five hundred years before Columbus, came to Labrador and proceeded down the coast as far as Rhode Island. Many explorers followed him, and some colonies were planted; but they were feeble and were soon abandoned. No importance was attached to the matter. Nothing resulted. Europe did not hear of it, and the world was neither wiser for it nor better. "The curtain which had been lifted for a moment was stretched again from sky to sea, and the New World still lay hidden in the shadows." Why was this? May we not rightly say that God threw a veil over the unexplored continent until his plans concerning it should be matured, and until the time had come when he should work out his glorious purposes? Not till the end of the Middle Ages, not till the great Reformation in Europe had emancipated the human mind and the stirrings of free thought which followed it had prepared a people who could make the best use of this grand opportunity, was the opportunity to be afforded.

II. The Possession.

When Columbus and his gallant successors had disclosed to Europe that another world lay just beyond the ocean the question arose as to who should possess it. It was a mighty question, for this was a mighty land. Nothing could be more manifest than that it was prepared by infinite wisdom to be the theater of a great race and afford a field for astonishing progress in the civilization of mankind. All the nations of western Europe apprehended something of its importance and vied with each other for its acquisition, much as they are now striving for the possession of Africa. They poured out their gold and their blood. They sent their bravest sons, their most vigorous and courageous explorers. Spain and Portugal, who had the start, did their best to get the lion's share. Holland and Sweden made earnest efforts and obtained some portion. France threw her immense resources lavishly, for some centuries, into the same endeavor. But, one after another, these all failed. Insuperable difficulties arose. Things against which no human foresight could provide met and defeated attempt after attempt. As Jehovah, through the mouth of Samuel, when the sons of Jesse passed before the prophet, rejected one after another till David appeared, so he seemed to say by the mouth of his providence to nation after nation, to throng after throng of adventurers and colonists as they passed on to these shores, "I have not chosen you, I have not chosen you, nor you, nor you," until at last England arrived, and to her was awarded the prize. God intended that Protestantism should reign here, not Romanism. He intended that the Anglo-Saxon race, not the Latin, should be the dominant power on these shores and impress upon these broad fields the highest and best sentiments of freedom. The conflict between France and England for supremacy here was especially thrilling and momentous. It was long-drawn-out and very closely contested. France seemed for much of the time to have the advantage, for

she owned all the North and all the West, while England had only a little strip along the coast. But on the 10th of February, 1763, by the Treaty of Paris, after the victory of Wolfe at Quebec, the French king lost his entire possessions in the New World, and it was finally decided that the decaying institutions of the Middle Ages should not prevail this side of the sea, but that the powerful language and laws and liberties of the English race should have free range in these vast dominions. John Fiske says of his decision that it "marked the greatest turning point as yet discernible in all modern history, the most prodigious event in the political annals of mankind." Surely no one can fail to see that God was in this marvelous defeat of France after the centuries of fierce conflict in which she had engaged.

III. The Colonists.

Looking a little further and deeper, we are struck with the fact that godly men, men of marked piety and religious enthusiasm, were the ruling forces in the colonization of this country. The Pilgrims, as is well known, were a picked company of rarest worth who fled from religious persecution and sought freedom to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience. In the cabin of the *Mayflower*, before they stepped upon Plymouth Rock, they agreed upon a covenant for the guidance of their civil affairs, in which they plainly said that "for the glory of God and the advancement of the Christian faith" they had undertaken to plant a colony. There can be no question but that the Pilgrims of Plymouth and the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay, more than any other one element, stamped their impress upon the institutions of this nation and preempted it for righteousness. And though there was a more worldly element at Jamestown, Va., yet even there the conversion of the Indians and the advancement of the divine glory thereby was especially mentioned in the charter as a prime object of the undertaking. In the Carolinas very large numbers of the French Huguenots, driven from France by the cruelest persecutions, made themselves happy homes, and so did German refugees and devout peasants from Switzerland. Georgia was founded by Oglethorpe, the philanthropist, out of pure benevolence; the motto on the corporation seal was, "Not for self, but for others;" and the Moravians, a people of the most fervent spirit, came there in large numbers. In Maryland there was opened by Lord Baltimore, a truly noble Catholic, an asylum for the persecuted of that faith; and the largest liberty, far broader and more enlightened than Massachusetts or Connecticut then knew, was there established. In the same great-hearted spirit of equal rights for all, Roger Williams, the Baptist, founded Rhode Island. And the Friends, under William Penn, who founded Pennsylvania, gave an example to all of justice and peace, innocence and truth. So, taking it all in all, it is undoubtedly true that there never was such a body of men presiding at the sources of influence, at the springs of power, in any other nation as there was in this. And here again we perceive God's hand very plainly manifest.

IV. The Revolution.

Coming down to the Revolutionary struggle, who but God could have given the victory to this oppressed people? From the human point of view everything seemed against them. Over and over again during those dreary years their cause was as desperate as could well be imagined. How could they have really expected to conquer? How could raw recruits and undrilled militia contend with veteran regiments seasoned in the wars of Europe and commanded by experienced generals? How could an empty treasury overpower a full one? What madness for this handful of scattered, impoverished colonists, strung along this exposed coast, without an army, without a navy, without money, without credit, without a central government which could do anything but advise and implore, to throw down the gage of battle to the mightiest empire on the face of the earth—an empire which had just humbled the House of Bourbon and overpowered the fleets and armies of the first nations of Europe! Looked at from both sides, the war seems to have been of God's own contriving. What madness possessed England to goad her colonists to such a pitch of fury and desperation, and thus hazard the loss of half her possessions for no final good? Some statesmen she had who saw the utter folly of it and gave warning, but they were not listened to; the uniform majority against them in Parliament was three or four to one. The rulers of England were deaf to all petitions and remonstrances from this side of the sea. They refused to listen to reason or make the slightest concession. The colonists of the period did not desire to fight. Even when they began they had no intention to really separate themselves from the mother country. It would have been very easy to have patched up terms of peace with England had there been any degree of wisdom shown on her part. Many of the most influential spirits among the colonists were for temporizing and adjusting the difficulty. They went back and forth with petition after petition; they would have consented to almost anything had there been the least conciliation shown on the other side. But no; the king and his advisers were infatuated, almost demented; they would listen to nothing. Judicial blindness, it would seem, had descended upon them from above. In the same sense in which Pharaoh's heart was hardened by Jehovah, that he should not let Israel go until judgment after judgment had come and the oppressed were all ready for freedom, so the heart of George III was hardened that he should not hearken to any compromise. In the same way that Rehoboam was led to listen to the worst counsels of his advisers and give rough answers to the people until they threw off his yoke—"for the cause was from the Lord," as the Scripture writer says—so George III was led to rush on in his selfish, perverse way till he had lost America; because God had determined that on these shores a great free nation should arise.

And when the war was in progress, the want of skill and enterprise on the part of the British generals, and the constant mismanagement by their home officials, were almost beyond belief. The distress of the colo-

nies was also extreme, and the suffering and privation of the troops were often heartrending. God it must have been who confounded the counsels of England and carried the Americans, in spite of all, step by step, through their almost impossible undertaking. He it certainly was who gave them George Washington, without whose extraordinary abilities and marvelous merits all would most surely have been lost. And none was more ready than he to recognize the divine power and to say, "Not unto us, but unto thy name give glory." In his first inaugural address he said this: "No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand which conducts the affairs of men more than the people of the United States. Every step by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency." Truly it was so. On another occasion he also said, "We have been freed from Great Britain by reiterated and astonishing interpositions of Providence." And so they had. The Almighty most clearly led our forefathers into the war, he led them all the way through it, and when they had been sufficiently chastened by suffering he brought them forth victorious.

V. The Expansion.

A map arranged to show the territorial growth of the United States is to every reflective mind a very interesting study. Nothing reads more like a romance, and nothing speaks more loudly of God, than the story of the reclamation of this continent, the filling of the wilderness with happy homes, the formation of Territory after Territory, of State after State, until now at last from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Gulf to the Arctic Sea, our whole magnificent domain is organized into its fifty great republics federated under one banner.

The thirteen original States which wrested their freedom from Great Britain contained only 421,000 square miles. Then, in 1787, four years after the peace, out of the vast tract between the Ohio and the Mississippi was organized the great Northwest Territory, which subsequently yielded us five mighty States. Between this time and the year 1819 Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Alabama were severally admitted into the Union. Singularly enough, these nine additional States made just 421,000 square miles additional, exactly doubling the original area. Our territory at that time stopped with the great river, the Mississippi being our western boundary. Spain held everything west of that stream, including all Mexico, and also Florida, in the southeast. In 1800 Napoleon compelled Spain to cede to France the vast tract called Louisiana—that is, all the land west of the Mississippi for its whole length, and extending northward to the Pacific Ocean. But in 1803, finding that he could not profitably manage this territory, because of many wars at home, he agreed to sell it to the United States for fifteen million dollars.

Thus at one stroke, and at a comparatively inconsiderable expense, we gained an additional million of square miles, more than doubling our previous area. We now stretched from ocean to ocean, a truly imperial

domain. But God had yet more gifts in store for us. Next came the Mexican cessions, including Texas, California, Utah, Arizona, Nevada, and the rest, for which we paid sixteen million dollars, besides the blood and treasure expended in the war. This strife was undoubtedly unjust in many particulars. Nevertheless, God was in the outcome. As in regard to the British rulers long before, so now in regard to the Mexican, it seems impossible to explain the madness and infatuation and silly pride which possessed them, leading them to imagine that the course they took was wise and would result in victory for them, except on the supposition that judicial blunders from the Lord lay upon them, as upon Pharaoh and Rehoboam, it being God's purpose, for the benefit of the world and the good of the race, to put these immense tracts into our hands and under our free stable government. So we gained another million square miles. And how startling the fact that it was only a few days after the signing of the treaty with Mexico which put California into our hands that the whole world was electrified by the news that gold in fabulous quantities had been discovered on the banks of the Sacramento! Was there not a providence in this? And also in the purchase of Alaska, containing more than half a million square miles, from Russia, in 1867, for only seven million dollars? That completed what are now our possessions, the total being 3,604,000 square miles, or nearly nine times as much land as was in the old thirteen States. In round numbers, we came into possession of one million square miles by the treaty with England after the Revolution; we bought another million from France; and gained still another million from Mexico, together with half a million from Russia. The British possessions north of us will eventually become our property, and perhaps the islands south. Politicians call it "manifest destiny;" but these are meaningless words. Better is it to say "the providence of God," who designs on this continent to advance the race to a condition to which it has not as yet attained, and to work out on this magnificent field, in the centuries to come, problems which shall greatly redound to his glory and the good of mankind.

VI. The Emancipation.

Turning now to the last war, we find its prosecution marked by many traces of a divine hand, only a few of which can be mentioned. Here, as in the Mexican and the Revolutionary contests, what but God's judgment can adequately explain the marvelous blindness of the Southern leaders to the vast superiority of the North in resources and men? It was nothing less than insanity on the part of the men of the South—insanity growing out of their ignorance of the temper of the Northern States, growing out of their overweening pride, growing out of their wicked determination to keep the Negro in bondage and rule the land or ruin it; it was delusion of the wildest sort that led them to believe they could conquer the North in the fight. God allowed them thus to deceive themselves because he saw that in no other way could slavery be destroyed and the republic be purified of this great crime. The Southerners went into the

war expecting to make slavery triumphant and spread it over all the continent. The Northerners, for the most part, went into the war simply to restore and maintain the Union, being convinced that there was no room on this soil for two nations with antagonistic interests. But God's intention from the start was to destroy slavery. Hence he had to withhold success from our arms until the nation had learned the lesson intended, until it was sufficiently humbled and punished, and was fully ready to do justice to the oppressed.

So, on the 21st of July, 1861, the Northern troops were beaten at Bull Run. How it amazed and galled us! We could not understand it, knowing well that our cause was just. Had any one of a dozen trifles turned out differently in that contest we should have won, and God could easily have ordered it that we should win. But had we done so slavery would to-day, in all probability, still be spreading its baneful blight over the land. It was the same way with the disasters on the peninsula before Richmond in May and June of the following year. We had a splendid army, we had advanced within a few miles of the capital, the rebel forces were shattered, and but for inaction on the part of the commanding general —mysterious at the time and ever since—the capital of the Confederacy, as we now know, could have been easily taken. But no, it was not to be. We were not yet ready to do justice to the slave, and God would not bless us. Then followed Lee's invasion of Maryland and the slaughter of twenty thousand men on the bloody but indecisive battlefield of Antietam. Victory was still withheld from us. But we were beginning to understand what God meant. Good men throughout the North had been praying and speaking, and the eyes of the people were opening to the truth. So President Lincoln, feeling at length that the nation would sustain him, in accordance with the solemn vow he had made before the Lord that if Lee were driven back he would do justice to the bondman, on the 22d day of September, 1862, issued an order which electrified the world, announcing that on the 1st of the next January the slaves should all be free. And when those hundred days of public notice had expired came the great proclamation which emancipated four millions! From that moment God granted victory to the armies of freedom. Vicksburg and Gettysburg came that summer, and after that wonderful Fourth of July which gave us those two crowning mercies, though it took us almost two years more to finish the conflict, the issue was no longer doubtful—the end was in sight. We had learned that liberty and union must stand or fall together, and that the accursed wrong of holding property in man, which we had been so long clasping to our bosom, must be definitely and forever put away before we could possibly have peace. The war had to continue, as Lincoln so well said, till the wealth piled by unrequited toil had been sunk and every drop of blood drawn with the lash had been expiated by another drawn with the sword. So true and righteous altogether are the judgments of the Lord.

Of minor providences connected with the great struggle there are very many that might be mentioned. Who can forget how the nation was

thrilled when the *Monitor*, on the 9th of March, 1862, in the opportune moment, arrived at Hampton Roads, on the very day when the ironclad *Merrimac* would otherwise have easily destroyed our shipping and moved on to the devastation of the Northern ports? How came that strange little "cheese box," as the rebels derisively termed her, that turreted novelty, that triumph of the genius and science of Ericsson, the Swede, to get there precisely when the danger was greatest and the need absolute? Had any one of a hundred things intervened that might to human eyes most easily have happened, she had been too late, the blockade would have been broken, and everywhere our wooden ships would have been readily sunk. But God was clearly in the occurrence, and all events obeyed his will to save our nation.

Who but God gave us Abraham Lincoln, that marvel of the nineteenth century, as Washington was of the eighteenth? It was not our wisdom that selected him. We knew him not. He was a plain, untried man. Nobody understood what was in him any more than they did what was before him. He did not himself understand. It was the Almighty who brought him forward and put him at the head of the nation, the one man for the hour, to guide us through that awful storm. The same may be said of General Grant, and of many of the other leaders, both civil and military, such as Stanton and Chase, Seward and Sumner, Sherman, Sheridan, and Thomas. This noble group was raised up for our deliverance as plainly as Moses and Joshua and David were raised up to emancipate the enslaved Israelites and establish the Jewish nation. Men were given us in the time of our need, and also money, which was no less essential. The exhaustless mines of gold and silver on the Pacific slope, on both sides of the Rockies, and in the Sierra Nevadas, there hid since the world began, were discovered and developed in the exact time to meet the great emergency. The slave power had failed to get control of that vast region, and though so far away—with no railways then joining them to the East, and with many temptations to organize for themselves—the men of the Pacific proved true to the Union and to freedom, and poured out their treasure like water to save the day.

Surely we have said enough to show that there is a God in this history, a God who rules among the affairs of men, appointing the bounds of their habitation and giving the kingdom to whomsoever he will. It is only the fool who can say in his heart there is no God, or none that concerns himself with human duty and destiny. The wise man will heartily acknowledge God's presence and power among us, and will set himself to cooperate with the divine plans. Only thus as evil of every kind is put away, and as we become a truly Christian nation, not in name only, but in deed—only as righteousness prevails among us and wickedness departs—can there be genuine and lasting prosperity. The ideal citizen is not the anarchist or the atheist, the infidel or the agnostic, but the man that loves and fears God. For it is religion more than aught else which made this republic what it is, and the growth of scriptural piety means the growth of everything besides that the nation needs.

PROGRESS OF CIVILIZATION.

COSMOPOLITANISM is the genius of the age into which men have now come. In contrast with the illiberality of other days this means a broader taste and a larger flexibility of adaptation to new environments; in comparison with the older self-absorption it implies a deeper concern for the affairs of other men and an heroic devotion to their good. The relation of the individual to the race was never broader, as well as closer, than at the present. In a true and increasing sense every man belongs to the world, and the world to every man. The scientific progress of the age, if we come to inquire the cause of this cosmopolitanism, in some degree nourishes the sense of universal citizenship. There is an advance in linguistic skill. The incomprehensible dialects of Pentecost would be intelligible now. The scholar is often a man of many tongues. At the very antipodes it were possible to speak one's mother language and find an intelligent listener. The ease of international communication also brings the individual into closer relations with his distant brethren. The morning journal condenses the doings of the wide world on the preceding day. For the expenditure of a trifle one may establish telegraphic connection with India or China and talk with some living soul upon the heights of the Himalayas or along the Great Wall of the Chinese empire. Time is annihilated; and while the clocks of the world make but a single swing of their pendulums a man's voice to his fellow-man has traversed the globe. And the facilities of travel also contribute to the increase of the cosmopolitan spirit. Man is naturally a peripatetic. To the gratification of his ambition for travel there can be but one successful hinderance—and that is the impossible. With which disposition to travel he is, in these later days, a resident of all lands. The world was never narrower. The twenty-five thousand miles of the earth's circumference have shrunk to a span. Escape from others is practically impossible; the world is a resounding whispering gallery; the eagle-eyed detective looks into every corner of the world to apprehend the criminal. The tour of the globe is a lesser journey now than was Abram's expedition of a few hundred miles from Mesopotamia. The steamship can circle the globe almost as quickly as the camels of the Jewish patriarch, with their heavy hoofs, made the ever historic pilgrimage into Canaan. Under such circumstances of rapid travel it is never necessary for the traveler to say farewell to his fellows; the tourist that one meets to-day under the shadows of the Pyramids or along the streets of Peking he may greet to-morrow in the drawing-room festivities of America. And under such circumstances a man feels himself a citizen, not only of his own community and State, but of every government and of all municipalities. The earlier provincialism is no longer possible. To man's education, jurisprudence, commerce, and scientific progress he cannot be indifferent; in the amelioration of human pain and wretchedness he must be interested; and for

the universal establishment of morality the inevitable drift of sentiment now forces him to feel a concern. So does the whole world become at once his property, his care, and his rejoicing.

THE republic of Liberia clearly merits its enrollment among the governments of the earth. Established in one of the more obscure corners of the globe, and maintaining a quietude which is unbroken by the contentions of kings and princes or by the invasions of foreign warriors, its onward progress is too little noticed. If some nations, like individuals, are retiring and unboastful, to this class Liberia certainly belongs. She does not enter into competition with the larger governments of the world for territorial possessions; she never plays the rôle of dictator in international councils; she does not bid for the world's plaudits with the blare of trumpets and spectacular display. Yet on account of her sterling qualities this little republic upon the African coast is not to be lightly esteemed. Such a tribute to her excellences, for instance, as is set forth in the Seventy-sixth Annual Report of the American Colonization Society is at once deserved and instructive. For more than forty-five years, according to this showing, Liberia has existed as an independent republic. Twenty-three administrations have in this period quietly succeeded one another, during which time the republic has "exercised the functions of a national government, having executive, legislative, and judicial departments, keeping peace and order within her own borders, collecting and disbursing revenues, holding diplomatic intercourse with other nations, and establishing a system of common schools." Covering an area of 95,000 square miles, and numbering a population of some 1,250,000, all of whom belong to the Negro race; blessed with a forest verdure of "unspeakable beauty and grandeur;" possessing a flora which is unusually "rich and varied;" and growing all the tropical vegetables and fruits with luxuriance, Liberia is surely one of the garden spots of the great continent of Africa. That the republic has maintained its autonomy and vigor for nearly half a century, though under the condition of a somewhat elementary civilization, is a striking testimony to the latent strength of character of the African Negro, and is not an insignificant prophecy of future prosperity. The truthfulness of the words of Henry Clay was never more evident in the history of Liberia than now, that it is "a republic founded by black men, reared by black men, maintained by black men, and which holds out to our hope the brightest prospects." But the emigration to Liberia of the American Negro should inspire an additional and most practical interest in the well-being of this African republic. Probably too few realize the steady exodus to the African shores of our blacks which has been going on for three quarters of a century. For the furtherance of this object the American Colonization Society was organized seventy-six years ago. Commencing its work four years later, it has yearly since then sent emigrants to Liberia. At the present date it can show a total of 16,418 colonists, besides 5,722 recaptured Africans, whom it has

helped to settlement upon the African shores. Added to this enumeration of actual results, the further item is not unimportant that the applications for help Africa-ward have increased during the past year, have come from Northern as well as Southern States, and now reach many thousands in number. The United States cannot be indifferent to these facts. While it is too much to expect that our entire black population could ever be induced to emigrate—because of their sometimes considerable investments here, their home associations, or their natural dread of an expedition across the seas into untried scenes—yet at least a partial solution of the Southern question may lie in the furtherance of African colonization. The strong and commanding republic of the New World should, therefore, wish a hundredfold prosperity to the weaker republic of the Old. All sympathy and good wishes to Liberia!

SHALL the death penalty be abolished as an inhumanity which should cease with the passing century? The vigorous agitation looking to this end has not only found some place of late in the public prints, but has also attained to the importance of legislative discussion and action. Concerning particular instances of the death sentence which provoke on the part of many sentimentalists a clamorous demand for gubernatorial interference it would be unbecoming here to speak. Yet, as all injustice of any sort calling for rectification is emphasized in such specific instances, these are valuable as instigators of public interest and action. The question is as old as the generations. To throw a human being into the dungeon for his murderous assault upon another; to subject him to the rigors of a judicial process; to condemn him to the extreme penalty known to men; and to put out, like the extinguishment of a bright-burning taper, the life which God has given, seems, from the standpoint of the sentimentalist, an act of indefensible brutality. That the criminal has blotted out another human life which was equally or perhaps more valuable is, in the estimate of right thinkers, the only justification for his arraignment, and the sole warrant for the temerity of the human judge in assuming the functions of the greater Judge and in pronouncing the sentence of death. But in discussing the ethics of the death penalty the primary object of capital punishment should, we contend, be taken into consideration. And such purpose is evidently that the execution shall act as a deterrent as well as be punitive in itself. The lesser visitations of the law are for the same end. It is right that theft and arson and bribery shall be punished by fine and imprisonment, not only that the guilty may themselves feel the stings of remorse and have opportunity for reformation of life, but also that others in our communities with the same evil tendencies may take warning and practice a wholesome self-restraint. To abrogate the statutes covering the punishment of these lesser offenses would be to usher in a reign of terror and of multiplied crimes. The analogy clearly holds. The murderer must be punished for the prevention of other murders. Easy are the approaches to this supreme crime.

Some great affront, in the estimate of the enraged man, has been given; his jealousy or wrath has perhaps been strengthened by strong drink, that factor in so many crimes; passion for the time being takes the reins and drives on the headlong steeds. It is sadly prophetic to say that, as a consequence, there will always be murders. To hedge about the commission of the crime with as many deterrents as possible and to clothe its punishment with the most awful solemnities seem, therefore, the part of civic wisdom as well as of religion. And, because the death penalty, by whatever method, appears the most awesome of all deterrents, we must believe in its continuance.

THE popular outbreak in Belgium is but the continuation of the old struggle for equality which has filled all lands and centuries. Divested of their superfluous settings, these late Belgian riots are but the protest of the common people against the rejection of the liberal electoral b ll by the Chamber of Deputies—though the dominant authorities had encouraged the anticipation of the passage of this measure. Clearly the masses have a grievance. An examination of the electoral body in Belgium shows the astounding fact that only between two and three per cent of the total population enjoy the right of suffrage. Nor do they seem to be excluded from this freeman's privilege through lack of educational or property qualification. But, as in other lands where caste is dominant and social distinctions are intrenched in the customs of the centuries, the aristocracy have held the scepter in their bejeweled hands and are loath to let go their sovereignty. It is simply the contest between the purse-proud aristocracy and the brawny masses—a contest which enlists the sympathy of all sturdy manhood, and a contest in which the patrician must ultimately suffer defeat. The occurrence of such a demonstration as that happening in Belgium directs attention to the generic principle of popular suffrage, than which no principle is more vital to national perpetuation. We are not of those who would grant the voter's franchise indiscriminately to men. Too carelessly has this priceless privilege been conferred in the past. A mistake has been made, it is to be feared, in the United States. However just the conferring of the freeman's right in our earlier national history, when the population was sparse and immigration invited, the desirability of restricting suffrage is now the conviction of all who have eyes to see. The old arguments for certain qualifications as a prerequisite to the exercise of the voter's privilege gather new force with the years. Perhaps there should be a property qualification, though not one which is burdensome and unjust. Certainly there should be an educational requirement. The schoolhouse should be the gateway to the polls; an instructed citizenship will insure a healthy and progressive commonwealth. Yet under right restrictions the privilege of electoral rights should be granted to the last citizen entitled thereto. The trend of the age is toward democracy. The masses are coming to the front; and soon these untitled masses shall, in justice, direct the governments of the earth.

THE ARENA.

THE MORAL AND SPIRITUAL STATUS OF INFANT CHILDREN.

WHATEVER may be affirmed in creeds and confessions of faith, the doctrine of unconditional election and reprobation is no longer taught from evangelical pulpits. The dogma which Calvin himself styled a *horribile decretum* is exploded. God's saving scheme of mercy embraces the race. "As by the offense of one judgment came upon all men to condemnation; even so by the righteousness of one the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life." "As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive." The death sentence is canceled, pardon is graciously bestowed, and life is secured. No soul will perish because of the first transgression in the garden. "The soul that sinneth, it shall die."

The moral and spiritual status of children may be legitimately inferred from the teaching of prophets, of apostles, and of Christ himself. The offspring of fallen parents have no inherent purity. Adam begat a son in his own likeness. The child inherits lapsed faculties and alienated appetencies; it has no birthright to heaven. A Saviour is needed and redemption is accomplished; the ransom is paid. But redemption is not salvation. In personal salvation justification and regeneration are the essential elements in every case of infants and adults. Justification is pardon, but "justification unto life" manifestly implies regeneration, which signifies the new life. The words of Christ to Nicodemus set forth the qualification without which no soul can enter into the kingdom of God—on earth or in heaven: "Ye must be born again!" "That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit." The spiritual birth is the beginning of the new life. It is a birth into the kingdom—a new creation. God's "free gift" is unconditional, securing complete personal salvation to all before actual sin has been committed. Regeneration, which is coordinate with justification in personal salvation, is also coetaneous; without it the soul is but half saved.

The Bible clearly teaches that infants are personally saved; the words of Christ are explicit: "Suffer little children, and forbid them not, to come unto me; for of such is the kingdom of heaven." Again, "Verily I say unto you, Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven." On such New Testament teachings Dr. Scott emphatically says:

> Infants are as capable of regeneration as grown persons; and there is ground to conclude that all those who have not committed actual sin, though sharing in Adam's offense, will also share in the blessings of the second Adam's gracious covenant without personal faith and obedience: but not without the regenerating influences of the Holy Spirit."*

In substantial agreement with Dr. Scott, Richard Watson says:

> We are bound to conclude that in some sense the kingdom of heaven is composed of little children; they are its subjects and partakers of its blessings. If

*Commentary, Matt. xix. 13, 14.

children are subjects of Christ's spiritual kingdom on earth, then, until the moment that by actual transgression they bring condemnation on themselves, they remain heirs of the kingdom of glory; and if they remain heirs of the latter by dying, then a previous vital connection must have existed on earth between them and Christ as their redeemer and sanctifier.*

Dr. Nast, while in harmony with Drs. Scott and Watson as to the salvation of infant children, assumes that they are not cleansed and qualified for heaven till in the moment of death. He says:

The Holy Spirit effects more in the salvation of infants that die than in those that grow up to years of understanding. The reason of it lies in the difference of the circumstances under which he is pleased to save them. We cannot conceive of regeneration in a child before it has awakened to self-consciousness. That takes place in the dying child at the hour of death, when the spirit leaves the body. It is regenerated in the very moment when the soul leaves the body and awakens to self-consciousness. †

Thus the learned doctor, by bold assumption, solves the problem, without any warrant whatever from the inspired word. But let us see what his assumption implies. If the spiritual birth occurs the moment before death, why might it not take place at any previous moment of the child's existence? It is clear that the cleansing could not take place the moment after the spirit's release from its clay tenement, since its mortal life would have ceased to exist prior to that moment.

Turning to our book of Discipline, Paragraph 43, we read:

We hold that all children, by virtue of the unconditional benefits of the atonement, are members of the kingdom of God, and therefore graciously entitled to baptism.

This kingdom is manifestly spiritual and invisible, while baptism initiates the subject into the outward or visible kingdom—the Church of Christ. But what is baptism? Let us see. It is "a sign of regeneration or the new birth." ‡ God in his ancient Church did "appoint divers baptisms, figuring thereby the renewing of the Holy Ghost." § Again, "Remembering always that baptism doth represent unto us that inward purity which disposeth us to follow the example of our Saviour Christ." ‖ Baptism is "the outward sign of an inward grace." It is the symbol of "the washing of regeneration and the renewing of the Holy Ghost."

Why are children proper subjects of baptism? We answer that it is because we hold that they are already members of Christ's spiritual kingdom; because of inward purity; because *unregenerate* persons—whether infants or adults—cannot be members of the kingdom of God. In the books consulted in the examination of this subject no text of Scripture has been cited in support of the assumption that God has a purpose and method for saving the dying child which do not apply to those who live till they come to years of understanding. The very thought is unworthy of the Author of salvation. Why bestow special blessings upon those who are about to be gathered into the fold of the Good Shepherd, and withhold them from those who live to do battle with sin and Satan

* *Theological Institutes*, vol. ii. † Commentary, Matt. xix, 13, 14.
‡ Article of Religion xvii. § Ritual. ‖ Ritual.

during the tender years of childhood, unaided by regenerating grace? God has but one scheme of mercy and but one method of salvation. He saves infants and adults by the same method. He saves all and evermore where there is not positive resistance of his Spirit and truth. Prevenient grace antedates all effort, purpose, and desire for a new heart. The first divine influence which quickens the conscience, creating a desire for a purer and better life, is initial salvation, and but for resistance would lead to the cross and to the fountain of healing. Little children do not resist; they do not reject Christ, and grace saves them.

If all infants are personally saved before coming to years of understanding, why do they not retain their infantile piety? Why do they reject the good and choose the evil? We answer, there are a few found in our churches who, like Timothy and Samuel, have known and loved the Lord from the earliest period of their lives. Two of the most devoted and useful ministers the writer has ever known were of this class. They knew nothing of the bitter cup of repentance. They could give no account of the date and circumstances of their conversion. They had no recollection of a day in life when they did not love the Lord and devoutly implore his blessing to rest upon them. They were deeply spiritual and eminently useful. They have gone to their reward. Every pastor, it is believed, has known individuals who were upright in life, God-fearing, and deeply anxious to be the disciples of Christ, and yet they remained out of the Church. Why did they not profess Christ and become identified with his people? They feared to take so important a step simply because they had been exhorted to "repent and be converted." They could not weep, neither could they agonize to enter in at the strait gate. They had, as we believe, remained in the fold from infancy; they had not lost the fruits of God's "free gift" which had secured to them "justification of life."

Intelligent, patient, tender, and watchful instruction by parents would save multitudes from wandering away from the fold. O, how much every household needs a faithful Eunice and a loving Lois to train the babes in the nurture and admonition of the Lord! The scheme of mercy and the blessed home influences which saved Timothy ought to be able to keep all the lambs within the fold of the Good Shepherd. Errors in belief and erroneous teaching have resulted in fearful loss to the Church, and in untold sadness to Christian fathers and mothers.

San Francisco, Cal. H. C. Benson.

"DEFINITION OF FREE WILL."

In his definition of free will it seems to me that F. G. Nagle, of Pacific Grove, Cal., is wide of the mark. He says: "Free will is a mental or spiritual development which enables the possessor to act according to an ideal, regardless of fleshly inclinations." *

With all respect I offer the following criticisms: 1. Will is not a "de-

* *Methodist Review*, January-February, 1893, p. 133.

velopment," but is inherent. It is a part of the constitution of the mind, the same as the intellect and sensibilities are. 2. "To act," if he means the performance of the deed, as I suppose, has nothing whatever to do with free will. To will is one thing, but to perform that which is willed is quite another. The will-action is free even without the deed-action. 3. An "ideal" of right or good toward which the will is free to act has no place in the definition of this word. If the will has not power to act contrary to any "ideal," whatever that may be, it is not free. Freedom implies powers of alternative choice. It may see and approve the right but still the wrong pursue. It may mock its own "ideal" and choose the opposite.

Will is a distinct faculty of the mind, possessing powers of alternative choice, influenced, it may be, by motives of good or by passions of evil, but necessitated by nothing and without limit in its operations. It may choose even to dethrone the Almighty. The "limitation" comes in the execution, not in the will-action.

McKENDREE SHAW.

Tully, N. Y.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO NATURE.

THE various animadversions elicited by an article published in the January–February number of the *Methodist Review*, and entitled "The Gospel in Nature," indicate that the subject is receiving further investigation. All my critics desire apparently nothing but the truth, and yet it is a little remarkable that no two perceive the same difficulties. One intimates that a new line of thought has been started, and that time is needed for its examination. It is clear to us that the *Review* article has not, as a whole, been correctly understood; hence it has not been critically examined. So far as noticed not a point has been made against our thesis, and as space will not allow us to set our critics right, one by one and item by item, we will content ourselves to cover the whole ground in a general way, mostly by reiterating what may be found in the article itself on the questioned points. It is there held:

1. That the earth was, when pronounced "very good," intended to be for man not only a place of abode and a school for intellectual development, but a divinely appointed sanctuary of worship, and that its adaptations were as complete in one respect as another.

2. That such was the fullness with which the Creator revealed himself and his will to man through his works, and such the clearness his spiritual life gave to spiritual vision, together with the creature's direct access to the Father and the tree of life, that a written revelation, such as ours, was unnecessary.

3. That, as taught by Wesley, Watson, and Clarke years ago, man sinned, died spiritually, and dropped down from the plane of spirituality —his intellect becoming "beclouded," though not injured *per se*, and his appetite and passion receiving an abnormal growth; but that he was arrested in his fall by the provisions already made in the atonement, and is not hopelessly lost.

4. That, "as creation as a whole formed a unit, a disturbance in any one of the departments affects disastrously the whole;" and in another place we say "that the place assigned to man in nature was so vast that his lapse disturbed the whole." Dr. Bovard will perceive that in not "deigning" to defend a position I did not take I did not so grievously sin.

5. That, as "nature is the product of divine thought, and man its head and front, in its intellectual and moral departments its teachings should blend with revelation and be duplicated whenever they occupy the same ground; that, as the original system was 'very good,' if the second came from the same source it must be a reproduction of it—a second edition, only in another form; that as the first was adapted to the condition of sinless man, the second should be so modified and enlarged as to be suited to the fallen and the spiritually dead."

6. We attach supreme value to the "lily," not for what it is *per se*, but for what in the hands of its Maker it may do as a teacher; so of the entire constitution and laws of nature.

7. In saying that during his ministry Christ made but little *use* of the Old Testament Scriptures we simply stated a fact palpable to every one; but Dr. Bovard understands our words to mean that he attached but little *value* to them. We beg his pardon; we did not suppose our words could possibly receive such a construction, especially as we affirmed that he gave the Old Testament the sanction of his authority; that the teachings of Moses, the prophets, and the Psalms were the word of the Lord to the people, etc. Dr. Bovard's challenge "to produce from nature a single teaching on the atonement" we would gladly accept did space permit; as it is, we refer him to Butler's *Analogy*.

Our article has now answered for itself the objections raised by our critics. It is, in fact, but a single thought which is more largely developed in our work, *The Anatomy of Atheism, Demonstrated in the Light of the Laws and Constitution of Nature*, published by Cranston & Curts.

Chautauqua, N. Y. H. H. Moore.

DR. STRONG'S SELF-CORRECTION.

Please allow me a brief criticism on my own criticism of Mrs. Sarah F. Adams's favorite hymn (No. 724 of our *Hymnal*) in the March–April *Review*. On reading my article in print I wish to modify the implication (p. 264) that the measure is necessarily *iambic*, which does indeed in the main fit the words and is the most frequent in English verse. I perceive, however, that it may also be scanned as *dactylic*—a very unusual species, thus:

Néarer, my Gód, to thee,
Néarer to thée.

And this appears to be the view of it in the music to which it is set in our "Hymnal with Tunes." On the former plan there are *twelve* violations of prosody in the entire hymn, besides those of the initial phrase so often repeated, and on the latter there are *nine*—not much gain.

Madison, N. J. James Strong.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

COURSE OF MINISTERIAL STUDY FOR THE QUADRENNIUM.

(*Continued.*)

UNDER the caption "Exegetical Theology," we may, for the purpose of this paper, without impropriety, include not only the study of the exegesis of the Scriptures, but those related studies which are preliminary to it. In one sense all studies for the ministry are preliminary to exegesis. Indeed, the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures is the supreme function of the Gospel preacher. In the address to those to be ordained elders the bishop says: "And seeing that ye cannot by any other means compass the doing of so weighty a work, pertaining to the salvation of man, but with doctrine and exhortation taken out of the Holy Scriptures, and with a life agreeable to the same; consider how studious ye ought to be in reading and learning the Scriptures, and in framing the manners, both of yourselves and of them that specially pertain unto you, according to the rule of the same Scriptures; and for this selfsame cause, how ye ought to forsake and set aside, as much as you may, all worldly cares and studies."

Again, the bishop asks: "Are you persuaded that the Holy Scriptures contain sufficiently all doctrine required of necessity for eternal salvation through faith in Jesus Christ?" Since, then, the Bible is the supreme arbiter of doctrine and duty, of the things we are to believe and preach, it is all-important that the minister shall be trained in the exact meaning of the sacred writings. Hence the course laid down for our young preachers in this department is fundamental, and includes:

"First year: Introduction to the Holy Scriptures, the Old Testament; Exegetical Studies in the Pentateuch."

"Second year: Introduction to the Holy Scriptures, the New Testament; Exegetical Studies in the Gospels."

"Third year: Exegetical Studies in Isaiah."

"Fourth year: Exegetical Studies in the Pauline Epistles."

The sphere of Biblical Introduction is very broad. What it should include and what it should exclude has been widely discussed. The mode of approach to the study of the Bible, whether by the old isagogical method or the later historical method, whether as accepted in its entirety as a full and complete revelation of God, or whether as still on trial to be investigated and to be discarded if not satisfactory to the student, are matters which are still under consideration by the scholarly world. It is well for the minister to remember, however, that before his entrance on the ministry he has had a personal religious experience, which connects itself directly with the doctrine of the inspiration of the Old and New Testament Scriptures. Whatever they may be to others, to him they are not on trial, but are already accepted, and his experience is in harmony with their teachings. He cannot, therefore, approach the study in the spirit of pure criticism, but in the spirit of reverent affection and love.

His duty toward the Scriptures, therefore, is not that of a critic, but that of a disciple who has received their doctrines and desires to expound them faithfully to the world. This does not, however, exclude thorough investigation of the foundations upon which his faith rests. Therefore the study of the Introduction to the Scriptures is absolutely necessary.

What is included in the Introduction may be comprehended under Canon of the Scriptures, Biblical Philology, Text Criticism, Archæology, Hermeneutics, and, in a wider sense, perhaps, the Evidences of Revealed Religion. To these studies the candidate for the ministry should devote himself with great industry during his course.

It is to be noted that the Exegetical Studies are progressive. Beginning with the Pentateuch, they pass to the gospels; then to the Pauline epistles and the prophecy of Isaiah. The careful study of these books, with the studies introductory to them, include the study of the profoundest problems of modern biblical thought. Some one has said that the roots of all the questions of Old Testament literature are found in the first eleven chapters of Genesis, and certainly the foundations of all New Testament questions center in the four gospels. In Isaiah the prophetical aspects of the Old Testament reach their culmination, and in the Pauline epistles the complete development of Christian theology is exhibited. Richly endowed, indeed, in knowledge, in critical acumen, and in spiritual insight will he be who has carefully studied this course as laid down in our book of Discipline. Until the General Conference of 1884 exegesis was not insisted upon as a part of the Conference curriculum for candidates for the ministry. It is now assigned to its appropriate rank.

The value of purely exegetical studies in mental training and in securing entrance to the very rich treasures of God's word need not at this time be insisted upon. It is a maxim in theological thought that a good exegete is a good theologian, and he who keeps most nearly to the very words in which the Holy Ghost communicated sacred truth will most fully understand the mind of the Spirit.

THE YOUNG MINISTER.

THERE are two priesthoods recognized in the New Testament—that of all believers, by which each comes to God with his own sacrifice of a "broken and a contrite heart," and that of teaching and of official service, by which those specially designated of God make known his truth to the people. "And no man taketh this honor unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron." In the New Testament sense they are not properly priests, but "ministers of the word." The Christ whom they preach is both priest and sacrifice, and their constant cry is, "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world!"

The glory of the minister's office is derived from the Master whom he represents and the grandeur of the message which he is commissioned to announce. He represents the King of kings, and proclaims on his behalf pardon to his rebellious subjects. "We are ambassadors for Christ, as

though God did beseech you by us: we pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God." No one can enter upon such a work without asking anxiously, "Who is sufficient for these things?"

This is the case with a young man who is conscious that he has been called of God to the work of the ministry. The magnitude and difficulty of the service almost overwhelm him, and he raises the inquiry, "How shall I fit myself to enter upon this sacred office?" Of natural gifts and spiritual graces we need not speak. It is a safe assumption that God calls no one to his work who has not the qualities of mind and heart which, when cultivated, will effectively serve his cause.

The Church exercises a careful guardianship over those who profess to be thus called, and inquires whether they have "gifts, grace, or usefulness." Those whom the Church designates as candidates for the ministry at once confront questions of great moment, not to themselves alone, but to the Church in which they are to minister. Some of these questions which are likely to arise in the minds of those looking forward to the ministry we propose to consider.

1. Does the call to the ministry include the call to enter immediately upon the work of preaching the Gospel? This question must be answered in the light of experience and of history. That there have been and are those who feel, "Woe is unto me, if I preach not the Gospel" *now*, is evident. The majority, however, of those who are called in early life are called with a view to preparation rather than to immediate service.

This is the present conviction of the Church as expressed in her extensive arrangements for the education of young preachers. All branches of Christianity have educational societies to help those who are looking forward to the ministry and who are too poor to bear the entire expense. The establishment of academies, colleges, and theological seminaries under the direct control of the Church shows the extent of the course which she thinks important for them to pursue. At the end of the course they are finally examined, in order to test whether they have passed successfully in the required studies. The Church further enjoins upon all who enter her ministry a four years' course, through which every young man must pass in order to full ordination to her service. It is clear that the Church recognizes the call to the ministry to be a call to get ready, by a rigid course of spiritual and mental discipline, for its exalted functions.

This is further apparent from the study of the lives of those most successful in preaching the Gospel. It is largely true of those who have led the thought of the Church. Jonathan Edwards, the great metaphysician and theological writer, in the days when separate biblical schools did not exist, spent two years after graduation in preparing for his special work. He realized that his first duty was to prepare. The same was true of our own great writer and commentator, Dr. D. D. Whedon. It is also true of the most noted revivalists. President Finney, of Oberlin, whose life and work are still an inspiration to all who labor for the salvation of souls, realized the same thing and employed his wealth of theological learning in directing men to the cross of Christ.

Without denying God's call of specially qualified men to enter directly on their ministerial labors, it is manifest that most of those who are called to preach the Gospel are thereby called to make the best possible preparation for the sacred office.

PRESERVATION OF MATERIALS.

(*Continued.*)

BECAUSE of the continued interest felt in the preservation of sermonic materials, we add a further letter upon the subject from one of the thoughtful readers of the "Itinerants' Club" department:

EDITOR ITINERANTS' CLUB: The book with which I would part last—the Bible, of course, excepted—is of my own making. I have worked in its construction for several years, and expect to do so as long as I work at all. Its value is already beyond my anticipation when I began it, and increases with accelerating speed. In short, my most valuable book is a key, a skeleton key, which at once unlocks nearly all the treasuries of my reading, and secures as in a safe gems which otherwise would be scattered beyond redemption. I have carefully studied the methods of others, but have not yet found reasons for altering my own. Only a conviction that the adoption of such a plan increases the facility and efficiency of a minister's work prompts me to add this article to the many which have been written on the subject.

After sufficient experimenting to assure myself of the wisdom of my plan I purchased a large ledger containing between five and six hundred pages. Instead of setting apart special pages for special subjects I fill in the pages solidly as I advance. The alphabetical index contains the subjects upon which entries have been made. As I read a book, a magazine, a paper, I enter upon the pages of my ledger the subject of importance, whether it be a chapter, a paragraph, an illustration, an analysis, and then simply put the number of the page after the subject as contained in or added to my index. In entering the subject I refer to the book, magazine, paper, or to my file case for clippings, of which I shall speak. For example, on the resurrection of Christ, according to my index, I have references to my reading on pages 2, 27, 45, 49, 53, etc., of the ledger, for the most part references to valuable material which otherwise I could not refind without great labor, if at all. Indeed, I find I have written out suggestive arguments, a happy illustration, and many other things which I could have preserved in no other way with equal ease and compactness.

In the latter part of the ledger I have set apart pages for the several books of the Bible, and here I enter without individual index reference all matters pertaining to the special treatment of the book, chapter, and text, references to valuable sermons in my books, or other material. I have this so arranged that in a moment I can discover if I have anything on the text in hand. For example, on page 138 I have references to articles,

sermons, and expositions, in file case, in *Homiletical Review*, in volumes on my shelves, on many texts in Hebrews.

In the reading of the daily or weekly papers I find clippings of two sorts, to be referred to as subjects or as texts. I have a file case, prepared by Rev. J. C. Thomas, in two parts—one a system of alphabetically indexed envelopes or flaps, the other arranged with an envelope for each ten chapters of the Bible, or for any book when it contains less than that number. Anything filed in either of unusual value I enter also in my ledger simply F. C. (file case in loco).

This system is as simple as possible for the purposes it serves. It is compact, no waste pages being left in the ledger. It allows of indefinite extension. It covers the whole range of reading.

Rye, N. Y. E. S. Ferry.

"THE SPIRIT OF CHRIST." (Rom., viii, 9.)

The passage of which this phrase is a part reads as follows: "Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his." The question to be considered is, What is meant by "the Spirit of Christ?" Some have maintained that the word "Spirit" here means temper or disposition, and that the phrase "Spirit of Christ" means no more than "the Christian spirit." Such a dilution of this very suggestive passage has no support from the context or from general usage. That the Holy Spirit is referred to immediately before is clear and unquestionable. The word "Spirit" does not occur in the sense of disposition of mind in the previous chapter, and is here introduced to mark the great transition from the condition of conflict between the mind and the flesh into that of victory in which there is "no condemnation to them who are in Christ Jesus."

In the previous part of this verse "the Spirit of God" is employed, which is evidently the same as the "Spirit of Christ." Here the Spirit is that of God and of Christ, concerning both of whom it is affirmed that they dwell in believers. Meyer says: "The Spirit of Christ is no other than the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of God. He is denominated the Spirit of Christ because the exalted Christ imparts himself in and with the Paraclete (John xiv, 16), and because whoever has not this Spirit is not a member of Christ."

This admitted exegesis of the passage is of special importance. It is a statement of the distinguishing possession of a child of God. The "Spirit" is the indwelling presence which constitutes us partakers of the divine nature. The immediate connections of this passage are significant as showing the prominence assigned to the Holy Spirit in the Christian life. He is the medium of communion between man and God, and must be ever present in his Church as an energizing force. "This is not only a proof-text for the deity of Christ, but for the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from both Father and Son."—*Shedd.* Beet also says, "This proves the essential oneness of the Father and the Son."

FOREIGN RÉSUMÉ.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

PAUL EWALD, OF LEIPSIC.

THE general drift of thought on the question of the origin of our four gospels has long been toward a sharp separation between the synoptics and the gospel of John. This is often carried to such an extent that if a critic accepts the synoptics as true history he will logically reject the fourth gospel, and *vice versâ*. The result is that the question of the canonical gospels is a double one. Ewald is one of those who do not regard the differences between the synoptics and John as mutually exclusive. To his mind the latter is the supplement and complement of the others. Having clearly fixed this idea in mind, that there is in reality but one principal gospel problem —that of the relation of the four gospels to each other—he formulates a method which, though not altogether new, is very satisfactory for the solution of the problem. He does not believe that the true solution is found in any of the "tendency" hypotheses. No doctrinal purpose, no exigency of the development of the Church, had control in the selection of the material of the synoptics, as so generally supposed. On the other hand, also, he stoutly resists the idea that the tradition was fixed and that the gospels are simply more or less perfect representations of what the Church had come to believe concerning Christ. Ewald's own theory may be stated as follows, especially with reference to Mark: The gospel of Mark was merely a reduction to writing of the preaching of Peter, for the use of the great apostle's hearers. It was not intended to be a life of Jesus, but simply a record of the things Peter mentioned in his discourses concerning Christ. In a similar way there lies at the foundation of Matthew and Luke a collection of addresses by our Lord, brought together by Matthew. But the three synoptics are one-sided and partial, and therefore, to complete the portrait, the gospel of John was necessary. This reminds us forcibly of what we have always been taught. We cannot resist the conviction, however, that no one cause can be made to account for the present form of our gospels. They were written partly for a purpose, partly from previously written sources, partly from traditional sayings, partly as the utterances of the great apostles, and partly to correct and supplement each other. It is interesting to note that more and more the historical trustworthiness of John's gospel is being emphasized. Ewald is a firm believer in its apostolic origin and in its thorough trustworthiness, as well as in its perfect harmony with the synoptics. The longer the battle rages the more triumphant the victory for the validity of the New Testament record.

JOHANNES GLOËL, OF ERLANGEN.

AMONG the conservative critics of the New Testament Gloël has recently distinguished himself by a tolerably exhaustive and complete refutation of the latest criticism of the Pauline epistles, particularly Galatians, Romans,

and First and Second Corinthians. It is the recent attacks of Dutch theologians, followed by the Swiss scholar, Steck, which call forth his cannonade. Steck teaches that the assumption by the followers of the Tübingen school of the Pauline origin of the four principal letters attributed to the great apostle to the heathen is unjustifiable. Neither they nor the others attributed to him can be accepted as Paul's without examination. A critical examination of them, however, leads Steck to the conclusion that they are not of Pauline origin, and, in fact, that we have nothing whatever written by Paul. That this conclusion is justifiable on the principles of the Tübingen school there can be little doubt, although the followers of Baur reject it with tremendous energy. And Steck has done a good service in waking up the newer critical school to the consideration that if the minor epistles must not be accepted without examination the principal ones should not be subjected to a more gentle handling. But his chief service is in having proved that if the methods of some of the critics are to be maintained, then we are deprived of every trustworthy source of information concerning primitive Christianity. Gloël insists further that the pretended literary dependence of Paul's principal letters upon each other and upon other documents of the New Testament is erroneous; and also that we have in the Acts of the Apostles, as Steck admits, trustworthy history, and therefore a twofold source of information, since we can safely trust the Pauline epistles. Gloël deals the radical critics vigorous blows every time he has occasion to speak of their proceedings, and yet he does it with so much authority that they are obliged to take it patiently. He is far from the belief that the Scriptures of the New Testament should not be subjected to a critical examination. But he firmly holds that they cannot be properly investigated by one who knows nothing of the experiences which they reveal as possible to mankind, or who in the process of investigation forgets his personal relation to the Being whom they make known. Without these qualifications criticism is godless and therefore prejudiced. With them it is devout and sympathetic. It is growing more and more evident that the outfit of the biblical critic is not identical with that of the critic of secular history or philosophy. May the number of such as Gloël speedily increase!

PROFESSOR R. F. GRAU.

THE doctrine of inspiration has almost fallen away among the scientific theologians of Germany. Professor Grau's standpoint may be regarded as essentially that of the conservative as against the extreme orthodox and the extreme negative critics. To him the Holy Scriptures are the infallible authority in matters pertaining to faith and salvation. They appear to faith as the divine light of eternal truth and heavenly glory. So they will appear to all the world when He shall come of whom the Scriptures testify. But it pleased God to give this heavenly glory a vestment of humility, in which the dust of the path of centuries through which God has traveled with his people, and the imperfections and errors of men who were the subjects of his covenant, may be recognized. Those who will

see nothing of this glory in the Bible, but only these imperfections, shall fall thereby. Those, on the other hand, who, following their own ideas of God's method of dealing with men, fail to see God's way, and refuse to see the imperfections of those men and times, but of imperfections and errors make divine perfections and truths, shall reap the fruit of their course. This is the way of Rome and of papal self-exaltation, which prescribe beforehand what the Bible must contain. It corresponds to a great extent with a standpoint within the Protestant Church. Not the real character of the Bible, but the dogmatic requirements of their own theory, is what they find in Holy Scripture. This is a very convenient pillow for the heads of its believers. They need trouble themselves no more about Scripture. There is nothing more for them to learn, and they can call themselves the only true believers and despise all others. On the other hand, Grau does not believe in an inspiration which reduces the Bible to a human work and makes the divine acts and sacrifices nothing but illusions and human opinions. A critical science reaching such results he rejects. Yet he does not yield the right to employ the science of criticism in reference to the Bible. On the one hand he avoids the self-exaltation which has nothing to learn, and on the other the desperation which sees in the scientific study of the Bible the evidence of apostasy and blasphemy. Faith must maintain itself as well before a world sunken in materialism as before a science which has fallen from the faith. Just because he is certain of his faith without science, and by the power of the Holy Ghost, he will not fear a faithless criticism, and can follow its leadings and thereby discover that even it must serve Jesus Christ as its Lord. It is noticeable that Grau only insists upon the scientific theology as a right, and not upon its utility, which he practically denies by saying that he is sure of his faith without science. This is a striking admission for a scientific theologian.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

TRADITION, BY ERNST VON BUNSEN.

This is one of the richest works recently published in Germany. The author undertakes to give an account of the origin and development of tradition. We can select but one small section of the work for treatment here, namely, tradition the original source of the Bible. He regards it as certain that in every ancient nation there were organizations for the purpose of preserving and transmitting traditions. This he thinks was true as well of the ancient Hebrews, and Moses received much of what he wrote from this source. Even as late as Ezra, he thinks, such organizations existed, and Ezra revised some of the sacred writings according to the knowledge thus obtained. To all Scripture thus originated he would deny the quality of revelation. Nevertheless, it is proved to be exceedingly trustworthy. He is convinced that the Book of Deuteronomy in the form in which we have it did not exist prior to the time of Josiah, and that it was written and attributed to Moses by prophets and priests

to enhance their standing and to make reformation under Josiah possible. Nevertheless, he does not deny that the valuable facts handed down by tradition from the time of Moses were embodied in the book; and it is highly probable that they employed this opportunity of writing out what had hitherto been in existence only by means of oral tradition. This is certainly a most interesting theory and takes away much of the wickedness of the supposed forgery. Bunsen does not deny the element of revelation in the Bible, but confines it to such parts as might have had their origin in a spiritual communication between God and man. In writing the Holy Scriptures, made up thus partly of traditions carefully sifted and partly of true revelations, the writers could only proceed according to their best knowledge and conscience, and even then they would make mistakes. Evidently, however, Bunsen distinguishes only in degree between other sacred books and the Bible, although the difference in degree is so great as to amount almost to a difference in kind. For he speaks of the Bible as the book of books, and says that it contains more of the word of God than all other sacred writings put together. The impression of a divine power in the Bible makes itself felt among critics of all classes, however much they may differ as to the method of its communication to men. This inner fastness of truth the critics would defend with as much energy as the most orthodox could demand.

THE DYING AND THE SUFFERING MESSIAH OF THE SYNAGOGUE, BY DR. C. H. DALMAN.

THAT during the first millennium of our era subsequent to the separation of Christianity from Judaism there was developed in the latter a doctrine of a Messiah who died a violent death and who made an atonement for the sins of Israel, and that there was also developed during the same period among the Jews a doctrine of justification similar to that of St. Paul's, is significant. Many writers have observed it, as Von Orelli, Schürer, Weber, and Edersheim; but until Dalman published his book there had been no monograph on the subject, and no discriminating treatment of it. Most writers assumed that all the prophecies of the Old Testament which described the sufferings of the Messiah referred to one, and all those which described the glories of the Messiah referred to another, thus giving us two Messiahs with exclusive histories and destinies. This Dalman disputes, and makes the rabbinical teaching refer rather to a Messiah who died—the Messiah, son of Joseph, or the Ephraimite Messiah—and a Messiah who suffered, the Messianic son of David. The former went before the latter. The doctrine of the former, Dalman thinks, did not arise as a parallel to the Samaritan Messiah. He rather regards the origin of the doctrine as a result of the influence of Christianity. The Jews of Jesus's time would not accept our Lord as the Messiah of prophecy. But later they were compelled by the Christian exposition of Jewish Scriptures to look deeper into their prophecies and to find there a suffering Messiah, although they still denied that this was Jesus of Nazareth. But his death was for a different purpose from that of our Lord. It had rather a political

significance. The suffering Messiah, on the other hand, grew up out of the interpretation of Isaiah liii. He is represented as having dwelt with Messiah ben Joseph in paradise before his appearance upon earth. It was the suffering Messiah who was supposed to have secured salvation for the people as a reward for his sufferings, which were endured vicariously, as Christianity teaches concerning Christ. But his merit only reached to the Jews, and all who were not circumcised were punished. Furthermore, his merit was only sufficient to supplement the righteousness which they themselves possessed, and did not make them absolutely dependent upon him. The shallowness of the Jewish doctrine of the Messiah stands in pitiful contrast with the profound facts of Christianity. But its existence shows that it is not impossible the complete recognition of the truth by the Jews may sometime come.

PAUL'S LETTER TO THE ROMANS, BY DR. AUGUST EBRARD.

This work by a French Reformed pastor was published subsequent to the death of its gifted author. It consists first of a singularly clear analysis and translation (in German) of the epistle, and second of equally clear notes exegetical and explanatory based on the original text. We shall give here only his general remarks on chapter ix. That God is also the God of the heathen appears in contradiction to his promise that Israel should be his chosen people. There are two methods of solving this problem. One of them is that given in Galatians, the other that found here, where Paul affirms that the promise is not given at all to Israel according to the flesh, but, on the one hand, to a smaller group, namely, the pious remnant of the people, and, on the other hand, according to all the prophets, from Micah to Isaiah onward, to a circle wider than the Jews, namely, the heathen. Of the other entirely different question of the relation of the Holy Spirit to our individual choice or rejection of salvation he makes no mention whatever. He does not even raise the question why the masses of the Jews do not believe; much less does he teach that it is because the Holy Spirit has not given them the requisite assistance. Rather he busies himself here with the question why it is that the masses of Israel have no part in the fulfillment of the promises in Christ. The blame is laid entirely upon the Jew, and not upon the divine will. The idea that Paul is here treating of the relation of the personal choice to the Holy Spirit was brought into the passage by Luther and Calvin from without, namely, from Augustine. Looking through these Augustinian spectacles, these men hoped to find an answer in the text of this chapter. The predestinarians take for the most correct expression of the truth the hardening of Pharaoh's heart, whereas Paul, only for argument's sake, puts this into the mouth of his opponents. It is not the expression of his own opinion. Paul at the most admits that if God saw fit to create some for damnation he has the right to do it; but he nowhere admits that God has so done. In verse 22 he argues directly against the supposition of his opponents by stating what God did really do. We cannot give here even an outline of the logical argument by which the author of this work carries out his *exposé* of the

falsehood of the predestinarian theory. But we quote: "He, therefore, who, out of verse 21, deduces the dogma that God has really created a portion of mankind unto condemnation merely trifles with the Holy Scriptures." This is a hard saying. But it is becoming more and more evidently true as the decades flow on.

MYSTICISM IN MODERN THEOLOGY.

THE energy of theological thought is manifest in the fact that it cannot be checked. Dam it up in front and it will break out on one side and find for itself a new channel. The old rationalism strove to rob the incidents of the Bible of everything irreconcilable with reason. Hindered in its flow in this direction by the demand of an honest exegesis, it turned in another and undertook to destroy the validity of the records themselves. The last work of destruction accomplished, as it supposed, it must needs do something, and so it turns to construction. But it does not construct a new Bible. Rather it finds in the inmost recesses of the inner man the foundation upon which it proposes to build. As external authority in the form of the Bible and the commands of the priesthood passes away the individual rises into prominence, and experience is made the source of authority. Reason is not, as the rationalists taught, the authority and source of our knowledge of things divine. Only as a divinely conferred ability to test experience is reason now held in esteem in the realm of theology. Whereas formerly experience was despised and the possibility of a real religious knowledge almost denied, now it looks as though its triumph had become dangerously complete. It is now solemnly proposed to reconstruct many of the doctrinal utterances of the Bible on experiential grounds. Their presence in the Holy Scriptures could not command acceptance, but experience does. Not the record of the divinity of Christ is supposed to satisfy the mind, but the soul experiences his divine power. That Christ sitteth on the right hand of God is not to be taken on Scripture authority, but that he is risen and living and operative is proved by the soul's communion with him. Indeed, the whole Bible can best be tested by the experiences of the pious soul. These are made not only the proof of the truth of the Bible, but the measure of the divine revelation; whatever cannot be experienced is not revealed. Taking the Bible in its entirety, there are some who, denying the inspiration of individual portions, yet assume to show that every book in our canon is needful as the expression of some truth capable of being tested by experience, and that only these books are needed. This feeling has supplanted with many the authority of reason, revelation, and the Church. This is mysticism pure and simple. But there is really nothing new in the phenomenon. It is impossible for the soul to satisfy itself with negatives. Protestantism fell back upon the authority of the Bible as soon as it renounced the authority of the Church. Negative the authority of the Bible, and the soul must fall back upon itself. This mystical tendency is visible in modern Unitarianism. It denies the essential divinity of Christ but affirms the divinity of every human being. It denies special inspiration to

the Bible but attributes inspiration to all high thought. The modern tendency to mysticism often takes fantastic forms. Theosophy is an example. Christianity is too reasonable. The theosophist demands the *bizarre* speculations which cannot be refuted because they have neither beginning nor end. The mysticism of the present day differs, however, materially from that of ages past. It deals chiefly with authority in matters of faith. It does not press to the extreme the possibilities of enjoyment. It is not lost in contemplation of the being or attributes of God. It is not the kind of mysticism which produces saints. It is purely the mysticism which a reaction from unbelief is sure to carry with it, but held in check by the cold behests of reason. It is the spontaneous effort of the soul to compensate itself for the loss it has sustained in the rejection of the Bible as the source of authority in religion. Accordingly, it is most developed in those who go farthest in biblical criticism. Some such even openly say that our faith is not drawn from the Bible, but would exist just the same without it. Others claim that as the Bible was the product of the Christian consciousness of the earliest Church it can have no authority over us, since we have as good a right to trust the Christian consciousness of our day as they had that of theirs. More radical still is the assertion made by a thoroughly sober as well as able American theologian, that the Christian consciousness of the individual cannot be overpowered by the authority of God's word; in which opinion he is supported by scores of theologians of Europe. Perhaps it is a providential arrangement that when the external supports of faith are taken away the soul can still rely upon its own experiences of divine things. Very certain it is that when all questions now in suspense shall be settled the support of our faith will not be single but manifold. And equally plainly is it revealed by the situation that, as Augustine once said, the soul is made for God, and cannot rest until it rests in him. It may be that some have made faith in the Bible and in dogma so prominent that the soul's rest in God has been endangered. The providence of God will see to it that the soul of the faithful shall return to its rest.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

THE APOSTOLICUM ONCE MORE.

THE strife continues. So sharp did it become that for a time it threatened other precious interests. The evangelical social congress, in which both Harnack and Stöcker are participants, would have been given up had not both agreed that their controversy should not be carried beyond the domain of theology. On the 16th of November the superior ecclesiastical counselor declared that, while he would not make acceptance of each portion of the Apostles' Creed a test of fitness for entrance into the ministry, he would not tolerate any attempt to do away with the use of the creed in the churches. On the 30th of the same month the assembly of the liberal party of the Church adopted a resolution in which they protested against what they termed the unworthy agitation against the liberal

interpretation of the Apostolicum. This they did in the interest of honor and peace. They believed in the freedom of conscience in matters of faith within the Church, and denied that the Apostolicum is a fully justified expression of the evangelical faith. The attempt at coercion was described as savoring too much of Romanism and as dangerous to the love of truth.

A NEWLY DISCOVERED OLD TESTAMENT MANUSCRIPT.

THE manuscripts of the Old Testament now in use do not date back further than the sixth century A. D. But recently a papyrus has been found which contains portions of the prophecies of Zechariah and Malachi. Since it is written in uncials Professor Hechler, of Vienna, places its origin about the third century A. D. Perhaps this is the oldest manuscript of any portion of the Septuagint. It is in a good state of preservation, consists of sixteen leaves written on both sides, each page being 7 by 10 inches. The lines contain from 14 to 17 letters. The leaves are arranged in book form and fastened together with strong parchment thread. The manuscript offers many variations which are advantageous on account of their clearness of expression and grammatical simplicity. Various colors of ink give evidence that the hand of the corrector has been at work.

THE DUEL IN RUSSIA.

THE sentiment against the duel grows rapidly in continental Europe. The latest evidence of this is found in the draft of a new law on the subject prepared by the minister of justice in Russia and laid before the imperial council. It increases the penalties of the old law by extending the period of imprisonment to six years for one who has killed his antagonist in a duel. In case one of the parties is merely wounded and the other remains unhurt the latter is to be imprisoned three years. If both escape uninjured both may be imprisoned six months. It also provides penalties for those who incite and those who witness a duel. This is, perhaps, as far as public sentiment in Russia will go at present. But it indicates progress, and by and by dueling will be prohibited by law, and penalties attached as for murder or assault with intent to kill.

THE BRITISH BIBLE SOCIETY.

DURING the year 1892 this Society distributed nearly four million Bibles in three hundred different languages and dialects. The total number of Bibles distributed since its organization in 1804 is 131,888,769. The Bible Society agents in different lands made interesting reports. In Germany the number of copies sold increased considerably, and a still larger increase is expected in the near future. Yet much remains to be done before the Bible can become the book of the people in Germany. With regard to France the reports complained of the rapid spread of skepticism. In Switzerland there had been a marked increase in the spread of rationalism among the clergy. Favorable reports as to progress were made with reference to the work in Spain, Russia, and Italy. Unfortunately, the Society suffers a deficit of about ten thousand dollars.

EDITORIAL REVIEWS.

SPIRIT OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

BROWSING, as Charles Lamb might say, among the current *Reviews*, one recognizes the working in thinking minds of a deep conviction that in the large cities of Christendom the churches are not overcoming the masses of ungodly men. Wickedness, it is thought, is increasing, and in spite of the much that is being done there is still so much left undone that the churches "are losing their influence with the people." This conviction is the root of those radical, novel, and progressive methods of applying Christianity to existing social conditions and needs practiced by the "Salvation Army," the workers in the "Forward Movement," deaconess institutions, etc. These modes of church action are practical confessions that to save the three hundred thousand Germans in this city who are not church members, with the thousands of other neglecters of church services, the Church must work as never before or must wholly lose her power over these classes.

Among suggestions for the achievement of this great object we note in the *Missionary Review of the World* a proposition by Rev. Dr. E. Judson to endow mission churches. After premising that a local church which "pulls out of the slums to a more congenial environment," and leaves "the huge masses of alien and unevangelical life in the lower parts of our great cities" without the Gospel, "ceases to be essentially Christian," and becomes a "splendid illustration of refined, pious selfishness," he claims that such a church ought to retain its place on the edges of our social swamps, endow its old edifice or erect a new one, see that it has the best kind of preaching, the best music, frequent services, social appliances, a library, reading room, singing schools, day schools, industrial schools, and even day nurseries, etc. To support these he would make the church part of "a revenue-bearing building," requiring of its worshipers to do little more than to support their minister.

Treating of this same question in the *Homiletic Review* for March, Dr. Richards, of Plainfield, N. J., contends for a return of the churches of to-day to the primitive practice of having but one church in each city for each denomination; thus, for example, all the Presbyterian congregations in New York city should constitute the Presbyterian Church of New York, all the Methodist congregations should become the Methodist Church in New York, etc. Each congregation should have its own officiary and each minister look after his own proper field; but all should be under one central management, work under one plan, and, above all, have but one purse. Thus each denomination would constitute a complete army corps, with all its congregations on a level and all directed to struggle for the common end—the salvation of the entire population.

Dr. Richards reasons that such a return to ancient church methods would result in bringing the full power of the Gospel on the now unsubdued masses of our cities. Lack of space for discussion in this department of the *Review* forbids comment on these proposed methods of Christian work. They are submitted here, however, as indications of what devout minds are thinking on the great problem of our times—the complete evangelization of our large cities.

THE *North American Review* for March is rich in papers on questions which deal ably with topics that occupy the thought of the times. The Hon. J. M. Rusk, ex-Secretary of Agriculture, gives his somewhat optimistic conception of what "American farming" will be "a hundred years hence;" Lorrin A. Thurston, ex-Prime Minister of Hawaii, contends that the safety of our Pacific coast and the pecuniary interests of our people require the annexation of the Sandwich Islands. The morality and the probable political consequences of that measure he does not discuss. His views of the question can scarcely be accepted as broad and statesmanlike. Following his paper is a condensed but apparently conclusive and legal answer to the question, "Is it (the annexation of Hawaii) Constitutional?" by George Ticknor Curtis, which ought at least to dispose our government to "look before it leaps" into a relation that substitutes "manifest destiny" for our Constitution. Dr. C. Edson follows Mr. Curtis with a suggestive paper on "Fads of Medical Men," which hits off the follies of both physicians and patients. A lively sketch of George Sand, as she appeared when on a trip from Paris to the Belgian frontier in 1868–69, is the topic of the next article. Then we have a symposium in which the presidents of four leading life insurance companies intelligently and instructively expound the principles of "Modern Insurance and Its Possibilities." "Conceptions of a Future Life," by Archdeacon Farrar, is the title of the succeeding paper, which contends with much force of thought and beauty of style that it is "not unaided nature" that teaches the immortality of the soul, but "the voice of God in the soul of man." It is only by faith then men can look "behind the veil!" Following this we have "Spain at the World's Fair;" "High Buildings and Earthquakes," by Professor N. S. Shaler; the "Claims to Statehood" made by New Mexico and Arizona; "England in the Orient," by Professor Vambéry. "National Banking and the Clearing House," by Hon. A. B. Hepburn, and "Notes and Comments" complete a most excellent number of this deservedly popular *Review*.

THE *New World* for March has: 1. "The Place of the Fourth Gospel in the New Testament Literature;" 2. "The Folk-Song of Israel in the Mouth of the Prophets;" 3. "Cosmopolitan Religion;" 4. "The Alleged Socialism of the Prophets;" 5. "Whittier's Spiritual Career;" 6. "The Personal Factor in Biblical Inspiration;" 7. "Israel in Egypt;" 8. "The Briggs Heresy Trial." In the first of these papers Orello Cone, by a

process of negative criticism, concludes that the fourth gospel is *not* the work of the apostle John, but of an unknown writer representing "the Christianized Alexandrianism" of the second century. This "destructive" theory is built upon utterly groundless assumptions. The second article, by Karl Budde, illustrates with fine literary ability the fact that the prophets very freely used the beautiful imagery of the Hebrew mourning and bridal songs for the purpose of giving emphasis to their divine messages to the people. In the third paper C. A. Bartol makes light of opinions and creeds, claiming that salvation consists of "the internal virtues of faith, hope, and love, . . . leaving every mind to decide for itself what to have faith in, what to hope for, and what, with liberty, to love!" Obviously, such religion can be little else than a fanciful castle in the air. The fourth paper is a scathing review of M. Renan's *History of the People of Israel*, effectually disproving that writer's theory that the Hebrew prophets were teachers of socialism. In the fifth paper J. W. Chadwick traces with a charming pen the moral and spiritual forces which animated and guided the genius of the Quaker poet, whose poems were beautiful expressions of his convictions of the right, the true, and the "Eternal Goodness." Mr. Chadwick is inclined to class Whittier with Unitarian thinkers, but not, as we judge, on valid grounds. The sixth article, by Marvin R. Vincent, is an eloquent presentation of the vexed question of biblical inspiration, claiming that its transcendent quality does not reside in verbal inerrancy or in consistency of minor details, but in the fact that its writers "spake from God as they were borne along by the Holy Spirit." Holding firmly to this fundamental point, the professor is not alarmed by the ultra higher criticism. The seventh paper, by Professor C. H. Toy, treats the Scripture records of the origin of the Jewish nation not as inspired history, but as legends invented by the later thought of the people. The eighth paper is a *résumé* of the Briggs trial by C. R. Gillett, whose sympathies are with the alleged heretic. Viewed as a whole, this number of the *New World* sustains both its high literary reputation and its position as an expositor of what professes to be liberal theology and higher criticism.

THE *Nineteenth Century* for March opens with a paper in which Justin McCarthy gives qualified approval to Gladstone's new Home Rule Bill, and predicts its ultimate passage: "The Financial Causes of the French Revolution" are clearly and intelligently stated by Baron Ferdinand Rothschild in its second article. "Architecture—a Profession or an Art" is the topic of its fourth paper, in which T. G. Jackson defines architecture as "nothing else but construction with an artistic motive," condemns the slavishly imitative spirit of modern architects, and contends that "architecture must be studied as a living thing, not as a dead language." Its seventh article, on "Aspects of Tennyson," illustrates the poet's scholarship in a series of critical excerpts from his classical poems. In its eighth paper Miss Clementina Black comments on the prevailing "Dislike to Domestic Service," and suggests that instead of lodging in the family

servants be employed day by day for a specified number of hours, as dressmakers and charwomen now are. "Jewish Wit and Humor" is the subject of a racy and entertaining paper by "The Chief Rabbi." In the eleventh article Sir Edmund F. Du Cane proves by a careful analysis of criminal statistics that there is a "Decrease of Crime" in Great Britain. In the twelfth article we have "A Britisher's Impressions of America and Australasia," in which the excellencies and deficiencies of both countries are vividly described with evident intent to be impartial. Yet one easily discerns the influence of the writer's view-point. The thirteenth paper vigorously portrays the ruin which is threatening India through the persistent maintenance of silver as her standard of value. The steady decrease in the gold value of her silver rupee is impoverishing all classes. Gold must be made her standard of value and the silver rupee become a token coin before India can escape the commercial depression which clouds her prospects; at least such is the reasoning of this able article.

THE *Andover Review* for March–April has: 1. "The Higher Criticism, and its Application to the Bible;" 2. "The Nature of Christ's Authority as a Lawgiver;" 3. "Missions and Civilization;" 4. "Phillips Brooks;" 5. "A Call to Presbyterian Laymen;" 6. "The Andover Band in Maine;" 7. "Morality on a Scientific Basis." Of these papers we note the first as being a luminous exposition of the principles of the higher criticism, defending its necessity, but claiming that its negative and destructive work will be undone or at least greatly modified by a more judicial and constructive application of its principles; we note the second as placing in a strong light the fact that Jesus spoke to man with an authority which was underived, imperative, unreasoned though reasonable, ultimate, and addressed to the conscience as the witness to the truth he proclaimed. The fourth paper is an analysis of the training which gave the theology of Phillips Brooks its peculiar character, and of the mental qualities which made him *sui generis* as a pulpit orator; the fifth contains a note of warning from a layman to the Presbyterian Church, that in protecting itself from the doctrinal errors involved in the teaching of destructive criticism it needs beware lest in weeding out the tares of rationalism it should also pull out the wheat it cannot afford to lose. In its editorial columns we find a *résumé* of the case of Professor Smith, and a vivid portraiture of Phillips Brooks, whom it designates "the foremost orator in Christendom."

THE *Yale Review* for February has: 1. "Comment;" 2. "A New Study of Patrick Henry;" 3. "Ethics as a Political Science;" 4. "A Study of a New England Town;" 5. "Some Recent Aspects of Institutional Study;" 6. "The Crisis of Russian Agriculture." Under the head of "Comment," the questions of "Trades Unions and the Law," "Corruption in France and in America," and "Reasons for Limiting Government Activity" are briefly but suggestively discussed. In the second article William Wirt

Henry's *Life of Patrick Henry* is strongly commended by Moses Coit Tyler, not as "a banquet of light reading," but as "history for historians," as "biography for biographers," and as a valuable work of reference. Students of ethical science will prize the third paper as illustrating the relation of the Christian precept of love to the comprehension of sound moral principles by the community. To lovers of historical study the fifth paper will be esteemed for the light it casts on the most recent methods of historical study. The sixth paper treats very intelligently of the probable results of the failure of Russian agriculture on the interests of the American farmer. In Russia, it reasons, farms must soon fall into the hands of great capitalists, and her peasants will form a rural proletariat whose cheap labor will compete in the markets of Europe with the American producer. To conquer in this competition the small farms in America will have to be consolidated into vast farms owned and managed by great capitalists. The present race of American small farmers will then disappear. How apparent, if this be sound reasoning, will be the solidarity of human interests!

THE *Homiletic Review* for March is fully up to its high standard of excellence in all its departments. We note as of special interest a paper from the pen of the late Dr. A. P. Peabody, of Cambridge, Mass., on "The Importance of Personal Character in the Ministry," and an essay by Dr. R. Balgarnie on "The Miracle at Gibeon in the Light of Later Scripture." After conceding the difficulties involved in giving the words of Joshua their literal meaning, Dr. Balgarnie suggests that certain statements in the Bible concerning the miraculous light which irradiated the dwellings of the Jews in the day of Egyptian darkness, which led them through the Red Sea and the wilderness, and which is often referred to by the later prophets, may have shone on the battlefield of Gibeon. Dr. Balgarnie does not claim that it was this divine brightness that helped Joshua to win his victory. He merely suggests that it may have been, and that it was so in the thoughts of the Hebrew prophets. To this interesting suggestion the Scottish verdict "Not proven" is appropriate.

THE *Contemporary Review* for February has: 1. "The Inadequacy of 'Natural Selection;'" 2. "The Site of Golgotha and the Holy Sepulcher;" 3. "The Military Courage of Royalty;" 4. "The Moral Teaching of Zola;" 5. "Simony;" 6. "Reminiscences of a Journalist;" 7. "The Academic Spirit in Education;" 8. "On a Russian Farm;" 9. "The Limits of Collectivism;" 10. "Count Taaffe and Austrian Politics." Of these papers we note as of special interest or value the first, in which Herbert Spencer claims that Mr. Darwin's use of the phrase "natural selection" has led naturalists to assume that "it can do what *artificial* selection does," which Spencer denies. The second article, after a thorough sifting of the grounds on which Korte, Robinson, Conder, Haskett Smith, Gordon, and others object to the traditional site of Golgotha, contends that the tradition is historically correct. The Holy Sepulcher stands on the

Golgotha of Holy Writ. The seventh paper dissects the "academic person" with a pitiless scalpel; finds him to be afflicted with that superstition which regards "knowledge merely as an end with no regard for the wider issues of life;" and contends for a democratic education which regards learning as having vital relations to every interest of life and trains the student to be also a citizen, a worker, and a man. The eighth paper, by Poultney Bigelow, impressively pictures the almost hopeless poverty and moral degradation of the Russian peasant. The ninth article ably maintains that the drift of modern industrial life is toward its regulation by collective authority, that is, by the State. The "collective will" is to keep both capital and labor within limits which will secure freedom for all. Students of sociology will find the article suggestive reading.

In its March number the *Contemporary* has a symposium entitled "Notes on the Home Rule Bill," in which Messrs. F. Harrison and J. E. Redmund defend Gladstone's new bill in an apologetic spirit, and Mr. D. Crawford illustrates its feasibility by describing "Home Rule in Croatia" as an analogous case. "Shakespeare's Julius Cæsar" is the title of a very interesting literary paper which finds the key to the purpose of the poet in making "the living Cæsar poor and pale," and causing Cæsar when dead to blaze forth in unrivaled splendor, as in the exclamation of the dying Brutus, "O, Julius Cæsar, thou art mighty yet!" By this Shakespeare meant to teach that when a man's working is ended his work continues in its results. A paper on "The Teacher's Training of Himself" has many practical suggestions which educators may read with profit both to themselves and to their pupils. In "The Holy Catholic Church" the Rev. R. E. Bartlett contends for the visible unity of all believers in Christ, condemns the spirit which perpetuates the separation of churches, and concludes very sensibly that when once "Christians have learned that love is, as Latimer says, 'Christ's livery,' some kind of union will come of itself; but we shall only hinder its coming if we attempt to prescribe the how and the when."

THE *Edinburgh Review* for January discusses: 1. "The Penury of Russia;" 2. "Life of John Ericsson;" 3. "The Pilgrims of Palestine;" 4. "Sir James Ramsay's Lancaster and York;" 5. "Color Blindness;" 6. "The Dropmore Papers;" 7. "Life and Works of Dr. Arbuthnot;" 8. "The Alchemists of Egypt and Greece;" 9. "The Agricultural Crisis;" 10. "The Great Irish Conspiracy." Of these articles we note the first, which, deriving its facts from authentic documents, sums up the condition of Russia in the statement that "it has a starving people, an exhausted exchequer, and a colossal military expenditure. . . . The life of the czar is insecure, and he has no ally on whom he can depend." The second paper favorably reviews Mr. William Conant Church's life of the great engineer whose armor-clad *Monitor* contributed so largely to the issue of our conflict in the war of the rebellion. The third paper reviews the "Publications of the Palestine Pilgrim Text Society," which for eight years past has been issuing translations of manuscripts which record histories of the

pilgrimages from Christian countries to Palestine from A. D. 326 to A. D. 1291. These papers, says this reviewer, "contain a strange story of human hopes, aspirations, beliefs, fears, follies, superstitions, courage, and faith." The fourth paper commends Sir James Ramsay's book as supplying what has long been a *desideratum* in English history. The seventh article reviews the life of a distinguished physician and writer who was a conspicuous member of the literary coterie which met at Pope's home in Twickenham. He was intimate with Swift, Gay, Bolingbroke, Peterborough, Chesterfield, Congreve, Parnell, and with other leading minds of his time. Hence his correspondence has both literary interest and historical value. "Johnson thought he was the first man among them, a universal genius and a man of much humor."

THE *Catholic World* for February is designated the "Golden Jubilee Number," and has among its embellishments portraits of Leo XIII and Francis Satolli, his delegate to the Catholic Church in the United States. Among its papers we note a sketch of the late "Cardinal Lavigerie," whom it designates "the new St. Paul," because of his missionary labors in Africa. "The Home Rule Bill," from which John J. O'Shea expects great results for Ireland, is also treated. Then we have "An Educational Bureau and Journal" described, in which F. M. Edselus pleads earnestly for a central distinctly Catholic organization, with auxiliaries in every diocese, to be represented through "a first-class educational journal," and aiming at a broader culture of Catholic teachers and the multiplication of Catholic schools as means of "reforming (that is, Romanizing) our republic on the basis of the old!" "A People's Ransom" is the title of another paper, in which Henry Charles Kent describes and enthusiastically commends "The Guild of Our Lady of Ransom," which was organized in England some six years ago by Philip Fletcher, a pervert from the English Protestant Church, for the purpose of redeeming "victims of that terrible evil, the Reformation!" Regarding Protestants as spiritual slaves, this guild proposes to ransom them "by prayer, by masses, by work, by charity, by the press, . . . and by obtaining for them the grace which alone can redeem them." Mr. Kent urges American Catholics to enter upon this work of ransoming Americans from the chains of heresy. He is assuredly a very sanguine gentleman, as are other contributors to this able but sadly mistaken magazine. Assuredly there is a new jubilant and expectant activity in the Romanism of to-day which ought to quicken the zeal of evangelical Churches, stirring them to more persistent and energetic efforts to lead Romanists away from that spectacular ritualism which captivates the imagination but cannot save the soul.

THE *Methodist Magazine* for March opens with an illustrated paper by its editor on "What Egypt Can Teach Us." Its second article summarizes the events of the "Peary Expedition." Other papers follow, making an attractive number of this most excellent family magazine.——The *Wes-*

leyan Methodist Magazine (London) for February has among its weightiest papers, "The Gospel and Revelation of St. Peter;" "Notes on Current Science," by Dallinger; "Theology in Transition and the Bible in Suspense;" and "Lives of the Laureates." Its March issue is also abundantly rich in good things.——The *Gospel in all Lands* for March treats impressively of various phases of missionary work in Mexico in several illustrated articles. It has also a rich variety of papers adapted to the needs of all to whom missionary work is a theme of inexhaustible interest.——The *Missionary Review of the World* for March is filled with stirring facts showing that the kingdom of Christ is making glorious conquests in all parts of the earth. Its April number has strong papers on "Brahmanism, Past and Present;" "The Religion of the Japanese Ainu;" "Mexico in the Toils of the Papal Power," etc.——*Our Day* for March is largely taken up with important statements by John G. Paton, the heroic missionary to the New Hebrides, concerning Christianity among the cannibals of the South Sea Islands, and with Joseph Cook's fine critical analysis of the character and work of the late Phillips Brooks in the prelude to his two hundred and twenty-ninth Boston Monday Lecture, on the 6th of February last. It is adorned with an excellent photogravure of that great and noble-hearted bishop.——The *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, a magazine published by the American Presbyterian Mission Press at Shanghai, China, has in its January number a paper on "Learning the Chinese Language," not by the old method of "conning dead rules and the spelling of dead books," but by free conversation with a living teacher. Its suggestions have great value for missionaries to China. Another paper, on "Higher Education in our Mission Schools," by Rev. J. Jackson, of our own Church, is also valuable as showing how a trained and educated body of native workers is to be provided in the future.——The *Indian Evangelical Review* for January, published at Calcutta, discusses "The Urgency of Missions in the Light of Prophecy;" "Medical Missions in India;" "Testimony of a Brahman Convert for Christ," etc. The grand keynote of the first-named paper is "the evangelization of the world in the present generation." Its writer claims that "we are evidently in the closing generation of the present dispensation." Perhaps so, for the signs of a mighty movement in the Churches of to-day in the direction of missionary labor are apparent; but the time of the end is an undetermined factor to all but the Infinite One. Nevertheless, the Churches cannot be wrong in redoubling their efforts for the triumph of the Lord's kingdom.——The *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for April presents as its opening article an elaborate discussion of "The Real Problem of Inspiration," by Professor Benjamin F. Warfield, of Princeton. According to the writer this problem, "in its deepest essence," is "whether we can still trust the Bible as a guide in doctrine, as a teacher of truth." Other valuable papers in the same number of the *Review* discuss "Hypo-Evangelism," "Luther's Doctrine of Inspiration," "The Conflict in Germany over the Apostles' Creed," "James Russell Lowell as a Prose Writer," and "External Evidence as to Seneca's Writings and Paul's."

BOOKS: CRITIQUES AND NOTICES.

THE HEART QUALITY IN LITERATURE.

THE address of the best books is to the sensibilities as well as to the intellect of the reader. Both characteristics are requisite. Without the merit of accurate scholarship, in these days of research, a new volume has no charm for the thoughtful reader; without the quality of appeal to the deep emotions of the soul the same book falls short of its possible influence. True writing springs from the deeps of personal experience. "Look into thy heart and write" is a maxim that the author who helps humanity must observe. His book, in the natural order of events, will not fall inert and dead. Carlyle, in his philosophic conception of this truth, has well said: "If a book comes from the heart it will continue to reach the hearts of others." It is probably not incorrect to infer that all of the volumes noticed in our present issue make their appeal to the heart as well as to the head. But of them all we are particularly constrained to recommend the following: *The Bible in the World's Education*, by H. W. Warren; *Manual of Natural Theology*, by G. P. Fisher; *Greek Poets in English Verse*, by W. H. Appleton; and *History of the United States, from the Compromise of* 1850, by J. F. Rhodes.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Bible in the World's Education. By HENRY WHITE WARREN, S.T.D., one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. 12mo, pp. 320. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, $1.

Whoever has cracked open a geode has an enabling start toward imagining our intellectual sensations on opening this book. For transparent clearness, sharpness, firmness, and symmetrical many-sidedness its pages affect the mind as a nest of crystals does the eye. Bishop Warren has crowned "his many and distinguished services to the University of Denver" by devising a professorship of the English Bible, proposed and offered to the trustees in the following words: "There is one book that is the oldest history, the best-known classic, the deepest philosophy, an ideal excellence of poetry and rhetoric, the embodiment of our American constitutional law, the foundation of good morals, whose words are still spirit and still alive with the authority of Him who spake as never man spake, a blessedness to nations and power of eternal life to individuals. I count myself most happy to be able to begin the endowment of a professorship for teaching all the students of the university, in all the coming years, the varied excellence and perpetual power of the English Bible." With these words went his personal gift of $6,300 toward the endowment necessary to support the professorship. Following upon this, the bishop, as was every way most fit, delivered the first annual course of lectures about the Bible, on what is called the Wyclif Foundation, the lectures being now re-

delivered to the whole English-speaking world through the volume before us. It is not strange that the same eagerness for the word of God which caused three million copies of the Revised Version of the New Testament to be called for in a few days after its issue reaches after such books as this, in which the transcendent and exhaustless greatness of the word is set forth with masterful ability and in fascinating style. We understand that a large anticipatory demand welcomed Bishop Warren's volume, and promises to call for many editions. The book itself is an illustration and an effect of the power of the Holy Scriptures, when studied, loved, and lived upon, to uplift, enlarge, and enable the human mind, bringing all faculties to their harmonious best, and, by divine reduplications and intensifications, raising manhood to its highest power. The author enters upon his work with joy superb, rejoicing as a strong man to run a race, and, passing the last milestone of his course of thought, comes to the goal aglow with triumph and buoyant as ever, with that sustained and rational optimism which Christianity alone makes possible to sane, intelligent, and cultivated minds. He is a mountain climber who reaches and looks off from the highest peaks of thought to the widest horizons of human vision, and sees on the one hand all truth and fact, and on the other all falsehood and unreality, by the effulgent shining of the Sun of righteousness, the Light of the world. In this volume there is the ease of power; the reader is aware of the push and stroke which go with the determined earnestness of a sturdy nature, and hears the resonant voice of a robust spiritual life. In all the eleven chapters there is not one word of cant or antiquated expression. The eternal truth is freshly phrased in most unhackneyed presentation. The hostile critics of the Bible are tossed into the air as lightly as a juggler plays with his balls. This glowing book, by the one bishop of our Church known to be most at home with the physical sciences, and in many of them a lifelong student and enthusiastic teacher, is enough to refute the frequently declared notion that science and poetry are naturally and necessarily inimical. The alleged decadence of poetry in our land and time, if it be a fact, must be accounted for on some other theory. On every page lies the proof that the scientific and the poetic spirit can coexist in high perfection in the same mind, and can also cooperate in the study and exposition of the message of divine revelation. We are reminded of Emerson's remark that "the vine which bears the most intoxicating fruit is the most mathematical of plants." For all the expectations of faith and for all the joy of the Lord cherished in human souls there is a scientific basis of indestructible solidity. The lily-work of Scripture and of Bishop Warren's lectures is carved upon the capitals of strong pillars of stone and brass. This glad book is able to communicate its reasoned confidence to those who may have been depressed and darkened by the clamor and confusion of many tongues in the loud debate in which scholarship and ignorance, bitter foes and earnest friends, some wise and some foolish, have engaged about the Bible. We prescribe it as a tonic for the ague of anxiety and the fever of fear. Its force is not in form, but in

life; it does not frame set syllogisms, but darts convictions through and through the whole moral and intellectual nature. It is lit with that faith which makes existence, to him who has it, an eternal morning, and its strong reasoning is saturated with the spirit out of which songs and shoutings are made. The roll of doxologies is heard above all the paths where science walks or human thought proceeds. Twenty years ago Dr. Whedon, commenting on a book of travel-letters entitled *Sights and Insights*, wrote, "Dr. Warren is a masterly elephant hunter." The volume of which we now write shows how God's written word can make a man at home and at ease in the loftiest altitudes and farthest ranges of reality, familiar with the greatest themes as a keeper who strokes his lions and calls them all by name.

The Gospel of Paul. By Dr. CHARLES CARROLL EVERETT, Professor of Theology in Harvard University and Dean of the Harvard Divinity School. 12mo, pp. 306. New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

This book offers a new interpretation of Paul's doctrine of the atonement, which, the author claims, is based wholly upon an examination of the words of Paul, taken in their most natural and direct signification. The notion that Christ in his death bore vicariously the penalty of the world's sin is rejected as having no foundation in the teachings of Paul, but resting chiefly upon erroneous views of ancient sacrifice. The substitutionary view is declared to be irreconcilable with the apostle's language. Professor Everett does not accept the Socinian and other rationalistic interpretations of the writings of Paul, the results of which he considers to be "unhappily, for the most part, very vague, and neither very Pauline nor very rational;" but he believes that Christendom will ultimately be compelled by an unprejudiced study of Paul's epistles to adopt the view presented in the pages of his book, although he anticipates that the traditional theory of vicariously punitive sacrifice will be slow to retire. The author says that by this new interpretation the doctrine of salvation through Christ does not suffer; the cross of Christ still remains the instrument by which Christianity gains possession of the world, the symbol of victory through shame, and the source of spiritual life to the world; the crucifixion is of undiminished interest, because by that particular form of death Christ won the victory which brought his Gospel to the Gentile world, presaging final and complete victory over all the powers of evil. The author's conception of the personality of the apostle whose writings he interprets is that Paul was a man of fiery emotions which were wholly under the guidance of his intellect. "Perhaps there was never a man of so passionate a nature who was so absolutely controlled by his reason; and perhaps there was never another instance of so complete a change as Paul underwent" in his conversion from Judaism to Christianity. His life was henceforth based, not upon the authority of the law, but upon "the impulses of a heart transformed by the influence of Jesus and of the Holy Ghost." Dr. Everett expresses his estimate of our indebtedness to Paul by saying that it was he who gave Christianity to the

world, and that but for him it would have remained only a Jewish sect, if indeed it had not entirely perished from the earth. Through the medium of Paul's preaching and writing the teachings of Jesus ceased to be provincial and became universal. It is claimed by the author that, in the light of his new interpretation of Paul, the Sermon on the Mount, the parable of the prodigal son, the Lord's Prayer, and many of Christ's other teachings have an intelligibility and beauty such as they cannot have under the old traditional doctrine which made the divine forgiveness impossible without an infinite sacrifice for sin. How far this interesting book is true is capable of long debate. It is, as it purports, a sincere, as well as scholarly, attempt at biblical theology approached from the Unitarian standpoint. Its author honestly endeavors to follow that method of interpretation which primarily and habitually asks, not what we should expect, but what the writer actually says. Yet the exegete or theologian who is able to interpret the Bible without the slightest bias from preconceptions is, in any school or church, what the Latins called a rare bird. The volume before us illustrates the rarity of absolutely judicial poise. The author affirms in his conclusion that, to Paul, Christ was never God: "Paul did not exalt Christ to the deity," although "he did invest him with a superhuman and preexistent glory by which he stood beneath God alone." The opinion most emphasized in the latter part of the volume is that, by the dialectic of Paul, the teaching of Jesus was given, without substantial change, a world-wide influence, being so set free from local forms of thought as to appeal to the universal consciousness of man.

Gloria Patri; or, Our Talks About the Trinity. By JAMES MORRIS WHITON, Ph.D. 16mo, pp. 162. New York: Thomas Whittaker. Price, $1.

This book is worthy of attention, not because of its elucidation of the doctrine of the Trinity, but because of its departure from the well-understood faith of Christendom on that and other important doctrines. Using the terms of the Nicene Creed and giving them a meaning entirely foreign to the thought of its framers, as though words were made only to juggle with, the author evolves a doctrine which is anything but that of the Trinity and which the body of his Congregational brethren will not recognize, however much a small faction may be in accord with him. The Trinity of the Creed is internal to the divine nature; Dr. Whiton's is external, consisting in manifestations and activities, and is properly a duality rather than a trinity. Assuming the identity in substance of all spiritual nature, divine, angelic, and human, he finds no difficulty with the *homoousios* of the Nicene fathers, for "the race is spiritually of one substance with the Father." He plumply denies the existence of two natures in Christ; and, indeed, if the human soul were of the same essence with God, man would be self-existent, of the same power and eternity with God, and would be God. The incarnation, he holds, was not the union of the divine and human in Jesus, nor was it peculiar to him; for, confounding incarnation with spiritual indwelling, he claims that there have been many incarnations of God in men, though only in Christ was it perfect as it has been in no other. It

clearly follows, as Dr. Lyman Abbott puts it, that the divinity of Christ differs from that of Paul "in respect to the endowment and development of being, not in respect to its essential basis or substratum." Christ is Son of God, as all men are, but he is *the* Son preeminently because in him the moral nature of God fully dwelt. That the Logos became *flesh* perplexes Dr. Whiton; but he insists on God *in* man instead of God *and* man. According to him the Holy Spirit is not a distinct person, but simply an expression of God. Nor does the emphasis which he puts upon the divine immanence save his cause, for, though his school seems to think it peculiarly expressive, it is the common doctrine of orthodoxy. Dr. Whiton rejects the idea of a revelation coming directly from God. Revelation, he teaches, comes not from above, but is developed within the human soul by inward intuition of divine truth, evolutionary and progressive. This confessedly allows many crudities in the Scriptures and must be very full of comfort to advocates of their errancy. The atonement, he tells us, is a reparation to "the divine Spirit in the sinner's breast," and so is "not a governmental work outside of us, but an educational work within us." On the question of *post-mortem* probation he teaches that God dwells in the sinner's conscience, and redemption is possible at any point of the vast future before conscience becomes extinct. These views, Dr. Whiton thinks, logically follow from what he terms the broader conceptions of the Trinity which he with his friends, Drs. Hedge and Martineau, accept. They promise light, but they give only darkness.

Manual of Natural Theology. By GEORGE PARK FISHER, D.D., LL.D. 16mo, pp. 94. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

This little book is uniform with and a companion to the author's *Manual of Christian Evidences*, published five years ago, and adds itself to a list of ten important volumes previously furnished by the same distinguished scholar. It is doubtful if the work herein attempted could conceivably have been better done. To condense a great subject into brief statement without essential omission or serious disproportion is difficult and requires more skill and power than does amplification. In this book the great doctrines treated do not lose clearness, coherency, or symmetry by reduction into a compass of less than one hundred pages. Compact, it is yet in its measure complete, and admirably fitted to be a clear and intelligible introduction to the study of natural theology from which the student can proceed through a lifetime to all the expansions and particulars involved in the range of so vast a subject. The seven chapters contain the following themes: "The Nature and Origin of Religion;" "The Cosmological Argument for the Being of God;" "The Argument of Design;" "The Moral Argument;" "The Intuition of the Infinite and Absolute;" "Antitheistic Theories;" "The Future Life of the Soul;" the volume ending with a brief note on "The Ontological Argument." Materialism, pantheism, positivism, and agnosticism are antitheistic. Immortality is confirmed to the reason by the soul's capacity for progress, by the incompleteness of God's moral government here, by the evident or

probable probationary character of life, and by man's capacity for fellowship with God. The largest space is given to the "Argument of Design," which is presented in full view of modern scientific doctrines and in a form adjusted in harmony therewith, clearly showing that evolutionary teachings, as given by naturalists of highest repute, serve to fortify rather than weaken the argument of design, making the universe appear at once more wonderful in itself and more certainly divine in its origin. In this, as in the author's larger volumes, there is that fine and easy handling of the materials of argument which denotes the master, and also such ability in the presentation and defense of religious truth as is possible only to exact and comprehensive learning abreast of to-day and ready for to-morrow.

Suggestions for the Study of the English New Testament. By CHARLES HORSWELL, Ph.D. Small 8vo, pp. 24. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, 30 cents.

In his introductory words Dr. Horswell well intimates that New Testament exegesis is not free from difficulties. To the fact that the language, age, and surroundings of its authors differed from our own must be added the further embarrassment that the nineteen centuries of Christian history have given rise to a "mass of literature, whose colossal magnitude daily increases." For the relief of the student who is conscious of these difficulties our author has laid down certain elementary rules in the pursuit of English New Testament study which are scholarly and pertinent. Under the caption of "Method in General" he mentions among other things its importance; under "Method in Detail," he shows the value of the analytic, comparative, and constructive processes; while under "Method Illustrated" he furnishes two elaborate charts of grammatical analysis, with their explanation, which should inspire the student to similar efforts with other portions of the Scripture. The author's enumeration of various volumes which may help in the study of New Testament words, books, topics, and history is not least valuable among his excellent directions. For its clear analysis, its practical character, and its thorough grasp of the situation the pamphlet is to be commended. Our bishops have well directed its use as a book of reference in connection with the Course of Study followed by our itinerant preachers.

Moses, the Servant of God. By F. B. MEYER, B.A., Author of *Abraham; or, The Obedience of Faith*, etc. 12mo, pp. 190. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co. Price, cloth, $1.

The humanity of the great leaders of the Scripture must ever be borne in mind in the study of their lives. They were not superhuman. Tribulations, diseases, and death were their heritage in common with ordinary men. Limitations in intellectual force, in judgment, and in practical application were features in all their lives. Even Moses, who walks in the van of the Old Testament heroes, was no exception to this rule. Nor does Mr. Meyer attempt to portray him as aught else than a fallible and erring mortal. Of his purpose the author is himself the best interpreter,

and of this he declares: "I have tried, therefore, to show that Moses was a man like other men; with great qualities that needed to be developed and improved; with flaws that veined the pure marble of his character; with deficiencies that had rendered him powerless but for the all-sufficient grace that he learned to appropriate; and that he wrought his life work by the simplicity of his faith, by communion with God, and by becoming a channel through which the divine purpose was achieved." Yet while this biographical study of Mr. Meyer is the study of a man, rather than a demigod, it shows us the humanity of Moses in a new and sometimes vivid setting. Just as each artist finds in a familiar landscape some characteristic that has escaped the observation of others, so the Moses which the present author delineates has his peculiar features of attraction. It follows, without the particular saying, that the entire life record of Moses, from his infancy in Egypt to his death on Pisgah—including not only his years of seclusion, but also his long official service—falls within the scope of this volume. So that we have at once a biographic story which is complete and clear in its delineation of Moses's relation to the forward movement of Jewish history. As one in the series on "Old Testament Heroes" the book has its worthy place.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Christ Enthroned in the Industrial World. A Discussion of Christianity in Property and Labor. By CHARLES ROADS. 12mo, pp. 287. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, $1.

It would be well if every capitalist, every employer of labor, and every employee could read this book. It will not please the anarchist or socialist—it was not written for such; but they who believe that Christianity should regulate all human relations and control all human affairs will find in it much to help them to a correct understanding of the grave questions concerning property and labor which the activities of the present age have forced upon us. On first thought, as one looks at the greed, the fierce competitions, the adulterated goods, the business lies, and the endless tricks of trade—at the struggle of bulls and bears, and the conflicts between labor and capital, the laborer and the employer, with the manifest and even avowed claim of the former to a right in the property of the latter—it would seem that we are in a world without Christ and a world which very much needs him. Yet a wider view shows us that Christian principles do very largely prevail in the affairs of this world, and the problem is to bring about their universal rule. Our philosophers abound in substitutes for them, but no law of evolution or of human progress that leaves Christ out of the account will establish the reign of righteousness. Mr. Roads's view is that the law of Christian love is the only remedy for existing evils, and its application the only perfect solution of the problems of the time. It is simply the law of strict justice and right, the law of the golden rule. The universal reign of truth and

righteousness in all the relations and business of men is predicted in the Scriptures, and it will be realized in the establishment of the kingdom of God on the earth. This may seem very far away, but its actual remoteness or nearness turns on the fidelity of Christians in applying to practice the principles of their religion. What its requisitions are, first, upon the Christian workman, and, secondly, upon the Christian employer, is presented at some length in a series of chapters worth perusal and study as well. The ideal is a high one, but there are difficulties in the way, chief of which is the unregenerate, selfish human heart; and this only shows us that before one can enter the kingdom of heaven he must be born again. We are not under the necessity of indorsing all of the reasonings and conclusions of our author upon such points as the law of demand and supply, the supposed partnership of employer and employee, profit sharing, and loaning of money. On these and other questions there is ample room for differences of opinion; but the main principles and discussions of the book cannot fail to commend themselves to the Christian thinker.

Persian Literature, Ancient and Modern. By ELIZABETH A. REED, Member of the Philosophical Society of Great Britain, Member of the International Congress of Orientalists, Author of *Hindoo Literature*, etc. 12mo, pp. 419. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. Price, cloth, $2.50.

The reader is reminded by this book of the great difficulties which lie in the way of a mastery of the ancient literatures. Not only do the abstruse alphabetical forms and the peculiarities of grammatical construction incident to the oriental tongues serve as hindrances to this result, but much more the archaisms in sentiment and national history which are involved. Thus it is that the ordinary reader is not won by such a facsimile of a portion of the oldest Zend manuscript as is inserted in the volume, and that only an ardent orientalist would undertake its translation and its mastery. And yet the exceeding importance of the ancient literatures as links in the great chain of human history calls for their patient and accurate investigation. So does the past instruct the present; and so do the nations of the world, though widely separated in place and time, grow rich in one another's experiences and counsels. From such a realization of the value of the oriental literatures it is obvious that the records of Persia cannot be omitted. Abundant in its traditions, and ample in its records of national prestige, it has much whereof to instruct the world. This fact seems to have given zest to our author in carefully prepared work. Sweeping over the whole field of Persian literature, "from its early mythology to the time when the rule of priestcraft, combined with political tyranny, seems to have quenched the fire of Persian genius," she has recorded much that the archæologist and philologist will be glad to possess. We may not find it possible to linger in detail over the succeeding chapters of her scholarly work. But under the successive divisions of the "Early Tablets and Mythology," "Period of the Zend-Avesta," and "The Time of the Mohammedan Conquest and the Koran," so much is included that the book seems elaborate and even encyclopedic to the casual reader. That the author has seen fit to consult

and quote from such distinguished orientalists as Professor Sayce, Max Müller, and many others, lends to the volume in a sense the sanction of great names. Scholarship has become her debtor. We are persuaded that very much which relates to the Persian literature is here recorded in compact and attractive form.

Greek Poets in English Verse. By Various Translators. Edited with Introduction and Notes. by WILLIAM HYDE APPLETON, Professor of Greek in Swarthmore College. 12mo, pp. 360. New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Emerson habitually used, by preference, good English translations of works in other languages for the same reason, as he said, that in going to Boston he availed himself of the bridge instead of swimming the Charles River. This volume is not of value to those alone who are unfamiliar with Greek, although to them it renders its greatest service. The skill of the noblest art and finest genius to be found among English poets is seen in these translations. The old Greek wine of Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, Theocritus, and forty others, has been decanted into vessels of modern form and make by the hands of Chapman, Pope, Leigh Hunt, Cowper, Shelley, Byron, Milman, the Brownings, Tennyson, Bryant, Edwin Arnold, and as many more. The wondrous and enormous wealth of Greek poetry is herein sampled by its best. The translations in this volume are all in poetic form, although the editor is of opinion that Homer, certainly, if not others also, is most closely approached and satisfactorily known by the nonclassical reader through the medium of prose versions like those of the "Odyssey" by Messrs. Butcher and Lang, in England, and Professor G. H. Palmer, in America. Professor Appleton's book is intended to give the ordinary English reader a comprehensive view of Greek poetry, the grandeur of the rough-hewn dramas of Æschylus, the perfect finish and tender grace of Sophocles, the extravagant "fun, frolic, and absurdity" of Aristophanes, and the human quality of "sad Electra's poet," Euripides, who, as the author hints, might almost be called the Greek Shakespeare, whom Mrs. Browning characterizes in the well-known lines:

> Our Euripides the human
> With his droppings of warm tears,
> And his touches of things common
> Till they rose to touch the spheres.

The amazing richness and undying splendor of Greek poetry, as well as all "the glory which was Greece" are fairly and finely suggested to the mind by a single sentence of the author's introduction to his book. After giving the bare outline of the "Iliad," and saying that this mere story is not Homer any more than canvas, brush, or paint is the picture, he shows us Homer in the following words: "Apollo descending to earth in the blackness of his wrath; the bright-eyed goddess staying the half-drawn sword of Achilles in the council of the kings; sweet-voiced Nestor pouring forth the story of his youthful prowess; Chryses praying to the

archer-god; Olympus trembling with the nod of Zeus; Ulysses staying the runaway Greeks in their race to the ships; the assembled host, reverent before the priest, offering their perfect hecatombs to the immortals; Helen on the walls of Troy entrancing the elders of the city with her divine beauty; Agamemnon sorrowing over the wounded Menelaus; the Greeks with measured tread and silent as one man, marching into battle; Athena arming herself in her fringed ægis whereon sat plumed Terror, Strife, Valor, and the dire Gorgon head; Hector laying off his helmet with its nodding crest to caress his frightened child; the thunderbolt falling before the terrified horses of Diomed; Achilles sitting in the door of his tent delighting his soul with the harp and song, and starting up to receive the envoys of Agamemnon; Hector with the Trojans boarding the ships of the Greeks; Sleep and Death bearing the dead Sarpedon to his native Lycia; the fight over the body of Patroclus; the Trojan host panic-stricken at the shout of Achilles from the trench; Achilles warned by his horse Xanthus; the descent of the gods to battle; Achilles's fearful struggle with the river; the death of Hector; Priam kissing the hand that had slain his son—these are Homer." Professor Appleton advocates the use of English translations in high schools, seminaries, and colleges for giving nonclassical scholars courses of study in the Greek and Latin literature.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

France Under the Regency. With a Review of the Administration of Louis XIV. By JAMES BRECK PERKINS, Author of *France Under Richelieu and Mazarin.* 12mo, pp. xvii, 603. New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $2.

The history of France in the eighteenth century so naturally divides itself into epochs that Mr. Perkins prefers a separate treatment of its several periods, intending to discuss each by itself. A previous volume treated of the times of Richelieu and Mazarin. But in selecting the regency of the Duke of Orleans during the eight years' minority of Louis XV as the subject of the present volume, to ascertain the causes of the French Revolution the author finds it necessary to review the administration of Louis XIV, in order to understand the system of government which he perfected and the condition of the country at the expiration of his reign of seventy years. At the death of Mazarin, France was the most powerful State in Europe. Prosperity, both internal and external, marked the first years of the new king's rule. A halo, though much tarnished, still surrounds his age because of its wealth, its architecture, its industry and commerce, and its institutions of learning and art. But it was unfortunate that the king's vanity led him to believe the great things accomplished by his minister to have been really his own work, for his resolution on the cardinal's death to be thenceforth his own minister involved him in many calamities and brought many troubles upon the kingdom. His ambition carried him into useless and expensive wars; his extravagance piled up millions of debt; his superstitious bigotry led to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the

persecution of the Huguenots, the dragonnades, and the flight from France of large numbers of her best people. His war upon the feudal privileges of the nobles only tended to the absoluteness of the monarchy, though to this there was no objection on the part of the people. The time had not come when they supposed themselves to possess any rights other than those which the king was pleased to allow. Even the Parliament had meekly come to be simply a registrar of the royal decrees. Louis died without regret, and his obsequies received little respect or attention. By the will of Louis XIV the regency was committed to a council with the Duke of Orleans at the head, but by promises to the Parliament of the restoration of its former powers, which he soon tried to elude, the duke was speedily declared sole regent of the kingdom. In some respects his administration was worthy of praise. He opened the prisons to a large number of persons held in confinement under *lettres de cachet*, most of whom were guilty of the crime of erroneous views on the questions in debate between the Jansenists and the Jesuits, such as the infallibility of the pope and the merits of the bull Unigenitus. He thought it better to try to convert Protestants by reason rather than by the methods employed under Louis. The French could criticise their rulers and complain of taxation, but the administration of affairs was the business of government, and they troubled themselves very little about them. The great difficulty of the regent related to finance. His industrial and financial experiments only made matters worse. The reader will find the two chapters narrating the story of the Mississippi Company inaugurated by John Law very interesting history, and instructive as well, in view of some of the financial theories advocated in our own day and country. But intellectual changes had begun. If superstition established the worship of the Sacred Heart, persecution had made more converts to infidelity than to Rome. Voltaire, Rousseau, and Montesquieu began to be heard. While the proceedings and absoluteness of the government did not materially change, the intelligence of the people increased and their condition improved. The Revolution was not the result of greater oppression, increased taxation, or deeper wretchedness, but of the better condition of the people and their discovery that they had rights. Mr. Perkins is a brilliant writer, and his pages show most careful and thorough research, causing, perhaps, in some cases, the reversal of judgments hitherto accepted.

History of the United States, from the Compromise of 1850. By JAMES FORD RHODES. Vol. I, 1850–1854. 8vo, pp. x, 506. Vol. II, 1854–1860. 8vo, ix, 541. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, $5.

The purpose of Mr. Rhodes is to narrate the history of the United States from the introduction into Congress of the Compromise Measures of 1850 to the inauguration of Grover Cleveland as President in 1885, covering a period of thirty-five years. He rightly thinks the period as interesting as that of the great Peloponnesian war for the Greek, or the struggle between the Cavalier and the Puritan for the English. In this period the long contest over slavery was settled and the great questions

resulting from the war of the rebellion were disposed of, so far as they could be, by the action of Congress and the President. Benton, Greeley, Wilson, and others, who were actors in the scenes of these important years, have given us invaluable works, but the time is come for an impartial statement of the causes and events of the great struggle. The two volumes before us, extending to the election of Mr. Lincoln, in 1860, are prepared with the utmost care and candor, and we have no doubt that the future volumes will exhibit the same true historic spirit. The Compromise Measures of 1850 were a compromise with slavery, and slavery was the cause of the rebellion. To understand them, one must know the history of the country as it relates to that institution. Mr. Rhodes's opening chapter therefore sets forth the introduction of slavery into the country in the landing of a few Negroes in Virginia, and traces its progress through the early conflict between moral feeling and the love of gain until it claimed to be a righteous and beneficent institution and demanded admission into territory previously consecrated to freedom. In the early days of the republic it was generally recognized as an evil which could not long continue. The Churches bore their testimony against it. The ordinance of 1787 prohibited it forever in the Northwest Territory. The word "slave" was not allowed in the Constitution. The general conviction was that the term would soon become extinct. Virginia and Maryland promised to soon become free. But the invention of the cotton gin, by which one man could do in a day the work of fifty, and the purchase of Louisiana in 1803, opening a new market for slave labor, quickly created a change in popular sentiment at the South. The demand arose for a wider area. The first great struggle between the North and the South was over the admission of Missouri as a slave State. It was objected to because it extended the area of slavery. The Missouri Compromise, admitting the State and prohibiting slavery in the Territories north of 36° 30′, was a Southern measure. It was then the received opinion that Congress had power to prohibit slavery in the Territories. Northern sentiment, while conceding the existence of slavery in the States, was strong against its extension. This sentiment grew in proportion with the manifest purpose of the South to extend it. Mr. Rhodes is certainly mistaken in ascribing to Mr. Garrison the growth of opposition to slavery extension, and also in classing the great body of antislavery men as "Abolitionists." The annexation of Texas and the war with Mexico were in the interest of slavery extension. It demanded California and New Mexico, and threatened secession if the demand was not granted. The Compromise of 1850 admitted free California but enacted the Fugitive Slave Law, the inhuman provisions of which profoundly stirred the Northern conscience and humiliated every Northern free man. Other subjects enter into the history of the period, as the theory of the right of a State to secede from the Union, the nullification troubles, the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, the Black Warrior affair, the Ostend Manifesto, the efforts to obtain Cuba for an additional slave State, the Nebraska Bill, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in the interest of the

South, violating a solemn compact until then deemed irrevocable, the Dred Scott decision, and the Kansas-Nebraska struggle. It was inevitable that the encroachments of the slave power should be met with intense opposition. Meanwhile other changes were occurring in the South. The reopening of the African slave trade was demanded. The power of Congress to prohibit slavery in the Territories was denied. The carrying of slaves there, as any other property, was claimed as a right, and it was asserted that it was the duty of the government to protect their owners in holding them. This was an entirely new theory. Disunion was threatened in the event of the constitutional election of a Republican to the presidency. Slavery must rule or ruin. The old doctrine was that freedom is national and slavery sectional. But such had been the aggressions of slavery that only one step more was needed to make slavery national and freedom sectional. Over the question the Whig party was destroyed. The Republican Party was formed upon the platform promising no further extension of slavery, and in 1860, as Mr. Rhodes describes, carried the country. This was inevitable unless the free North was ready to bow down to a slaveholding oligarchy and allow it to dominate the nation. This it would not do, and resolved on maintaining its self-respect, whatever might be the consequence. We have not space to say more, and will only commend the book as one that merits a place in every historical library.

Theodor Christlieb, D.D., of Bonn. Memoir by His Widow, and Sermons Translated chiefly by T. L. KINGSBURY, M.A., Canon Non-Residentiary of Salisbury, Vicar of Coombe-Bisset with Homington, and SAMUEL GARRATT, M.A., Hon. Canon of Norwich Cathedral, Vicar of St. Margaret's, Ipswich. 12mo, pp. 452. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Price, cloth, $2.

Measured by many of the standards of judgment by which we are accustomed to estimate men, Theodor Christlieb was no ordinary character. Great in his natural endowment, and disciplined in the rigorous training of university life, he was also great in his influence upon the current German religious thought and upon the lives of many who were permitted to sit under his professional instruction. The present memoir of this good man has a double charm. First the story of his life is told by her who knew him best and, in its felicitous description of the honored service of a German pastor and teacher, affords a picture that is in truth attractive. The second part of the volume gives us some of the translated sermonic work of Christlieb himself; and, next to the actual hearing of this forceful pulpit orator, is the privilege of reading these practical and soul-moving discourses. The impression conveyed by the volume cannot but be that a great leader in the ranks of evangelical German Christianity has fallen. The following commendation of one of his eulogists is not an overstatement: "By the death of Professor Christlieb the University of Bonn has lost one of its ablest professors, the Protestant Church of Germany one of its foremost preachers, the cause of Christian truth one of its most scholarly defenders, and Christian missions throughout the world one of their most zealous and enthusiastic advocates."

And while such words of human praise, however deserved, are naught to him who has passed on to the great reward, if his printed memoir shall be an inspiration to those who yet remain in the field of toil it will not have been issued in vain. All lovers of Christian biography will be benefited in its perusal.

Morocco As It Is. With an Account of Sir Charles Euan-Smith's Recent Visit to Fez. Illustrated. By STEPHEN BONSAL, JR. 12mo, pp. 349. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $2.

A glimpse at human life in the obscure corners of the globe, such as is herein afforded, neither lacks in interest nor in benefit. The fund of information on matters of ethnology, philology, social customs, and religion is thereby greatly increased; while the interdependence of all national life and the ethical relations which inhere between the governments of the world assume a new and vivid proportion. It was on an unusual occasion that Mr. Bonsal made his first visit to Fez, as described in the present volume—this occasion being none other than the expedition of Sir Charles Euan-Smith, K.C.B., to this capital city of Morocco as a messenger from the English court. The latter came to the sultan on the delicate diplomatic mission of proposing the improvement of the commercial relations between Great Britain and Morocco. That the errand of the English messenger was received with the suspicion of a covert aim at aggrandizement on the part of his home government, and that he was forced to depart from Morocco without success, do not detract from the interest of Mr. Bonsal's description. So intelligent is his narrative as a traveler that the reader is necessarily edified therein. In Morocco he discovers a land of such fertility as to hold the possibility of being "the granary of Europe," yet one so trammeled by oriental superstitions, so restricted by jealousy toward the European powers, and so burdened by the cruelties of a heathen civilization, that decadence has already set in and absorption by some of the dominant nations of Europe must follow. Of Mr. Bonsal's second visit to Fez it is not necessary to speak in detail; yet one who wishes to read of the unusual, the romantic, and the hazardous will find them in these present extracts from a tourist's experience.

Annals of New York Methodism. Being a History of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the City of New York rom A. D. 1866 to A. D. 1890. By SAMUEL A. SEAMAN, A.M. 12mo, pp. 505. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, $1.50.

It would seem that this particular field in the history of our Church has already been so thoroughly gleaned that no aftermath of value might be gathered. While too little is known of many of the events in the development of metropolitan Methodism, or of the personality of those who participated therein, yet the conviction is now perhaps general that little more may be added to supplement the paucity of our denominational records. Because the growth of New York Methodism is, however, pivotal Mr. Seaman has done well to undertake its review. Certain facts have, moreover, contributed to his success in the pursuit—as, for instance,

a lifelong association with the Methodism of New York, the help of personal recollections, access to traditions and documentary records, and that well-earned leisure for the pursuit of his antiquarian researches which follows an honorable career in the itinerant ministry. To tell the story of all that he has here recorded is to write the details relating to the growth, membership, pastoral record, financial and spiritual prosperity of the many churches of New York Methodism, since each has a definite, if necessarily abbreviated, place in the chronological consideration. Having made use of such early documents as the "Old Book," with various other records and church registers, and having resorted also to all printed histories and biographies available, Mr. Seaman has evidently embodied in his volume all that an investigator may "gather relating to the history of Methodism in New York city." Only the earlier Methodists, who belonged to the times of which he writes, might challenge the truthfulness of his records. As we cannot criticise the book from this standpoint we are led to pay tribute to the diligence with which the author has culled from tradition and scattered documents the story of earlier Methodism in the New World metropolis.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A Fellowship of Hearts. By MARY FENTON BIGELOW. 12mo, pp. 348. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, $1.

The thoughtful love and the unselfish, helpful spirit in Miss Waring's beautiful hymn, from which the title of this book is taken, are happily illustrated in this charming story. Its purpose is to show how people of widely different lines of thought and life, but with kindly dispositions, may help and bless one another. Thus the weary invalid on her couch of suffering, in her farewells to the son and daughter of her removing pastor, incites them to a pure and lofty life. The dwellers in two parsonages become intimate friends; the ministers, brothers and fellow-workers; and their children, bright, joyous, and good, not only help one another, but unite in works of beneficence and cheer. Gradually the circle enlarges, not repelling the uncongenial but eagerly welcoming the earnest soul, whether rich or poor, well instructed or ignorant, that desires a better manhood or womanhood. Out of such fellowship of hearts come, as might be expected, some grand results in the building of character and also in the work of subsequent life. The book is well written, and the narrative so easy and pleasant that the reader never wearies. It was prepared for our young people, and to them we heartily commend it.

Life and Labors of Elijah H. Pilcher, of Michigan, Fifty-nine Years a Minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Edited by his son, JAMES E. PILCHER, M.D. 12mo, pp. 142. New York: Hunt & Eaton.

To the ever-increasing list of her glorified heroes Methodism can add few names more worthy than that of Elijah H. Pilcher. He was well born, so far as Revolutionary ancestry goes; he was well disciplined to industry and hardihood by his youthful experiences upon the Western frontier;

he was well trained for his conspicuous ministerial service by two years of collegiate instruction in the Ohio University before his long itinerant ministry began. The story of his life is another of the romances in Methodist biography. His sterling qualities, which shone forth in times of test, his successes in the establishment of our Church in Michigan, his unusual zeal for scholarship, his well-won honors, and his sunny old age are successive features in this record which win the attention of the reader. One cannot follow the biography without feeling new impulses to nobility. The writer has done well in giving to the Church at large this tribute to so useful and honored a father.

Pulpit Bible Reading. A Study in Vocal Exegesis; or, The Art of Sacred Reading. By the Rev. JAMES T. DOCKINGS, S.T.B., with Introductory Chapters by C. WESLEY EMERSON, M.D., LL.D., President of the Emerson College of Oratory, Boston, and Professor J. W. CHURCHILL, A.M., of the Andover Theological Seminary. Reading, Pa.: Frank J. Boyer. Paper.

In this little pamphlet of sixty pages the author has presented some very valuable suggestions in a hitherto almost neglected field—the art of correctly reading the sacred Scriptures. His conclusion indicates the lines of thought which he has pursued: "Intelligent reading plus sympathetic reading equals effective reading. . . . There should be life to inspire, force to impress, warmth to inflame, and grace to attract. There should be a living sense of the divine presence, an unlimited benevolence, a vivid imagination, great responsiveness, great simplicity of manner and character, purity of soul, a sense . . . of the value of the human soul, and that the Bible is the word of God to that soul." It were well if the pamphlet could be read and reread by every minister.

Along New England Roads. By W. C. PRIME, LL.D., Author of *I Go A-Fishing*, etc., 16mo, pp. 200. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.

Various papers contributed to a New York daily newspaper by their well-known author are here gathered into book form. New Hampshire and Vermont are the particular scenes of his description. It is enough to say that the many sketches are written in Dr. Prime's most sparkling and instructive vein. All who love New England as the spot of their nativity will particularly treasure these glimpses at the familiar scenes, and in the awakened memories will find a tender pleasure.

The Picturesque Ohio. A Historical Monograph. Columbian Edition. By C. M. CLARK. 8vo, pp. 238. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, 90 cents.

Many of the romantic or tragical incidents accompanying the settlement of the territory bordering on the Ohio have been grouped by Mr. Clark in the present monograph. The personality and work of Robert René Cavelier, the discoverer of the Ohio; the contest of the French and English for the possession of this section; and the establishment of the early settlements, with some of the blood-curdling stories of Indian assault, are included in the author's treatment. In this Columbian year of retrospect the book is timely and should "stimulate Christian patriotism."

METHODIST REVIEW.

JULY, 1893.

ART. I. — A SUPPRESSED CHAPTER OF RECENT CHURCH HISTORY.

IT is well known that the Lambeth Conference of Episcopal bishops which met in London in the summer of 1888 laid down as a platform for Christian union the same principles as those which, two years previously, had been enunciated by the House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States. These principles were:

1. The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as "containing all things necessary to salvation" and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith.
2. The Apostles' Creed as the baptismal symbol, and the Nicene Creed as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith.
3. The two sacraments ordained by Christ himself—baptism and the supper of the Lord—ministered with unfailing use of Christ's words of institution and of the elements ordained by him.
4. The historic episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the unity of his Church.

It is generally understood that by the acceptance of the historic episcopate, whatever else that phrase may mean, there is implied the acknowledgment of the necessity of episcopal ordination for the validity of ministerial functions. This is the interpretation placed upon the phrase by some of the bishops who participated in the Conference. Thus, in the eloquent and able charge of Bishop William Croswell Doane, of Albany, he described the unity which the Conference sought as the "bringing back to the old type oneness all these large and powerful bodies of religious

men who have lost the order and, to say the least of it, have departed from the proportionate holding of the faith." "Unless we maintain our order intact," he says again, "and hold fast positively to every article of faith which the Church has set forth in the ancient creeds, we have nothing whatever to offer those whom we seek to draw into a closer oneness with ourselves. If these things are important they are trusts which we cannot surrender, no matter how tempting the proposal may seem to be. If they are not important, then we stand before God and men guilty of maintaining a perpetual separation between ourselves and other Christian men and Christian bodies upon points not essential to the divine constitution of the Church and the divine deposit of the faith." * So also Bishop Mylne, of Bombay, who has given the best and fullest exposition of this part of the action of the Conference, says: "Where the bodies to be approached, should it prove possible, are without apostolic orders, there the attitude adopted was quite different [from that adopted in the case of the Greek, Roman, and other Churches which possess the apostolic ministry]. There we spoke of the great deposit committed to us, of which we are bound to be faithful stewards, and said plainly that we should not be faithful stewards if we should fail to maintain our position 'either as to faith or discipline.' We laid down with the utmost clearness that the 'maintenance of the historic episcopate' was a condition of intercommunion. And, while recognizing frankly and generously the blessing which has rested on their labors, we refrained from saying a single word which could recognize the validity of any ministry which does not come straight from the apostles." † There is no doubt that the words of these bishops fairly represent the feelings of their brethren. "For, however we may long to embrace those now alienated from us," say they in their encyclical letter, "so that the ideal of the one flock under the one shepherd may be realized, we must not be unfaithful stewards of the great deposit intrusted to us. We cannot desert our position either as to faith or discipline. That concord would, in our judgment, be neither true nor desirable which should be produced by such surrender."

* Diocese of Albany: the Bishop's Address, p. 20. 1888.

† *Counsels and Principles of the Lambeth Conference of* 1888: *a Charge*, p. 33. Bombay, 1889.

There is, however, great difference of opinion among Episcopalians as to the importance to be attached to the episcopate. Though many hold that the threefold ministry—consisting of deacons, presbyters, and bishops—is necessary to the being of the Church, others hold that, while such a ministry is highly desirable, it is by no means necessary. And it would indeed be remarkable if the views of this latter class were not voiced in the Lambeth Conference, among a body of men so much given to independence of thinking as are the clergy of the Anglican communion.

We desire now to give a bit of the internal history of the Lambeth Conference which is not so well known to those outside of the Episcopal Church—which in fact that Conference, or many members of it, did not desire should be made public—a bit of history which finds no place upon the official proceedings, and for the knowledge of which we are indebted to an illustrious prelate, Dr. Charles Wordsworth, who repudiates the High Church theory of the ministry, and who has long labored for Christian union on the basis of the mutual recognition of the validity of each other's orders on the part of the Protestant Churches. Bishop Wordsworth has been severely scored by some of his High Church brethren for divulging the report of which we are now to speak. It seems to have been the determination of the Conference that the catholic proposals of their committee should never see the light. But the Bishop of St. Andrew's did not so understand the matter, and therefore, to the great disgust of the *Church Quarterly Review*, he tells the whole story in one of his late pamphlets.

The subject of Christian union, or home reunion, as they call it in England, was referred by the Conference to a large and influential committee of seventeen bishops, fairly representing the scholarship of the body as well as the geographical extension of the Church, to which Bishops Stubbs (the historian) and Reichel were afterward added. Dr. Alfred Barry, the late principal of Cheltenham College, recently Bishop of Sydney and Metropolitan of Australia, was made chairman, and to his hands was committed the preparation of the report. That report, after laying down the four principles we have already quoted, went on to interpret and apply the last principle in a way quite different from the understanding

of it by Bishops Doane and Mylne, and, we fear, the majority of their compeers:

It will be seen that, as one of the elements of the proposed basis of reunion, your committee have, in accordance with the principles of the Church of England as declared in the preface to her ordinal, included the "historic episcopate," with such adaptations as may be in different portions of the Church required by present circumstances and conditions. But they observe that, while the Church in her twenty-third article lays down the necessity of the ministry as a sacred order commissioned by those who have public authority given unto them in the congregation, and while for herself she has defined the latter term by insisting in her own communion on episcopal ordination, she has nowhere declared that all other constituted ministry is null and void. They also note that in the troubled period following the Reformation (up to the year 1662) ministers not episcopally ordained were in certain cases recognized as fit to hold office in the Church of England, and that some chief authorities, even in the High Church school, defended and acted upon this recognition in England, Scotland, and Ireland. The question, therefore, which presents itself to them is this, whether the present circumstances of Christianity among us are such as to constitute a sufficient reason for such exceptional action now? To this question, looking to the infinite blessings which must result from any right approach toward reunion, not only in Great Britain and Ireland, but in the American and colonial communities, looking also to the unquestioned fact that upon some concession upon this matter depends, humanly speaking, the only hope of such an approach, they cannot but perceive that our present condition, perhaps in a higher degree than at any former time, justifies an affirmative answer. They therefore humbly submit the following resolution to the wisdom of the Conference:

That, in the opinion of this committee, Conferences such as we have recommended are likely to be fruitful, under God's blessing, of practical result only if undertaken with willingness on behalf of the Anglican communion, while holding firmly the threefold order of the ministry as the normal rule of the Church to be observed in the future, to recognize, in spite of what we must conceive as irregularity, the ministerial character of those ordained in nonepiscopal communions, through whom, as ministers, it has pleased God visibly to work for the salvation of souls and the advancement of his kingdom, and to provide, in such way as may be agreed upon, for the acceptance of such ministers as fellow-workers with us in the service of the Lord Jesus Christ.

In a footnote to this report there were given several instances of the recognition of nonepiscopal ordinations in the Church of England, and the opinions of Bishop Cosin and Archbishop

Bramhall on the subject. Every member of the committee who was present and voted gave his hearty voice to this resolution, with only two exceptions. "When the resolution was voted for in the committee only two voted against it, and when it was read again (at a subsequent and final meeting) *it was approved by several bishops not present at the previous division*, so that it had the assent of over *twelve members* of the committee." * "Many of my brethren," continues Bishop Machray, a member of the committee, "who yield to none as churchmen, hold these views. I trust I violate no confidence when I tell that dear Bishop Whipple, of Minnesota, having to leave the committee room from his infirm health, placed his hand on my shoulder and said, 'My whole spirit goes with that resolution.'"

Now, we bid the reader notice the force of these concessions. Here are over a dozen bishops of the Anglican Church, selected as specially interested and competent to deal with the question, unanimously and earnestly affirming that it is not only necessary to recognize the validity of the orders of presbyterially ordained ministers in order to the reunion of Christendom, but that the history and polity of the Church of England prove that such a recognition can and ought to be given. Can we not see that, if the Lambeth Conference had accepted the recommendation of their committee, the way would have been opened to treat on a just, yet generous, basis with the great nonepiscopal bodies of Christians? Without such a basis Christian union is impossible. For the mass of those "who profess and call themselves Christians," and who, under God, are doing the greater part of the aggressive work of Christianity in the world, are also sacredly committed to the guardianship of a deposit which they have received from the apostles, namely, a ministry called of the Holy Ghost and lawfully commissioned by the "laying on of the hands of the presbytery" (1 Tim. iv, 14). These Christians cannot give over this trust at the instance of a sacerdotalism which is venerable indeed and worthy of respect, but which is not of the essence of Christianity, our Episcopal brethren themselves being judges. For, as that profound scholar and aged and pious divine, Dr. Charles Wordsworth, Bishop of St. Andrews—whom we have just referred to as having long advocated

* Bishop Machray, *Charge*, p. 17.

the union of Episcopalianism and Presbyterianism in Scotland on such a basis as that sketched by the above committee, of which he was a member—says, in commenting on the statement, "We cannot desert our position either as to faith or discipline," found in the encyclical letter:

> Let us take good heed that we make no mistake as to what our true position really is. If it be such as the report of our Committee on Reunion stated it (and of this, for my own part, I have no doubt whatever), then the *desertion* of it must be laid to the charge, not of those who advocate *pro hac vice* [for this occasion] the suspension of the law of ordination for a sufficient cause, but of those who deny the competency of the Church to make such a suspension. It is they who *innovate* by assigning to our Church a narrower basis than that which was maintained by our great divines, such as Hooker and Bishop Andrewes, Archbishop Bramhall and Bishop Cosin. And let it not be supposed that I quote their names by random. Hooker has said, "There may be sometimes very just and sufficient reason to allow ordination made without a bishop" (book vii, chap. xiv, 11). Bishop Andrewes has said, "A man must be blind who does not see churches standing without episcopacy" (*Opusc. Posth.*, p. 191). Archbishop Bramhall has said, "I do not make the way of Episcopal ordination to be simply necessary, but only show what is safest" (vol. iii, p. 475). Bishop Cosin has said, "I love not to be herein more wise or harder than our own Church is, which hath never publicly condemned and pronounced the ordination of the other Reformed Churches to be void" (vol. iv, p. 403). I need not tell you that these witnesses to the doctrine of an Anglican Church are universally admitted to be among the very chiefest of her divines, and that each of them was more or less of the high school.*

The resolutions of the Committee on Church Reunion were of too liberal a nature, however, and their concessions too sweeping, to be adopted by such a careful and conservative body as the Lambeth prelates. Their rejection was due to a variety of reasons. Many of the members shared those stricter views of church order which we have seen set forth by Bishops Doane and Mylne. And these views are held so tenaciously that the adoption of the above resolutions would have precipitated a division in the English Church. This is acknowledged by the writer of the article "Episcopal Comments on the Lambeth Conference" in the *Church Quarterly Review* (London), April, 1889, pp. 23, 24. "Can it be doubted," he says, "for

* *The Lambeth Conference and Church Reunion*, pp. 21, 22. Edinburgh, 1889.

an instant that a recognition of Presbyterian ordinations, such as is advocated by the Bishop of Sydney, the Bishop of Rupert's Land, and the Bishop of St. Andrew's, would be immediately followed by a violent rupture in the Church itself?" He quotes the Bishop of Edinburgh to the same effect. "It is absurd to urge a scheme of union which . . . if conceivably successful in winning over some from Presbyterianism, would inevitably detach from us a much larger number of our own people and clergy, and possibly drive them either to the Roman communion or to the formation of a separate body. I do not believe in schemes of union that are to be effective at the cost of splitting one of the parties, if not both, from top to bottom." * Besides this, the Anglican Church is trying to establish fraternal relations with the Greek, Old Catholic, and Scandinavian Churches, and the price of this hardly-to-be-won fraternity is the throwing overboard all the Churches of the Reformation and of later times who do not hold to the divine institution of the threefold ministry.

The decisive rejection of the almost unanimous report of the Committee on Church Reunion by the Lambeth Conference reveals two facts: first, there is a large and able body of Episcopal divines who are ready to meet halfway other Christian denominations and to confer as to the healing of the divisions of Protestant Christendom on the only possible basis of the mutual recognition of orders; second, there is a larger and more influential body, who, although sincerely desiring Christian union, are determined that the visible oneness of Christ's body can only come by the way of the "historic episcopate," in the prelatic sense of those words.

* Bishop Dowden in the *Guardian*, December 5, 1888, quoted in *Church* [of England] *Quarterly Review*, vol. xxviii, p. 24.

Art. II. — PANTHEISM'S DESTRUCTION OF BOUNDARIES.—PART I.*

It is not our desire to be classed with those who have no good word for pantheism in any form. The difference between our age and the age which preceded it is too deeply marked for this. Then it was deism, cold and grave; a rationalism which withered the spirit; a conventional affectation on every hand; a state of society such as exists in the waiting-room of the house of one dead, inanimate and weaned from every ideal. In its place we have now an age full of animation and thrift; a boiling and a fermentation of all the elements of society; a spirit to dare everything, together with development of power which is astonishing. Were ours the choice, therefore, between frozen deism, which causes the blood at length to coagulate in the veins, and this melting pantheism, which from the midst of a tropical wealth communicates to the soul a thrill of its own delight, there would be no room for hesitation. In India we should have been Buddhists, and perhaps have approved the Vedas. In China we should have preferred the system of Lao-Tse to that of Confucius, and in Japan we should have turned our back upon the official Shinto, that we might share the hardships of the oppressed priests of Buddha.

For do not forget that the deepest trait of pantheism consists of a false love; a love which, it must be allowed, steps across appointed boundaries, but which, even in this false and unrighteous form, is born, nevertheless, from the motive of love. It repels not, but it attracts. Its purpose is to unite, and not to separate. Call it spiritual adultery, but adultery, nevertheless, born of affectionate inclination, the outcome of homesickness and of the pathos of sympathy. For all pantheism is religious pantheism at first, and only later on is crystallized into a philosophic system; and only by its degenerating effect does it work its prac-

* Copyright, 1893, by J. Hendrik de Vries.

[The above article, although a translation, is of such a quality as to render it desirable for the pages of the *Review*. As is well known, its author is a distinguished leader in the evangelical orthodox movement of the Reformed Church in Holland; and as the article in the original is accessible to but few American readers we have accepted for publication the following admirable translation by the Rev. Mr. de Vries.—Ed.]

tical destruction in life. The soul seeks after God; and when the light of revelation is wanting, and he cannot be found by the dusky glimmerings of reason, the soul becomes impetuous with longing and indiscreet even to the borders of the irreverent, and agonizes after God, to enter his presence, to fathom the hidden depths of his being, and rests not until it has lost itself in him or unconsciously made him become manifest in itself. This trait, this motive, is one and the same all the world over; and whether you hear the Hindoo utter his heart-breaking cry after his nirvana; or whether you see the Gnostic delight himself in his syzygies; or Böhme, coloring his pantheism with Christian tints, theosophically; or Madame de Guyon, quietistically; and anon Schelling, in a philosophic style, it is with them all the one strong effort to restrain the soul from its impetuous longings, to lose itself in the depths of the being of God. Let us call it once more a spiritual adultery; but it is the glow of a tragic passion, which is far more attractive and captivating than the cold egotism of the matter-of-fact man, who may not question the existence of God, but has no further dealings with him than *pro memoria*. And also in our age it is noteworthy how the newly aroused Christian religion in Schleiermacher has kissed the hand of pantheism, and how Schelling (provided that the theistic name be retained) has allowed himself deep draughts from the foaming cup of pantheism. True piety shrank back from the rationalistic coldness and from the conventional mechanism of our supranaturalists. But at the hand of Schelling it regains its mysteries, its holy Trinity, its Incarnation, including even the doctrine of the resurrection.

But, however luxuriantly this pantheism grew, like grass in prairie lands, under that grass did hide a poisonous adder. That, which in the tents of the saints received its corrective from piety itself, lost this corrective the moment it began to sparkle from the philosopher's desk; for then philosophic pantheism quickly repressed the religious element. With Hegel every religious motive sank away in dialectics; and after him the spirit of our age captured for itself the magic formula of pantheism, in order that, being freed from God and from every tie established by him, it might melt the world as it found it and cast it into a new form for every man in accordance with the desires of his own heart.

Three motives simultaneously impelled our age in this direction: its overwhelming feeling of power, its exaggerated sense of human excellence, together with its penetration into the riches of nature. In comparison with the age which preceded it this age feels like a Titan, who carries everything on his broad shoulder, storms the heavens, and cannot rest until everything has been put in a new, that is, a modern, form. By this overwhelming feeling of power its sons have been aroused to an impassioned and exaggerated sense of human excellence. In its thought man is both alpha and omega—an anthropotheism, as some have named it; a worship first of the ideal human, and then of self, however cynically deep this brutal self may have sunk below the human; an Ego-theism which extends to its most repulsive consequence. In the intoxication of his passionate self-esteem man cast himself with his exceeding power upon defenseless nature, and he has put it under foot, and ever since has led it about behind the triumphal car of his science and of his materiality. And these three motives taken together, that feeling of infinite power, that sense of self-esteem, and that alliance into which the spirit of man has entered with the spirit of nature, even without the mention of more satanic or lower motives, entirely explain the pantheistic keynote of our age. Hence it was spoken none too boldly when, according to the several sympathies, pantheism was praised as the "favorite system" of our age, or condemned as the "Radikalhæresie" which now lifts its head; or when an English pantheist boastfully asserted that at least ninety out of every hundred scholars of to-day were pantheists, either openly or in secret.

Let no one think, however, that we assert that philosophic pantheism still sways its scepter in the schools of philosophy; for, with Haley excepted, the opposite rather is true. Hegel has long been dethroned, and with this the luxurious growth of systematic pantheism has come to a standstill. Philosophy beholds her lecture-halls deserted. Her votaries groan on every hand under her *Abgelebtheit*, senility, and spiritual impotence. Since new philosophies appear no more, as Erdmann complains, the market is flooded with "Philosophie-Geschichte." Spencer has already exalted agnosticism into a system. The long-forgotten Herbart is now conceded to

excel Hegel far in wisdom. The Neo-Kantians go back to Kant; a few even to Leibnitz. And, to show how a man of a very unpoetic name may espy the genius of the spirit of poetry, Professor Knauer, of Vienna, proclaims in flattering terms Robert Hamerling the greatest of all philosophers, by whose hand was placed the keystone in the front of her palace.

But with this the teeth of the "ever-gormandizing, ever-ruminating monster," as Goethe calls pantheism, are not yet broken. When recently, in spite of the interdict of Van Roest, the socialists held their electoral meeting, they placed over their entrance these words of Opzoomer: "Every citizen, as a member of the commonwealth, has a share in sovereignty." Call this an abuse, if you will, of the professorial dictum, but recognize, at least, that such is ever the course of the statement of a principle. It goes out from the desk; but when in the halls of the philosophers it has long been recalled, or weighed and found wanting, it continues many years in the air of the lower spheres, exercises its influence upon the special sciences, predominates in our text-books, takes the premium in our novels, glitters as tinsel in the daily press, vitiates the unction of our poets, colors the tone of conversation by Schlagwörter, and, in the circles of the mediocrity, or of what the Germans call the "Philisterthum," it altogether subverts public opinion. For instance, inspired by Broca and by Von Nägeli, Darwin admitted in the last edition of his *Descent of Man* and *Origin of Species* the insufficiency of his selection theory; but second-hand science, in text-book and public school, has not ceased to honor this defective selection theory as the philosopher's stone.

It means nothing, therefore, that philosophic pantheism lies vanquished at the desk; practically it works its after effects with no less power, both in special studies and real life. A professor who would still indorse the system of Hegel as such would not be abreast of his times, and he would be more sharply hit than Hegel by the irony of the song:

> And now he talks of God in us,
> Who never is transcendent,
> And all his hearers marvel much
> That God's a German student.

Or with more fairness, since I myself am a professor, let me turn the laugh on the professorate, by quoting Goethe's well-known witticism from his "Xeniën:"

> What do I care for your scoff,
> Over the All and the One;
> The professor is surely a person,
> But God, as surely, is none.

But the deadly effect of this irony does not save us. In the place of one professorial head which is struck off from this monster at the desk, a hundred other heads appear, all equally poisonous, in the lower strata of society. Then we obtain derivative theories, which Marat rightly designates as doubly dangerous, together with their application, in which the principles themselves are passed by, or covered over, or more often not even surmised to exist by those who write, or speak, or act. By way of example recall the enthusiastic worship of progress. However much the onward step has been accelerated there is never a respite, never a rest, but a life without a Sabbath. There is no looking backward upon that which has been done, nor occupancy, much less enjoyment, of that which has been obtained. No new point is reached in the way, but immediately a new start is made from it. It is like the *sausenden Galop* in the "Todtenritt" of Bürger's "Leonore." It is the Wandering Jew this time, because of a passion which absorbs and attracts, and not because of an agony of fear which relentlessly drives on. It goes ever forward and farther, ever hastening on ahead, an Excelsior which may never end. And is the assertion too bold, that, of every thousand who keep pace as well as they can with this hurrying procession, no two discern or surmise the genetical coherence of this feverish progress with the avowed purpose of the pantheistic world? That *πάντα ῥεῖ καὶ οὐδὲν μένει* * is no longer put as a proposition, but taken up as the life motto, until at length the want of an eternal Sabbath is predicated of God himself, and he, too, as Schüler wittily remarked, has been charmed into "a veritable God of progress."

But enough of this. We were not to treat of Pantheism in general, but merely one of its effects. Therefore we will not even sketch hastily this grasp-elusive Proteus, but focus all our

* Everything is in process of becoming, but nothing is.

powers on this one point—that pantheism effaces distinctions, obscures boundary lines, and betrays the tendency to wipe out every antithesis. This tendency derives its impulse from the pantheistic principle itself. This is shown by religious pantheism, which, afraid of a God "afar off," has no peace even with God "at hand," but in the prayer-mystery here seeks to penetrate the being of God, and, in the hereafter, yearns after identification with the divine Being, until at length every boundary between God and the soul is lost. The same is true of practical pantheism, which restlessly seeks to equalize all things; and, as long as there is any upward growth, is bent, first upon tying down, then upon curtailing and cutting off, until, finally, every distinction between the cedar and the hyssop ceases to exist. But this is most clearly demonstrated by philosophical pantheism, which systematically fuses every thesis and antithesis into a synthesis, and, by the tempting notion of identity, explains everything which seems dissimilar as similar and, in the end, as being of like essence.

Herein lies the explanation: This philosophy does not deal with reality, but with the image which it saw reflected in the mirror of its thought, or which, more correctly, it formed for itself. Kant struck a blow for this in proclaiming that reality escapes us, and that the form, at least, and the dimension of that which we observe have their rise in us. Then came Fichte, who thought it better not to reckon with that which escapes us, and declared that that which seemed the image had been imagined by ourselves, and hence was the only real. And finally Hegel transposed everything which existed into a purely logical formula, and, after the object had been destroyed together with its image, asserted that the idea alone remained. In this wise this philosophy, with ever greater necessity of consequence, transports us from the real, living world into an abstract world of thought; and in this world, of course, it has free play with every distinction and antithesis. For then we deal no longer with living persons, but with heads sketched by ourselves; and from these crayon-sketches all sorts of lines and wrinkles may be effaced and charmed away as by magic, which from the living face will nevermore depart.

And if pantheism in this wise creates for itself the possibility of escape from the dilemma of distinctions which really exist,

then the very law of thought compels it to use this possibility with ever greater prodigality. Our thinking occasions the arrangement in a fixed order of the phenomena we observe. Thought, from its very nature, demands system. He who thinks looks for general principles in particulars, in order to explain particulars by general principles. Every dualism antagonizes the processes of thought, and thought can rest upon its laurels only when everything has been grouped under one idea. If now we deal with reality and render homage to its law of existence, then with our mode of thinking we are repulsed, stroke upon stroke, by that which obstinately resists our generalization. But if we live as the pantheist lives, not in the real world, but in a gallery of portraits which we ourselves have painted, then of course there is no opposition; then we tolerate no obstinate resistance from our brush and erase all lines which, as they were drawn, do not fit into our system.

Pardon this somewhat dry demonstration. It was needed to show the inner motive as one of sheer necessity, which compels pantheism everywhere to wipe out boundary lines. Declension and conjugation forms may remain, according to Spinoza's figure in grammar, which differ in time and in mood, in person and in case; but all these forms are simple modifications of the primitive word, which always remains the same. Or, as it is expressed by a German philosopher:

> All that appears to our eyes as difference and distinction, however much our consciousness insists upon nonidentity, is nevertheless in essence one and the same; it is but the presentation, the formation, the characterization, the development, alteration, expression, revelation, or form of the single substance which alone exists.

This becomes manifest at once in the relation which is thought to exist between God and the world. For centuries the Church of Christ has guarded its barrier against every open or crypto-pantheism by the solemn confession in the inaugural of its Articles of Faith: "I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth;" and, in the third century, justly denounced the first weakening of the creation idea, together with the first effort to make the world coeternal by putting Origen under her ban. The most distinctly

marked boundary line lies between God and the world; and with the taking away of this line all other boundaries are blurred into mere shadows. For every distinction made in our consciousness—aye, the very faculty itself of our consciousness to make distinctions—takes root at last in this primordial antithesis. Think it away, and it becomes night, in whose shadowy darkness everything in our horizon dissolves in a somber gray. But every pantheist starts out with the denial of this primordial antithesis, which is mother to every antithesis among creatures. The pantheist stands ready, the moment we open our Bible, to invalidate the solemn inaugural of Genesis. No, not "in the beginning," he says, for there was no beginning; not "created," for the world is eternal; and not "the heaven and the earth," for the beyond is a mere dream. In this way the three most deeply marked lines of our distinction are wiped out with a single stroke, and every boundary is taken away between God and the world, between time and eternity, between the here and the hereafter. And yet, pantheism must needs begin with the revocation of these antitheses. It can do no other. As far as history extends our thinking travels along a smooth path, but stops at the point where history began, as well as at the point where history ends. There it finds before and behind it a bottomless abyss, over which it dares not leap, and which is much less to be spanned by a bridge; and hence it must, at any price, cipher away both that end and that beginning. For the pantheist there is no existence of God and the world thinkable as two individual substances.

Objection may be made by reminding us of what we stated above, namely, that it is another wind which blows in the higher circles of science; that in those better circles pantheism, together with materialism, has long since been shown the door; and while the *non liquet* is freely expressed concerning the origin, basis, and end of things, there is general content to inquire more carefully into the phenomena of the natural and the spiritual world, and to live on poetry for the heart. And this is so. But has the principle of evolution, or the *Descendenztheorie*, as the Germans call it, therefore ceased to be the *Credo* of the science of our day? And what is this evolution theory other than the application of the pantheistic process to the empiric investigation of phenomena? Here, also, the "*natura*

saltus non facit"—"nature takes no leap"—is motto. Here, also, everything that appears is explained by a preceding appearance. And here, also, both with spiritual and natural phenomena, are denied all real differences of kind, together with independence of origin, and every deeper distinction of being, in either sphere by itself, as well as between the two spheres mutually; and hence, as a matter of fact, every line which marks a boundary is wiped out, and every boundary post which divides the jurisdiction is leveled to the ground. Von Hartman did not exaggerate when he said that "for our times the Descendenz-theorie is unconditionally correct, and is steadily gaining ground amid the spiritual tempest;" or, as an English writer expressed it, "Science amongst us is at its highest when it interprets all orders of phenomena as differently conditioned modes of one kind of uniformity." Though Darwin himself conceded that his selection theory was insufficient to explain the morphological differences of species, the evolution theory was therefore not dismissed. That which was explained by Darwin mechanically could likewise be interpreted dynamically, and even if need be teleologically, as a spontaneous process in the cosmos which received its impulse from the first germ, whose motive starts from the teleological idea which dominates the entire process. One may therefore be a Darwinist, and with Darwin bend the knee reverently before a "God," for surely God created this "force" which potentially included the entire cosmos within itself; or it was he who determined for the cosmos the aim of its development process. This system is so pliable that more than one Herbartian, in spite of his own principle, is found to side with Darwinism.

This would not be difficult to understand if Darwin, with the help of the fossil discoveries, had succeeded in laying before us the steps of transition in specimens from the plant to man, all which would fit into each other as links of a chain. But this is not so. And it is not merely the search after the missing link; but even if we go back a period of three hundred thousand years, for which it is claimed there is certain proof, traces of species are found in the fossil world which are now extinct, and also deviating forms. But the skeletons of the still existing species are strikingly analogous to the skeletons of our animals. In simple honesty, therefore, Darwin acknowledges that the

proof is far from complete, that it is still incomplete in the domain of nature; and let us add that for spiritual purposes it finds no support for a single point. But says he repeatedly, "This, therefore, shakes not my faith in the evolution theory." It follows, therefore, that we are not dealing with a compulsory theorem, which has been conclusively demonstrated, but with an hypothesis which is supported by a most defective induction, whose general applause takes root not in incontestable facts, and much less in complete proof, but in a general mood of spirits; since Darwin's theory places before our learned and civilized public a solution of the world problem which responds to its most secret sympathies. And if it is known that the keynote of our age is pantheistic, and that in the evolution theory there appears one of the richest thoughts of pantheism, namely, that of the ever-continuing process, in its most attractive form, is then the assertion too bold, that in the Descendenz-theorie is found, as its chief motive, the impulsive force of pantheism?

Or, to probe the real motive deeper still, in the evolution theory, even as in pantheism, hides the desire of the human heart to rid itself of God. In spite of his *practische Vernunft* it was this desire which actuated Kant, of whom Baader correctly wrote: "The fundamental error of his philosophy is that man is autonomous and spontaneous, as if he possessed reason of himself; for it transforms man to a god, and so becomes pantheistic." And Feuerbach uttered merely the consequence of this system when he said, "God was my first thought, reason my second, and man my third and last thought. The subject of the Godhead is reason, but the subject of the reason is man;" and by these words he likewise expressed the deepest thought of our age. Buchner, himself an avowed atheist, frankly declares that, even more than that of Lamarck, Darwin's theory is purely atheistic; and we heartily agree with this opinion. For what advantage is it that we trace the course of the law of causality without a break back to the first gaseous nebula and cell or germ, when behind this cell or germ the inexplicable act of a creative God still demands our recognition, and with all our thinking we strike upon the very rock to evade which the whole theory was invented? If it be true, therefore, that the *Moses der modernen Freigeister*, as Feuerbach calls Spinoza, has not led us into the promised land of

philosophic rest, and that the failure of pantheistic philosophy can no longer be concealed, it is still in the evolution theory that the harmful impulse of pantheism works in the most seductive manner, since it spends all its power to maintain the nonexistence of separating boundaries in every department of our knowledge. Valentinus, the most sensible of Gnostics, relegated evolution back of the creation to the *βύθος* (the deep), but was so much aware of the danger for the erasure of boundaries which concealed itself in this that out of the *Αὐτοπάτωρ* he makes suddenly a God to appear in the form of the Horos, or Horkos, that is, the boundary for the maintenance of the fixed order of all that exists. This thought, however strange its form, is nevertheless entirely correct as a poetic image. Faith in the living God stands or falls with the maintenance or removal of boundaries. God created the boundaries. He himself is the chief boundary for all his creatures, and the effacement of boundaries is virtually identical with the obliteration of the idea of God. If, then, it be never so true that modern philosophy "began with doubt and ended with despair" this whole pantheistic stream has left a poisonous slime upon the shore, and it is in Darwin's evolution theory that this slime reveals its power.

It may truly be said that with all differences of opinion this evolution theory is the "formula of unity," which at present unites all priests of modern science in their secularized temple. A few dreamers may utter complaints against this, but they are aged manikins, who, as described by Hartman, "feel themselves incapable of a second education, but whose numbers have so long been diminishing that they are powerless to stop the victor's march of the new truth." This evolution theory has become the fashion-system, not merely with the Darwins and Haeckels, the Spencers and the Nägelis, but equally so with our theologians, with our psychologists and moralists. Even an adherent of Lotze, my learned colleague Dr. De la Saussaye, of the city university, wrote only recently: "Nowhere is a definite frontier between the domains of nature and of spirit clearly demonstrable, nor may an unmixed expression be predicated of either sphere."

But we are most concerned about the favor with which this critical theory gains among our jurists (the divinely appointed

watchers of the boundary of the "Mount"), as is shown by the example of the late Ihering. We are second to none in warm admiration of his talents; but it may not be concealed that Ihering was an evolutionist. Being himself no natural philosopher, he withholds an opinion on Darwinism, but definitely declares "that the result which he has reached in his studies of law establishes it most firmly in my profession." The "sense of right has grown with him to be eternal, since everything which comes into being is devoted to destruction." And this eternal process is continued of necessity by evolution, which evolution begins in the brute creation; for, writes he, "By the same necessity under which, according to Darwin's theory, one species develops itself from another does the one end of justice find its origin in another," and then adds, in an altogether pantheistic sense, "Right knows as little of a break as nature; that which goes before must first exist, before that which is higher, of course by evolution, can follow after."

He does not deny, therefore, the existence of God. In his preface he even derives the "purpose" which explains to him everything from a conscious God. But with him, as with all evolutionary theists, this is none other to him than an x for this, to him, unknown greatness, of whose authority he rids himself in every concrete case. According to Ihering, the sense of right is not innate, but only "begotten in us" by the evolution of right. Christian ethics, which still holds to eternal principles, he condemns because of this clinging to the absolute; and when rightly he protests against the separation which snatches right from its moral basis, and traces for himself the origin of moral life, he represents this moral life as produced by the "purpose," which is again the process of endless generation. When the question is put, "Who is the subject of this purpose, who ordains it and renders it real?" then theism is again abandoned, and he affirms that "God is not the final purpose of morality; the end and purpose of ethics is society." Whether or not God is still spoken of in the Gnostic sense as "a final end of morality," with this interpretation the Christian ground is entirely deserted. The fulfillment of man's being is looked for in "self becoming one's own end," and whatever has the insolence to attack him in the holy temple of that ideal is treated with contempt. Faith is put in Michael Kohlhaas, who, in Von Kleist's

novel, draws the sword against society. And when we are taught, "Rather suffer wrong," and Christ exclaims in his Sermon on the Mount, "If any man take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also," Ihering rejects this as apathy, which betrays how blunt and weak the sense of right has grown; and he provokes strife among the citizens by exhorting them never to suffer anything in private life to go unpunished. Hence, if his theory triumphs, not merely our Christian, but even Herbart's system, which in a more Christian way makes right to be born from the æsthetic thirst after peace, must pass under the juridical ban. For then it will not be, "Blessed are the peace makers," but "Blessed every one who as a fighting-cock flies in a passion for his right." And when an heros like Ihering teaches thus, what may be looked for at the hands of lesser gods?

To show to what extent the influence of this pantheistic tendency and of the evolution theory which has become its *Credo* has effaced, one by one, all formerly recognized boundaries, must we thread our way across the entire domain of cosmic phenomena and the still broader field of sciences? This is not necessary. Here also "the lion may be known by its claws." And it is quite sufficient for the question in hand that the chief boundary lines which have become blurred be noted, and that as theologians we halt a little longer at the boundary removal on theologic grounds. Now, the blurring of boundaries begins of necessity in our senses and ideas. Real boundaries, such as exist, for instance, between man and woman, are not to be wiped out. It is as true of philosophy as of the English Parliament that "it can do everything except making a man a woman." And though a brilliant scholar, whose oratory has more than once delighted us, once stoutly prophesied that, like the diabolic love of unnature, so also the divinely innate love between man and woman shall extinguish its torch, we venture to deny that among our own contemporaries, or yet among the younger generation, we have ever discovered the slightest decrease of this natural love. No, the boundaries which, independent of our thought, exist in real life, are immovable. Water is never reconcilable with fire. Hence an erasure of boundaries can be spoken of only in our representation, in our senses and ideas; and of these ideas Thilo complains none too strongly that "Finally, all concepts lose themselves in each other amid

the one great tangle of the absolute Ego." This was not done all at once. The very majesty of logic, with its unchangeable laws of thought, stood in the way of this amalgamation; hence, violence had to be done to the logical boundaries first, before the other boundaries could successfully be blurred. Thus the unhappy process began. Hegel clearly saw that his identity system would not do for common logic, and therefore did not shrink from attacking logic itself by cutting the sinews of the *principium exclusi tertii medii*. Thus only did he clear the course for his cavalcade of identical ideas. And then he let them file before his thinking spirit two by two and arm in arm—the something with the nothing, the here with the yonder, the finite with the infinite, the ideal with the real, the being with the thinking, the object with the subject, the different with the nondifferent, liberty with necessity, the imaginary light with the imaginary darkness.

And of course he did not stop short with abstractions. His object and that of all his followers was the application to life of the identity idea. Then it became a serious matter. For the boundary between God and the world also fell away, which boundary, according to the formula of old Hellas, may possibly refer to a distinction in thought, but never to a distinction in time or in essence. According to Dr. Mayer's formula, God was "reduced to a world-power," and, worse still, his conscious life dissolved in our human life. In this wise the boundary between God and man was taken away, with the preponderance on the human side. The boundary between man and man must needs follow. We rise as ocean waves and disappear among its waters. We bud as leaves on the tree, that in withering we may give place to the new leaf in spring, which interprets Homer's line, "The wind pours the leaves to the ground," essentially, and not chronologically.

The spiritual boundaries came next. Between our physical and psychical life also every boundary had to fall away. Truth was given in marriage to error. Hirner even boasted of the "Heroism of the Lie." Good and evil, also, and sin and holiness, were to reconcile their hatred. What is good? "Each one is only what he can be." Nero and Jesus are merely different manifestations of one and the same divine impulsive power. The ancient Parsees were no fools when, next to Ormuzd, they

rendered divine homage to Ahriman and his Dévs, because, forsooth, what we call Satan is but another name for the Holy One of Israel. And, when we find in society much that is noble and much that we dislike, the old figure of Böhme declares that in our own organism likewise there is much that is noble in the brain and much in the entrails to rouse our dislike, but that without the entrails these brains could not exist.

In this wise the blurring of boundaries is restlessly continued, not merely in the identification of force and matter, but practically by identifying power and right; by dissolving responsibility into a pitiable atavism; by confusing property and theft, by weakening the antithesis between the authorities and the subject, making both divisors of the one idea of State. In this State, which provides for every want, as Rothe wills it, the Church of Christ also must disappear. The love for native land must give way to cosmopolitan preference. No difference is countenanced between city and village—only communities are known; and no difference is longer tolerated among classes of society, in modes of living or national dress. Uniformity is the curse which our modern life willfully feeds upon. In music Beethoven was the first to grasp this pantheistic tendency of our age, and to voice it for thousands upon thousands of hearts by his C minor and Ninth Symphonies; and after him Wagner has willfully broken down the boundary between the worlds of sound and of thought. Certain stylists incline more and more to confuse the inkpot with the pallet. Yes, there has been formed a circle which would be glad to have the boundary removed between language and language, and which would think the world idealized if it were peopled with fourteen hundred millions, who, from the North to the South Pole, spake none other than one holy Volapük.

But enough. We made no mention of the theory which makes man descend from the chimpanzee, simply because this theme—pardon the term—is too threadbare. Only it is worthy of note that the N. R. *Courant* recently announced that in our zoological garden the orang-outang was not dead but *deceased;* also that the vocabulary of the monkey language now numbers four words, clearly understood by means of a phonograph, which disarms Max Müller, who still thinks language the boundary line drawn between man and animal. But we need say no

more on this. For all this theory really asserts is that everything is allied, and whether a stone drops, or rain clatters, or the lark flaps his wings and sings his morning song, or man thinks, composes poetry, and kneels in prayer, it is all one life-utterance, altogether an excitement of feeling and a spontaneous life-utterance of the unknown absolute Spirit.

But the religious interests briefly claim our attention, for with these entered the strongest motive for boundary removals. Our Christian religion drew a new and very deep boundary line between the profane and the sacred, which was rejected by the secularizing spirit almost with insults and sneers. There was no longer room for theology as a science; her metaphysic was identical with philosophy, and, for the rest, was lost in literary, historical, and ethnological studies. The boundary between God and idols fell of itself away, since animism and fetichism were classed with our Christian religion under one head. In this organic connection the origin, essence, and idea of religion could be known from religious phenomena, and in this way arose the newborn "science of religion," which more and more supplants theology. The knowledge of the object of religion is no more cared for, but merely the knowledge of the sensations, representations, and utterances to which religious feeling moves the subject. With this every leading difference in religion fell away, and every boundary between heresy and doctrine; and that which moved the spirits in the world estranged from Christ, was bound, as some affirm, to work its effect in the Church also with utmost pliancy. And then—O, why not otherwise?—the "Vermittelungs-theologen," so attractive in other ways, have in Schleiermacher's track sought salvation in their ethical, theosophical, and apocalyptic diversification—in that unhappy *Vermittelung* by which in advance the opponent gained the day. We do not say this because we do not appreciate their labors, so brilliant in many respects, or because we do not understand the goodness of their intention, and much less from a desire to offend any of them personally, but because their position was simply untenable. They were *pot de terre*, and proposed a walk with *pot de fer;* and they did not win the spirit of the times for Christ, but the spirit of the times estranged them more and more from confessing Christianity.

Schleiermacher was pantheist and subjectivist. He brought religious pantheism with him from the circles of the Moravians and found philosophic pantheism in Germany's universities of his day. This was at once manifested in his proposition that God is not thinkable without the world, which proposition was defended among us, as Professor Bavinck correctly showed, by the late Professor De la Saussaye, of Groningen; and every invention by the Martensens, the Rothes, the Keerls, and the Hoffmans, in Germany, to remove the ancient landmarks from the domain of the Christian religion, has been echoed from our pulpits ever since and reprinted by our press. By the conversion of truth into ethics the boundary fell which separates moral life from the life of thought, and presently dogmatics had to surrender its birthright to the "description of moral life." A "Union Church" without confessional discipline became the ideal also among us. To be equally stern with the Calvinist and sympathetic with the rationalist became indicative of a higher life; and by degrees there stole in all manner of strange doctrine. Christ would have come in the world even had sin never entered, for Christ was the natural ideal toward which the progress of the human race was directed. In Christ the Son of God was not incarnate, but human nature had reached in him a higher, divine-human character. As a human being Jesus could not have been mere man, and in this way was renewed the legend of the Androgyne. Soul and body were no longer two, but lost in the mingling of the *Geistleibliche*. The mystery of the Trinity was applauded, but recast as by charm in the sense of the newer philosophy. The atonement consisted not in the dying of the Lamb of God for our sin, but in the appearance upon the tree of our race of its ideal branch. The Holy Scriptures are no longer the product of a positive revelation, but the fruit of Israel's organic development, under higher influences, in connection, therefore, with whatever was imparted to other nations. Justification by faith became lost nearly altogether in the nursing process of a heavenly holiness. Even the absolute boundary between this and the coming life was taken away. Conversion may occur after death; and there have been theologians among these who preached the continuance, on the other side of the grave, of a sacramental Church,

destined yonder to complete the holiness process which here remains unfinished.

That which stares us in the face in all these parts is the effect of what Schleiermacher spun, and of what Schelling, more dangerously, embroidered with the glittering thread of gold. It is the recasting of forms, the wiping out of lines, and fitting out the Christian essence in a modern philosophic garb. And by doing this truth was lost, not merely that objective truth which stands graven in the tables of our confession, but that inward truth by which this confession meets with the response of "Amen" from our heart. It all became a confusion of tongues, one chaos of floating mists. And then Schelling completed in these men what Kant had begun with his "*statutarische Religion*," by inspiring them, as Scholtin expressed it, with the art of proclaiming "new and strange ideas in ecclesiastical terms as the decisions of ancient orthodoxy." And let us grant that they jumped after the drowning man in the philosophic stream to save him; but the tragic fate overtook them of being dragged down to the deep by him whom they tried to save.

We do not idealize Ritschl, but after all the chaotic would-be theology there is relief in the clearness of his thought. Of him it is known, at least, that he has broken with the old metaphysics. But with Ritschl we wander still further off. No single boundary in religion is left unweakened or unwarped to mark the ancient track. Piety is still demanded, but it must be altogether gratuitous, spontaneous, such as in the end is also thought to be found in animals. Some scholars claim to have discovered in our house-dogs real traces of religion, as first beginnings of "piety," which idea is so grotesque that involuntarily it raises the question whether it is likewise agreed to class them with polytheists or monotheists. For an answer to which (since, with Islam excepted, monogamy prefers to be classed with monotheism) some clown may point us to the analogy of their lower love; for the evolution from polygamy to monogamy has not been attained by our poodles and our dogs.

A. Kuyper

Art. III.—SHELLEY'S REVOLUTIONARY IDEAL AND ITS INFLUENCE ON HIS POETRY.

In dealing with Shelley's attitude toward the revolutionary movement in society and thought that had its origin at the close of the last century it is not our purpose to dwell upon his mad revolt against the existing order of things, but rather to point out and define that ideal which held out to him certain wild-eyed hopes and to trace its influence over his poetic life. The mad, disordered notions of "Queen Mab," "The Revolt of Islam," and others of his earlier poems really held no permanent place in the Shelleyan philosophy of the revolution. They were mere gases thrown off from the alembic of Shelley's heart before the genuine spirits could be distilled. A shy, sensitive soul, surrounded in earliest boyhood by people who had not the fineness of perception and delicacy of sympathy necessary to understand him; later on, stung by the insulting coldness of mocking companions and goaded into passionate fury by their taunts—he naturally grew more and more isolated, and developed in the end an abnormal temperament, a combination of lonely pride in his own thoughts and determined hatred for the tyranny to which he was subjected. Lacking the advice of wise and sympathetic friends, he turned in mad revolt against the oppression by schoolmaster and schoolmate that so marked the life of younger boys at Sion House and Eton a hundred years ago. At the same time, driven in upon himself in strange ways—for his fancy was strong and wild—he strove to know the hidden mysteries of life and nature, until at length one "fresh May-dawn," while musing deeply on the lot of life, the shadow fell from nature and he wept with tears of ecstasy. Then, fired by love—for "love and life in him were twins, born at one birth"—and smitten by the sound of school-room voices that seemed but echoes of the strife of tyrants and foes, he vowed ever to be "wise and just and free and mild," if such power lay in him. In this resolution lies the germ of Shelley's philosophy and life.

But this happy attitude of calm and just wisdom was disturbed even before the boy grew into manhood, while the love and the hopes which that love engendered became shadowed

for a time in the madness of iconoclastic fury. It was the old struggle between good and evil which played itself out in Shelley's early life, the principle of love waging at times a doubtful contest with the principle of rebellion. Under the strong compulsion of Godwin's doctrines the revolt against Etonian society was transformed into a revolt against Church and State—a tyranny as hateful as that of the schoolroom; and by the reading of *Political Justice* were excited hopes of final human perfectibility which seemed to him attainable only through the absolute overthrow of society and religion. Statecraft and commerce, the brood of selfishness and custom which perverts man's nature; power, which, like a desolating pestilence, pollutes whatever it touches; Jehovah, in whose name wars have been waged and murders innumerable have been committed, who is represented as delighting himself in the infliction of pain and the satisfying of revenge; religion, which he regarded as a fiend, peopling earth with demons, hell with men, and heaven with slaves—these the young defender of his faith felt that he must fight and slay. And no feathery lance was hurled by the wild enthusiast. Boldly avowing his belief in theories that men despise, he attacked the very institutions they hold dear, and brought down upon his head the persecutions of indignant moralists. To this violent iconoclasm was he driven, then, by that principle of rebellion, victorious for the moment over the principle of love. The trouble was that Shelley was an enthusiast. When first the divine afflatus of liberty and love breathed on him he was, like the strayed reveler, drunk with the wine of Circe; nor paused he to survey his ground or understand himself.

And yet, mistaken as was, for example, his conception of the spirit of Christianity, did not that conception have its origin in certain misunderstandings of the history of the faith? It cannot be denied that the various interpretations of the truth of the Gospel have awakened strife and caused even bloodshed; nor can it be doubted that in certain of its doctrines, as once accepted and taught, Christianity fairly allows the inference that the God worshiped is a God to whom vengeance is sweet. Shelley's mistake lay in judging Christianity by its manifest perversions and in allowing his eyes to be blinded as to its essential spirit. Similarly, in

certain other of his theories he disregarded the intent of the doctrines which he opposed. Moreover, some of his positive ideas are nearly related to those which Jesus came to teach. He held high ethical conceptions of man's relation to his neighbor; he sought to establish a divorce of punishment from revenge—a divorce which is happily reaching consummation in our own day—and in all ways taught the spirit of Christ's admonition that we love one another. It is, however, not our purpose to excuse Shelley's errors or to extenuate them; we desire only to bear in mind, lest we be tempted harshly to misjudge him, that these errors are accidents rather than essential elements of his philosophy, and that the circumstances of his earlier life were poisons which it would have required exceptionally strong antidotes to antagonize. Had Shelley been given wise advisers during that early period these accidents would have been fewer and the essence purer and sweeter. But Godwin was too philosophic to cool the ardor of the boy whose blood had been fired by his *Political Justice;* and Timothy Shelley was too much of an English squire to control an Ariel. The extravagances of genius must be restrained "in leashes like starbeams, soft yet strong."

This madness having gradually spent itself in the earlier revolutionary poems, especially in "Queen Mab" and "The Revolt of Islam," as well as in certain wild and altogether futile attempts at the amelioration of mankind, particularly in Ireland, the poet's mind settled down after a while into a joyous yet calm and seldom-wavering hope of the final salvation of the race through the power of love. We must not, however, think of this change as being brought about suddenly; rather we must regard it as a slow and almost imperceptible growth which only began to reach its culmination about the time of Shelley's retirement to Italy in 1818. That propagandist mission to Dublin, undertaken in the interests of Irish liberty—an escapade from which Godwin vainly strove to dissuade his young disciple—preceded by a year the publication of "Queen Mab," the most violent and revolutionary of all Shelley's poems. This was printed in 1813, and was followed four years later by "The Revolt of Islam," a poem which Shelley regarded at the time of its composition as a prophecy falling from dying lips, which was consequently to embody for all time a complete expression

of its author's faiths and hopes. Shocking as it is in many of its teachings, in its disregard of the facts of history and of the value of historical institutions, in its glorification of forbidden love, in its contempt for political and religious standards as the product of selfish ingenuity, it is yet wanting in much of that furious, destructive, revolutionary color which is so conspicuous in its predecessor. Constructive it is, rather, presenting a true and noble idea of all revolution, a broad, national, or universal movement, drawing its inspiration from definite moral principles, tempering justice with charity, quiet, bloodless in its progress, peaceful and irresistible as a river, and working itself out to fulfillment in the hearts of men, not by might nor by power, but by the spirit.

Side by side with those revolutionary poems were produced others entirely different in tone and treatment, developing in all its purity the ideal of love, but in no way the antagonistic principles of rebellion. Such was the poem "Alastor," written at Bishopgate in the autumn of 1815, at the close of a boating trip up the Thames; such was the fragment "Prince Athanase," which belongs to those Marlow times when river and inlet yielded the glowing visions of the "golden city;" while the eclogue, "Rosalind and Helen," partly composed in this same summer of 1817, but completed in Italy the following year, shows a curious blending of the two streams. In this poem we have almost the final ebullition of destructive revolution; for the great body of Shelley's poetry, from 1818 until the waters of the Mediterranean closed over him, is devoted to a presentation and delineation of that ideal of love and its consequent hopes which we have already referred. And it is in this ideal, which endured to the end, that we must look for the essence of Shelley's revolutionary philosophy, not in the transitory and early-dying insanity of his first enthusiasm for liberty and love. Turning aside, then, from such accidental aspects of the Shelleyan faith, we desire to examine this essential ideal of his belief, see what is its nature, trace incidentally its growth, notice those exultant hopes to which it gave a being, and show its influence on the tone and texture of Shelley's song.

First, if we consider the distinctive temper of the characters to whom this ideal, as the poet conceived it, was revealed, we shall catch thereby a reflex of the quality and essence of the

ideal itself. Even in "Queen Mab," where madness colored the entire poem and the accidents of its author's faith predominated, we shall find foreshadowings of that which grew and developed until it became the actuating motive of all his poetic conceptions. The ideal is there, vague and misty, felt rather than seen, but still there and visible if we search for it; and, disclosing itself to the unsphered soul of Ianthe, it teaches her to love. Amid the wilderness of worlds, at the immensity of which even the soaring fancy staggers, she finds as a brooding presence the spirit of nature, with which the lightest leaf that quivers to the passing breeze is likewise instinct; and by this spirit she is taught that

> Were it virtue's only meed to dwell
> In a celestial palace, all resigned
> To pleasurable impulses, immured
> Within the prison of itself, the will
> Of changeless Nature would be unfulfilled.

In "Alastor" the ideal is less obscured by the vapors of violent revolt, and its effect upon the soul to whom it is revealed is more apparent. Alastor, "a youth of uncorrupted feelings and adventurous genius," is "led forth, by an imagination inflamed and purified through familiarity with all that is excellent and majestic, to the contemplation of the universe." Like Ianthe, he was wise;

> The fountains of divine philosophy
> Fled not his thirsting lips; and all of great
> Or good or lovely, which the sacred past
> In truth or fable consecrates, he felt
> And knew.

Joyous, tranquil, self-possessed, he follows nature's most secret steps and drinks in the beauty and magnificence of the external world, until he, like Ianthe, is suddenly seized with a discontent in selfish pleasure and a thirst for intercourse with an intellectual being like himself. As he wanders alone among the mountains and wilds of Asia there comes to him in vision a veiled maiden whose voice "was like the voice of his own soul, heard in the calm of thought." Endowed with "all of wonderful or wise or beautiful which the poet, the philosopher, or the lover could depicture," she sings to him of knowledge, truth, virtue, and the "lofty hopes of divine liberty," until in an

ecstasy of love he throws himself in her dissolving arms. Night comes and swallows up the vision; in the cold white light of morning she is gone—lost forever "in the wide pathless desert of dim sleep." Driven by the memory of that lovely dream, he rushes through dreary chasms and over tempestuous seas in search of her, but dies at length in a rocky twilight dell far above the clouds without ever again catching a glimpse of her ideal form.

Prince Athanase, too, is a youth whose heart could understand no ill, but felt only pity and wild sorrow for it. Schooled by the aged Zonoras, his soul had wedded wisdom, but, like Ianthe's and Alastor's, found no permanent satisfaction in merely selfish knowledge. Longing for companionship with a fair soul, he, as Alastor before him, sought one whom he might love—or at least would have done so, Mrs. Shelley tells us, had the fragment been completed. At length he found a lady whom he took to be Urania, the heavenly love. But alas! he is deceived; she disappoints him and proves to be a vile Pandemos. Pining away and dying in his disappointment, he, more fortunate than Alastor, is permitted at the last moment to rest his eyes on the radiant Aphrodite.

In "Rosalind and Helen" Lionel exhibits the same traits to be found in the other souls to whom the ideal is disclosed. He, though of great wealth and noble lineage, felt the thrill of liberty, and was filled, not with love, for he already loved all humanity, but with "faith and hope and courage, mute in death." Thus inspired, he went among men and pleaded with eloquence so strong that tyranny grew dumb before him. But when there came a change, and men were again trampled under foot by despotism, Lionel, goaded by the misery of ruined hopes, withdrew to distant lands, where he, too, sought one to love; and he, like Athanase, was deceived by a mocking Pandemos. Broken in health and spirits, he came home, to be wooed back to life and health by the love of one who was in truth a heavenly spouse. And they two lived together, married not by the rites of Church or man, but by their love, until his foes, who claimed that he had uttered blasphemy against their gods, dragged him away and chained him in a cell. His mute smile in suffering melted even the jailer to gentleness, and when he tottered forth many wept to see his pitiful face. He came out

to die, and on a quiet evening, leaning on the breast of the pure Uranian love, he passed away.

To know, to love, to find in love the completion of wisdom, is the lesson taught by the heroes of Shelley's creation. We desire, however, to note their intense hopefulness; they never despair of the final accomplishment of their desires. Queen Mab dismisses Ianthe with a glowing prophecy of the dawn of love and an assurance that all things

> Tend to perfect happiness, and urge
> The re-tless wheels of being on their way,
> Whose flashing spokes, instinct with infinite life,
> Bicker and burn to gain their destined goal.

Alastor, "obedient to the light that shone within his soul," pursued his quest unfaltering even to the death. The same hope winged Athanase until in the ecstasy of attainment he cried,

> Thou art the wine, whose drunkenness is all
> We can desire, O Love!

It thrilled the dying pulse of Lionel when he listened to the strains of the nightingale as daylight lingered gray on the last clouds of evening, and

> His countenance,
> Raised upward, burned with radiance
> Of spirit-piercing joy.

In knowledge, hope, and love, then, may be found those graces which distinguish from common humanity the souls of them to whom the supreme ideal has revealed itself.

By reflexes and shadowings from these sweet spirits we have been able to catch somewhat of the nature and quality of the ideal itself. Impalpable, intangible, not of the earth earthy, but of the spirit spiritual, it is in essence a ruling principle conforming the hearts of men to a love that knows no hate. But let us show more clearly what the ideal is by showing more fully its dwelling place and its peculiar and inner features. Ianthe's soul, it will be remembered, found, dwelling in the immeasurable distances of the sky and moving in each blade and leaf, a nature-spirit. The poet found it, likewise, amid the awful solitudes of Mont Blanc and in

> The bubbles which the enchantment of the sun
> Sucks from the pale, faint water—flowers, that pave
> The cozy bottom of clear lakes and pools.

He felt the surpassing power of this nature-spirit, and discovered in it one whose

> Light alone—like mists o'er mountains driven,
> Or music by the night wind sent
> Through strings of some lone instrument,
> Or moonlight on a midnight stream—
> Gives grace and truth to life's unquiet dream.

And it is this spirit, so immaterial and quintessent that it is but "felt like an odor within the sense"—call it beauty or nature, or what we will—which bound the boy and the man to love all human kind. For this spirit is love. It is this which Alastor sought, which Athanase found. It invests ocean with its radiance; it fills the heavens with their depths of blue; it imbues the deserts and mountains of earth until they wear "beauty like some bright robe;" it soars among men,

> And, as soft air
> In spring, which moves the unwakened forest,
> Clothing with leaves its branches bare and bleak,

constrains them to gentleness of heart. Is this portrait indefinite and shadowy? It cannot but be so. The ideal itself is too immaterial and elusive to be imprisoned in human words or stayed even by the bars of human conceptions. It can be only mirrored to the imagination darkly through the tender and unsatisfying words of sensuous excitement, through the dreams that haunt "the wide pathless desert of dim sleep," through the remembered odors of dead flowers and the unforgotten tones of long-silent music. Shelley realizes this, though he does attempt an incarnation of the ideal of love in nature in "Prometheus Unbound;" but even that incarnation is too spiritual a form to be apprehended by flesh and blood. It also is but a prototype, a conception, a thing of the imagination. The radiant Asia, far away in an Indian vale, in exile from Prometheus, arouses in us no human or earthly sympathies, but at once appears to mortal eyes to be an immaterial thing; then, finally, at the moment of her transfiguration, she is so completely spiritualized, raised so far above the grossness of earthly substance, that she fills with her own light

> The earth and heaven,
> And the deep ocean and the sunless caves,
> And all that dwells within them.

Spirit voices sing to her a song which translates in human speech her beauty and herself, and which on that account I venture to quote:

Life of life! thy lips enkindle
With their love the breath between them;
And thy smiles, before they dwindle,
Make the cold air fire. Then screen them
In those looks where whoso gazes
Faints, entangled in their mazes.

Child of light! thy limbs are burning
Through the vest which seems to hide them,
As the radiant lines of morning
Through the clouds, ere they divide them;
And this atmosphere divinest
Shrouds thee wheresoe'er thou shinest.

Fair are others; none beholds thee—
But thy voice sounds low and tender,
Like the fairest, for it folds thee
From the sight—that liquid splendor—
And all feel, yet see thee never,
As I feel now, lost forever!

Lamp of earth! where'er thou movest,
Its dim shapes are clad with brightness,
And the souls of whom thou lovest
Walk upon the winds with lightness,
Till they fail, as I am failing,
Dizzy, lost, yet unbewailing.

With this intense spiritualization of the ideal of love in nature it would seem that common humanity could have no sympathy or intercourse. And yet the Shelleyan conception of a spirit of love in man existing side by side with the spirit of love in nature effects at least a partial communion. The glorifying presence of the latter would fade if it were not mingled with the vivifying power of the former. Evil reigns and good is exiled only as long as the two are parted. Incarnated in Prometheus—"the type of the highest perfection of moral and intellectual nature, impelled by the purest and truest motives to the best and noblest ends"—the spirit of love in man finally weds his transfigured Asia at the hour of Jove's fall. The two touch, mingle, become one, and good reigns all in all. Then dawns the morn of love, when Nature resumes the beauty of her prime, and

Love, from its awful throne of patient power
In the wise heart, from the last giddy hour

> Of dread endurance, from the slippery, steep,
> And narrow verge of crag-like agony, springs
> And folds over the world its healing wings.
>
> Man remains—
> Sceptreless, free, uncircumscribed, but man;
> Equal, unclassed, tribeless, and nationless,
> Exempt from awe, worship, degree—the king
> Over himself.

This union of man and nature—symbolized by Shelley in the union of Prometheus and Asia, through whom love in man is wedded to love in nature—and the consequent triumph of good in all things, are ideas which Wordsworth also held and taught, though in an entirely different way. The Grasmere poet, as did Shelley, found in nature a living presence, entering into flower, mountain, and stream and giving each its own beauty and light. But the boyhood that was spent at Cockermouth and Hawkshead was blessed by an even tenor of joy quite different from that unhappy lonesomeness which blasted the childhood at Field Place and Sion House. To Wordsworth nature was a haunting presence that taught "rememberable things;" to Shelley it was a mysterious, tranquilizing influence that brought an ecstasy of pleasure. To that one it was thought that supplied the vital principle to nature; to this one it was love. Wordsworth's faith, therefore, belongs to the realm of quiet contemplation; Shelley's, to the realm of pure imagination. That is the first difference between the faiths of the two poets—a difference in kind. A second remains to be noted—that separating the two poets in their relations to humanity. Wordsworth found existing between the soul of things and the mind of man a harmony, whereby Nature could and did communicate with man and conform him to herself until an absolute union grew up between them. Through this love for nature he was brought to a love for the lowly "statesman" of his native hills, and found in man at length

> An object of delight,
> Of pure imagination, and of love.

Through nature he passed to man. But not so with Shelley. No such growth from one love to the other is traceable. Love in man exists side by side with love in nature, each dependent upon the other, and the two wedded into one finally according

to a preexisting plan. Man as an individual is consequently not of interest to him; only the abstract man—humanity.

And these two differences in faith, particularly the difference between Wordsworth's conception of the essential principle of life in nature and Shelley's, caused a marked difference in the tone and spirit of their poetry. A comparison of two poems, each characteristic of its author, will perhaps best illustrate and reinforce the truth of this statement. "It was on a beautiful summer evening," writes Mary Shelley, "while wandering among the lanes whose myrtle hedges were the bowers of the fireflies, that we heard the caroling of the skylark." While Shelley listened to the strains of the bird soaring aloft in the blue Italian heavens his heart broke out in greeting as to a celestial singer—

> Hail to thee, blithe spirit!—
> Bird thou never wert—
> That from heaven or near it
> Pourest thy full heart
> In profuse strains of unpremeditated art.

"Better than all measures of delightful sound," the bird's song lifted him out of himself into a spiritual euthanasia that lasted until the song ceased. For the poet found in the bird a creature above the limitations of the human heart, loving, yet never knowing "love's sad satiety"—in every way an image of that ideal for which he strove. Not so does the same skylark move the contemplative Wordsworth; an ethereal minstrel, a pilgrim of the sky, it is yet by no means a spirit, "an unbodied joy whose race is just begun," pouring from aloft upon the earth a flood of spiritual harmony. The ethereal minstrel never drops its earthly body, to Wordsworth's eyes, or loses sight of its little nest sheltered on the brown ground beneath it.

> Type of the wise, who soar but never roam;
> True to the kindred points of heaven and home,

Wordsworth's skylark never deemed of death "things more true and deep than we mortals dream."

This tendency toward a spiritualization of things material distinguishes Shelley's poetry as a whole from Wordsworth's. Contemplating nature and loving her with a personal love, Wordsworth found in her a living personality whose character, works, and ways he could quietly brood upon. Hence, it was

possible for him to observe minutely her beauties and describe them in his verse. The little celandine, the daffodil, the waterfall, the butterfly, and "the immeasurable height of woods, decaying, never to be decayed"—each was a feature of the great face of nature, each had at times almost an individuality of its own; for it is, I believe, only in its general tendency that his faith may be said to be pantheistic. But it was quite otherwise with Shelley. The great spirit of nature was to him hardly a personality; it was evanescent and fleeting, never defining its whole self in the petals of a flower or shutting itself up as a distinct and independent being in the waters of a lake or the bark of a tree. He saw only her shadow and only evidences of her presence in the whole material world. So there was never possible for him a minute dwelling upon what we may call the homely aspects of mountain and meadow. The evanescent shadow fled rather among the pile on pile of cloud masses far above the earth, or paused amid majestic mountain summits, or dwelt a spirit in the intangible forms of half-forgotten music or of hardly remembered experiences. To the regions of Queen Mab, for example, belong those hills and cities which Julian saw with Maddalo by sunset from the spit of land that breaks the flow of the Adriatic toward Venice. Likewise, the rugged mountains through which Alastor passed and the solitary dell where he died appear in Shelley's verse like the wild and rocky wastes men see in dreams. So, too, the great drama of Prometheus is unfolded to its conclusion on the lofty cliffs of Caucasus, cloud-enveloped and built of clouds, and in the valleys of the sky.

This spiritualization extends to mankind; the people of the poems are less human than spiritual. The lowly dalesmen of the hills, whom Wordsworth loved, were flesh and blood, sturdy and smelling of the soil of earth; the creatures of Shelley's imagination are ethereal forms, about whose garments still clings the fragrance of heavenly fire. The "disembodied soul" of Ianthe reached the hall of spells and saw the passions of men and the wickedness of the world. Thus, as early in his poetic career as the composition of "Queen Mab," we find the poet attempting to spiritualize his subject; and, rude as is the attempt, it foreshadows the sublime idealizations of "Prometheus Unbound" and "The Sensitive Plant." Alastor, Athanase, and Lionel are hardly men, scarcely personalities; they are incarna-

tions of humanity etherealized by the ideal of love which has breathed on them and burned away the grossness of matter. Alastor, though still possessing the limbs and features of a man, is weirdly inhuman and airy:

> The mountaineer,
> Encountering on some dizzy precipice
> That spectral form, deemed that the spirit of wind,
> With lightning eyes, and eager breath, and feet
> Disturbing not the drifted snow, had paused
> In its career.

That shallop on the shore, long abandoned, its sides gaping wide "with many a rift" and its joints swaying "with the undulating tide," was too frail a craft to bear the weight of flesh and blood over the stormy waters of the Chorasmian deep. The immaterial spirit of a man transfigured by the power of love sat at the helm. Lionel, also, faded away, until

> The blood in his translucent veins
> Beat not like animal life, but love
> Seemed now its sullen springs to move,
> When life had failed and all its pains.

Finally, in "Prometheus Unbound" the actors are all pure spirit, ethereal and of the heavens, creatures of the soaring imagination. Prometheus, Asia, Earth, Morn, the Echoes, the Hours are airy nothings, without a local habitation, almost without a name.

A further effect was produced upon Shelley's poetry by this ethereal ideal of nature and love, an effect directly traceable to the influence which the ideal exerted upon his life. Wordsworth, quieted into a joyous calm by nature, lived a life of tranquillity and contemplation; there were no strivings and no disappointments—at least, after the despondency of his young manhood was brushed away. His days were "bound each to each by natural piety;" nothing ever disturbed his "cheerful faith" that all things are "full of blessings." It was not so with Shelley, whose entire life was a longing and yearning for his ideal.

> He, as I guess,
> Had gazed on nature's naked loveliness,
> Actæon-like; and now he fled astray
> With feeble steps o'er the world's wilderness,
> And his own thoughts along that rugged way
> Pursued, like raging hounds, their father and their prey.

Consequently, instead of the placidity which marks the flow of Wordsworth's verse, there is present in Shelley's poetry an

alternation of exultation, when the ideal seems attained, and of despondency, when the evanescent form eludes his grasp. If we look beneath the allegory we shall find in Alastor, in Athanase, in Lionel the sad history of Shelley's own strivings after the ideal form of love. He believed it was found in Harriet, and as long as the delusion lasted he was happy in her. During the glad, sweet days in the cottage at Lynmouth he looked forward to a future of ardent love and pure thoughts for her and for himself. But the ideal faded; Harriet, divested of the garment of love which Shelley had thrown about her, appeared a selfish and loveless girl; then succeeds a period of despondency which seeks expression in his verse. A minor chord runs through the shorter poems of the first six months of 1814, when his hearth was cold and solitary. Then Mary, with "her brown eyes bright and clear," wooed him once again to life and hope and gave him strength to write in prophecy "The Revolt of Islam" and the triumphs of the golden city. But when pain of body returned, and his children were taken from him, and even Mary seemed to grow cold, he was plunged again into gloom. So came into being, in 1818, the "Lines Written in the Euganean Hills," when the poet found an island "in the deep, wide sea of misery;" and, at the close of the same year, the "Stanzas Written in Dejection," when without health or hope, beaten and buffeted by the world, he sobbed out—

> Yet now despair itself is mild,
> Even as the winds and waters are.
> I could lie down like a tired child
> And weep away the life of care,
> Which I have borne and yet must bear—
> Till death like sleep might steal on me,
> And I might feel in the warm air
> My cheek grow cold, and hear the sea
> Breathe o'er my dying brain its last monotony.

Finally, in "Epipsychidion," he tells us how he found again a human form of his ideal, to be again disheartened by a shattering of its beauty. Like Athanase and Lionel, Shelley had wedded one who seemed a radiant maiden all instinct with love and life, only in the end to suffer chilling disappointment; and like them, too, he found a heavenly being to kiss his lips and win him back to life. About the unfortunate Harriet and the

beautiful Mary he had in turn twined his affections to discover in one Pandemos and in the other the fair Urania.

It is not strange that we find, in the poetry of one who thus sought and lost and yet was ever seeking the ideal, a deep appreciation of that art which can best reflect a soul-pervading aspiration. Free from all corporeal conditions and limitations, music was specially fitted to express to the poet's mind the spiritual ideal of his heart and to convey to him, not alone the ecstasies of earthly or heavenly love, but as well the elements of pure passion, which is their foundation. Shelley's fondness for music, then, is not strange or surprising. "Music made giddy the dim brain, faint with intoxication of keen joy." He was carried away by Mozart, and drew from Constantia's song and the notes of Jane's guitar a deep satisfaction. The swelling of Miss Clairmont's rich voice produced in him a state of bliss, in which the cope of heaven seemed rent and the soul developed wings with which to follow the sublime career of the soaring song:

> A breathless awe, like the swift change,
> Unseen, but felt in youthful slumbers,
> Wild, sweet, but uncommunicably strange,
> Thou breathest now in fast-ascending numbers.
> The cope of heaven seems rent and cloven
> By the enchantment of thy strain,
> And on my shoulders wings are woven,
> To follow its sublime career
> Beyond the mighty moons that wane
> Upon the verge of nature's utmost sphere,
> Till the world's shadowy walls are passed and disappear.

Similarly he recognizes in later lyrics, and in short lines in the longer poems, this power of music to carry one above the noises of earth to the serene heights of spiritual intoxication.

Moreover, this ethereal ideal of nature and love which had such a marked effect on Shelley's life, and thus indirectly on his poetry, exerted as strong an influence on his poems directly. It purified them of the fleshly dross and gave them a sublimely spiritual texture. The ideal affected Shelley's verse in much the same way as Alastor's knowledge affected his dreams. "Conversant with speculations of the sublimest and most perfect natures, the vision in which he embodies his imaginations unites all of wonderful or wise or beautiful which the poet, the philosopher, or the lover could depicture." "The Ode to the West

'Wind" and "The Sensitive Plant" display this spiritual richness and prove themselves to be the songs of an Ariel, while the elegy on Keats is the threnody of a spirit concerning a spirit. There is nothing mortal or material about Adonais.

> He is made one with nature. There is heard
> His voice in all her music, from the moan
> Of thunder to the song of night's sweet bird.
> He is a presence to be felt and known
> In darkness and in light—

made spirit by gazing on the form of nature's loveliness. Shelley was enabled to catch, better than any other of our poets, the subtle and fleeting graces that belong to evanescent forms of things, to states of mind and of the imagination. All the visible scenes of nature entered unawares into his heart and became for him ideal rather than real. Similarly he drew most exquisite sensuous pleasure from material things, but a pleasure that is spiritually sensuous:

> And from the moss, violets and jonquils peep
> And dart their arrowy odor through the brain,
> Till you might faint with that delicious pain;

while from the bells of the hyacinth he heard sweet peals

> Of music so delicate, soft, and intense,
> It was felt like an odor within the sense.

In like manner he pierced behind the veil of mortal limitations and felt the glories of past but not forgotten days, and buoyantly rode upon the waves of purely spiritual emotion. Spiritualized, etherealized by the power of his ideal, he took things of sense—material things—and transmuted them into evanescent and fleeting essences of cloud and air and spirit. Well, indeed, did Trelawny inscribe upon his tomb, beneath Leigh Hunt's "Cor cordium," the Ariel song from "The Tempest"—

> Nothing of him that doth fade
> But doth suffer a sea change
> Into something rich and strange.

William C. Sproul.

Art. IV. — THE SOCIAL PROBLEM.

Is there a social problem? That is to say, is it worth while to perplex ourselves about methods of effecting a more equitable division of the fruits of human industry? Can it be secured? The question is not a frivolous one, nor does it imply any sarcasm. For, strictly speaking, orthodox political economy teaches us that a social problem relative to distribution is as absurd as a social problem about gravitation. The product of human industry is portioned out to the several groups of producers by natural laws. There is no power in society to change these allotments. Each man gets just what belongs to him; he cannot get either more or less. There may, indeed, be fraud in exchange, and contracts may be violated. But in these cases the problem is one of morals or of legislation to enjoin contracts; but the division of the product of organized or agricultural industries is assigned to the different partners by inexorable laws.

Such is the dogma of economic science. It follows from it that there is no injustice to do away with by reform, no wrongs of labor, no encroachments of capital. The devout soul, recognizing natural laws as the will of a benevolent Creator and accepting this economic dogma, must declare that the actual division of the fruits of industry is equitable and just. In much of the discussion between the economist and the philanthropic reformer the economic dogma is misunderstood or misapplied; and it may, therefore, be worth while, as a step toward more equitable discussion, to answer with some care the question, "Is there a social problem?" This present attempt to make reply will drop out of view the extensive literature of the subject and take up the question, so to say, on its merits. Our brief study may be helped to a clear issue by recalling at once, by the side of the economic dogma, the answer to it made by the philanthropic reformer. He affirms that the so-called laws of nature in economics are not natural, but historical, products. The rent of the landlord, the interest of the capitalist, the profits of the manufacturer, are all growths of human history. Each of them involves abuses impiously consecrated by society. This system of industry, with the wage-earner at the bottom and entitled

to only the part left by his partners, is as monstrous an outrage upon natural law as absolutism in government or human slavery. If the economic dogmatist supports his theory by an appeal to history the reformer replies: "You are right; it has always been so; but so, too, have absolutism and human slavery always existed. That did not deter us from driving absolutism and slavery out of our most highly civilized societies."

Here we may profit by reflecting upon the value of the word "historical" in this discussion. Its meaning suggests to us the development of human institutions under the leadership of human nature. Some things in human life concern variable and mutable elements of humanity. Other things concern invariable and immutable elements. Men do change in their ideas of government, and slavery comes, at length, to shock their sense of equity or to oppose their conceptions of economic efficiency. Now, the economic dogma professes to rest upon an immutable thing in man—his self-interest or his selfishness. The dogmatist does not deny that individuals rise above the level of self-seeking, but he asserts that the mass of mankind live on that level, have always lived there, and probably always will live there. The unselfish will feed the hungry, care for the sick, and clothe the naked by acts of beneficence. But laborer, manufacturer, capitalist, landlord will always work for personal rewards. The great strength of the economic dogma lies in its agreement with the actual, everyday facts of industry. Each man in each group is, as a matter of plain fact, working for his own interest. This is not a final answer, for reasons now to be suggested.

To reach our end as soon as possible we shall assume that interest upon capital is a just and natural thing. It is practically certain that but little capital would exist if savings could not be converted into capital by employing labor at a profit in the nature of interest. With the same brevity we assume President Francis Walker's fourth partner—the master or manager—making his own share, called profits, by his abilities. It is easy to see that ability, by buying the material, economizing labor, and selling the product advantageously, may pay laborer, landlord, and capitalist the same ratio as is paid by inferior ability, and still make a relatively large profit. That each partner seems to get his share through a natural order

of what, in general terms, may be called supply and demand, is admitted on all sides. It may be also conceded that no civilized society like ours can be expected to interrupt this order by violence or revolution. Such changes as may come must be looked for along the lines of least resistance, or, in other terms, along the lines followed by existing habits. Though political economy is called a dismal science and is supposed to be unpopular, yet it remains true that men in general accept the economic dogma, and will resist the attempt to establish communistic socialism in defiance of the dogma. Revolution being out of the question, let us inquire for the lines of least resistance to philanthropic reform. Without the least hesitation we affirm that philanthropy has already set out upon the line of socialistic taxation of land, capitals, and abilities.

The oppressive partner of labor, according to moderate socialism, is the landlord. The economic dogmatist asserts that land rent is a bounty, not a product of labor. "True," replies the reformer; "God made the land and gave it to society, and society has further enriched it." It seems to me that in this famous and noisy controversy each side fails to grasp a fact; one side ignores one fact, and the other another. Land gets all, or nearly all, its value in exchange from personal and social co-operation. In any given lot or acre having an exchange or rent-producing power there is a personal as well as a social product. The succession of owners have done something to enrich the lot or acre, and something has been done by society. This personal contribution is overlooked by one side. The other party to the controversy does not seem to grasp the fact that in highly civilized societies the single-tax system is actually in operation. Municipal government is, in this country, our most complex and advanced type of social order. But no one needs to be told that municipal government draws its revenues from real estate, or that the city lot is taxed all it will bear. If there is any failure anywhere to collect the full annual value of the bounty the failure is temporary or local. The landlord of the future is not likely to get more than a fair return for his capital. And (omitting the dishonesties of municipal service as being no part of the economic problem) this land tax is socialistically expended for streets, walks, parks, police, hospitals, and

schools. It might be desirable that the national government should be supported by the same tax; but there is no proof that there is enough bounty to pay both national and municipal bills. It is pretty certain that the city fathers of the future may be trusted to collect and use all the bounty there is in sight. The tax on personal property could be dropped without serious loss. If here or there one may find some startling proof that the landlord is a burden upon society, especially upon the poor, he has only to turn to Chicago, New York, or Philadelphia taxation for proof that these highly organized human societies have found effective means of realizing Mr. George's ideal state, and that the governments of these cities are fastening their grasp firmly upon the bounty in city lots.

If, therefore, landlordism is an abuse in society—and no doubt it has been an abuse, and to some extent still is, in Europe and in some sections of our own country—yet all the indications point to effective reform of the abuse. The landlord of the future will be fortunate if he is able to keep intact the capital he and his predecessors have invested in land. But this statement of the case contains an implication that there is, or at least *was*, a social problem regarding land, and that it is undergoing a socialistic solution of a very radical character. City government collects the natural and social bounty and expends it for the whole community. The beauty of it is that this same immutable human nature has almost instinctively remedied the evil, and that no one needs to help nature to her end. City government works as automatically, under universal suffrage, as landlordism ever did. We have only to extend the civilization of our great American cities—only to "let it alone"—to make it practically certain that no man gets from ground rent what does not belong to him as a fruit of his capital.

The same state of things may be found in the more common methods of taxing agricultural land; and possibly the agricultural distress much complained of may be partly due to the severe application of the principles of Mr. George. Much more than natural or bounty rent may have been exacted of the farmer. Turning again to the city method of taxation, it may be useful to remember that city authorities are too practical to tax vacant lots as much as improved lots. The city fathers want money, and do not risk profitless confiscation.

We repeat, then, that the bounty rent of land is, in our judgment, already secured to society through existing methods of taxation. The result has not been to equalize the rewards of the different groups of producers in any such way as has been expected. It will probably reward our pains to examine a little the very different fate of other natural bounties. The rich sources of modern wealth are found, not in land, but in other natural wealth discovered in this century. Invention has laid the foundations of most of our great fortunes. Rock oil, telephones, telegraphs, new methods of making steel, and a thousand other inventions are the sources of a very large part of the massed wealth of the United States. And yet we hear hardly a whisper against the most real and the largest class of monopolies. A patent creates the only real monopoly known under our system. The philanthropic reformer will do well to fix his attention upon the patent laws and the wealth diverted by them from the people, not to inventors, but to a small number of enterprising persons. It is an amazing thing that the people are so patient under these monopolistic laws, which are not of nature but of the nation.

It is evident that the democratic instinct has found in taxation a practically effective means of rectifying distribution, so far as rectification is possible. No possible method will avail to alter the proportions of product going to labor, capital, and management. The dogmatic economist is here on solid ground. The laws of supply and demand will go on dividing the product in spite of any possible reforms. But taxation may recoup profits and interest and expend them for the general good. That this line of advance is beginning to attract attention, and that it will be marched over in the next century, no one seriously doubts. The doubtful questions are those of method and of opportunity. Licenses to manufacture, graduated income taxes, governmental management of industries, and other methods are in the field of discussion. Ownership by government of railways and telegraphs is neither a new thing nor a very enticing scheme. Heavy taxation of the companies is a more consistent scheme, and American instinct has gradually approached this solution. The taxes paid by railway companies are increased year by year. The State of Pennsylvania annually levies millions from corporations and expends the bulk

of this vast sum upon public education. Socialistic taxation of interest and profits may or may not meet the demands of the less fortunate classes. Probably it will not. For it will not increase wages and may possibly narrow the field of employment and thus really reduce wages. Socialistic taxation of capital needs to be administered with the same caution used by city government in taxing lands. One must not kill the goose if he would gather the golden eggs. Public ownership of railways has proved burdensome in France and Italy, and in this country even confiscation might result in a loss. A democratic government can trust itself to collect a tax, but it could hardly trust itself to collect just fares and freights from distant voters whose influence might decide a presidential election. The unequal equality of the post office department—charging the same price for carrying a letter across a block or across the continent—is a kind of equality much sought after in transportation. Taxation is far safer.

What can be accomplished by socialistic taxation? What benefits will come from it to the working classes? In other words, what can be done with the new millions gained by taxing profits and capital as much as they will bear? The question is comparatively new, although Rome long ago answered it by giving its plebs "bread and games." What we have for a century contended over is probably impossible—to rearrange the natural division of the product of industry. There is, indeed, a hopeful view. Mr. Carey held that the natural law of the case tends to a steady though slow relative increase of wages. But this is too slow to keep pace with our desires for human amelioration. Admitting that wages must increase relatively, the average wage-earner will remain relatively poor; and this relative poverty is the very gravamen of the charge against the existing social system. No one expects wages to gain upon the other shares of product to such an extent that a few years of labor will make a man a millionaire. If we can and do assist this natural gain by socialistic taxation there will still be no millions for the wage-earner, while capital and managerial ability may go on amassing millions, more slowly, perhaps, but still surely. Supposing, however, that the State should treble its present income by taxing capital and abilities, what service could be rendered by use of it to these people? Circus tickets

and free loaves are not to be considered. Schools, parks, streets, water, asylums, and hospitals are already provided at public expense. Could the State establish a system of free homes, with heat and light free also? And would this please the self-respecting wage-earner? The suggestion is nearly as absurd as the free circus tickets. It would be possible to provide more hospitals and much more room in poorhouses. But reforming philanthropy will not entertain the suggestion.

There is one open road along which public distribution might travel with dignity. The State might provide a pension for every invalid, every poor widow, every orphan child, every one bearing the infirmities of age. We are learning in our system of war pensions how to conduct such a distribution on a large scale. In short, it is possible for a State, by socialistic taxation, to render real poverty of the suffering sort absolutely impossible. For that part of the body of reformers concerning itself with actual primary wants the solution suggested would be entirely satisfactory. This would not settle the so-called social question. The inequality of the distribution effected under the existing system of competitive industry would remain untouched. The State would merely take away from capital and ability a part of their shares and disburse it among the needy sons of poverty. Nor would the moralist be quite contented with a system of distribution by act of Congress and of the pension agent. And, absolute poverty having become impossible and the saloon remaining open, would not the poor multiply more rapidly?

Doubts and fears have seemed to melt away while we were taking some of the first steps in this reform by redistribution. The public schools met a vigorous opposition when they cost less than half as much as they now cost. The opposition has ceased, and every town of five thousand people will soon have a college maintained at public expense. There is no open hostility to taxing corporations severely. The rich man's death is more and more looked to as a means of redistributing a part of his estate by a succession tax. A very large increase of this tax will meet no obstacle in public opinion whenever the State has found a good use for the money of the dead. Trust estates, such as those of the Vanderbilts and Gould, would be remorselessly seized by the public—pensions being paid to the heirs—if the public had a use for them. The real difficulty is not any

obstacle to socialistic taxation, but the lack of socialistic uses of taxation. Make any such use as popular as the public schools are, and the money will be freely taken by some device of taxation. The delay in devising methods of using the rich man's money for the poor man's good is largely due to the ill-advised efforts of many reformers to distribute more equitably in the very original processes of production and exchange. The delay is further helped by ill-advised clamors for a cheap money or other attacks on confidence and credit. But as soon as reformers learn that they cannot seriously alter the original distribution they may be expected to take up the question of redistribution; and taxation affords them the prospect of unlimited supplies for philanthropic enterprises.

The foregoing suggestions are an attempt to outline in few words the situation and its outlooks. With whatever results, we are likely to attempt to abolish poverty by the method here indicated. There must be some unsatisfactory results. The socialistic State needs a better civil service system than it is in the way of getting. Robbery in the form of taxation for the benefit of spoilsmen threatens every step of our progress with disaster. God's poor and man's poor can be relieved by the system suggested; but the multiplication of the devil's poor under the system may be reasonably feared. As all sturdiness went out of the Roman plebs when fed from public granaries, we may dread a like loss of force in laborers relieved from all danger of severe privation; and all the difficulties of the present situation may be increased by diminishing the dangers of idleness and inefficiency. But the American democracy is capable of running great risks for the sake of promoting the general welfare—that is to say, individual welfare—and may be capable of triumphing over all the dangers of socialistic redistribution by means of universal suffrage.

Art. V.—THE CALL AND ORDINATION OF BARNABAS AND SAUL TO MISSIONARY WORK.

In religion, as in all else, there is a tendency on the part of the human mind to get away from first principles, in the sense of seeking new foundations or new motives to action. There comes a time when the original impulse seems to have spent its force; when foundation truths disappear or are held in mortmain; and when, somehow, the notion finds entrance that the old truth, perhaps because it is old, should be abandoned for something newer if not better. And thus it has come to pass that men have substituted maxims of worldly wisdom for the plain precepts of the Master; and, for apostolic practice and precedent, methods which they judge to be more in keeping with changed times and advanced thought. This tendency has left its impress quite as much upon the spiritual life of the Church as upon its prudential regulations. Under its influence the simplicity of primitive Christian worship was replaced by an elaborate ritual. That agony of soul which made holy men of old loathe their daily food while they waited upon God in ceaseless prayer was supplanted by perfunctory fast days, which in turn have been abandoned by many as unprofitable and vain. The sacraments, designed as means of edification and spiritual growth, became "mysteries," exciting awe and ultimately, as regards one of them, claiming adoration; while a distinction of gifts in the Church, pointing to a distinction of office and work, became a distinction of orders, by which a ministry chosen of God was changed into a priesthood ordained of men. The same tendency is in operation to-day, and the clear guidance of the Spirit of God is in danger of being ignored in an unwise attempt to harmonize old methods with "the spirit of the age." If these things were only passing symptoms of a critical and skeptical disposition in the world we might hold our peace, or at best say, "The Lord rebuke thee;" but they are more than that—they are symptoms of a canker that is eating into the heart of the Church. The mischief is a serious one, and calls for a remedy. That remedy is a return to first principles—a constant comparison of our teachings and methods with the spirit and practice of primitive Christianity.

The most important and weighty official act which Christ authorized his Church to perform is the setting apart, by solemn ordination, of men who believe that they are moved by the Holy Ghost to the office and work of ministers in the Church of God. In constituting the ministry of the Church, whether evangelists, pastors, or teachers, we should keep very close to New Testament teaching and precedent, and at every step listen reverently to the voice which speaks to us as once it spoke to Moses, saying, "Look that thou make them after their pattern, which was showed thee in the mount."

Turn we, then, to the record (Acts xiii, 2, 3) of the earliest occasion on which the solemn function of setting apart God's chosen messengers was exercised by the primitive Church. In the divine drama of the kingdom of God there is here a shifting of the scenes. Antioch, in Syria, appears in place of Jerusalem, and instead of the apostles we have the prophets and teachers of that congregation where the disciples were first called Christians. And with this shifting of scenes and change of actors we have an entirely new departure along evangelistic lines. Hitherto the thought of a world-wide evangelization had been imperfectly apprehended, for, with the exception of Peter's visit to the house of Cornelius and the brief sojourn of Philip at Samaria, followed by a visit from Peter and John, no direct effort seems to have been made to carry out the Saviour's command to disciple all nations. It is true that some of those who were scattered abroad by the persecution traveled as far as Phœnicia and Cyprus; and Barnabas, who himself belonged to Cyprus, may have been a fruit of that very mission. But these scattered disciples preached the Gospel to Jews alone, and it was only at Antioch that some spake to the Greeks also. No sustained effort had been made to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles. But all this was now to be changed. Barnabas and Saul had been laboring together at Antioch for a year, teaching much people and confirming the faith of the saints, when there came to the "prophets and teachers" in that city a call from the Holy Ghost; for, "as they ministered to the Lord, and fasted, the Holy Ghost said, Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them." Whereupon they were not disobedient to the heavenly vision, but proceeded at once to ordain

and send forth the first two foreign missionaries of the Christian Church.

The Christian ministry, as the New Testament presents it, is not a profession, but a divine vocation; and if so, there must be some method by which that divine call can be given and understood. In considering this question we are not invading a realm of dreams. If what we designate a divine call is a mere superstitious fancy the Christian ministry and all that pertains to it is the veriest imposture that was ever devised to lead men astray. But those who can believe this are bound to account for the wonderful effects of so strange a delusion; for, whether it be a reality or not, one thing is certain—belief in a divine call has produced such examples of lofty devotion to duty, of disinterested effort for the weal of others, of heroic courage in the face of appalling dangers, of sacrifice and suffering cheerfully borne for conscience' sake, as history attributes to no other impulse. The fact, with all that it involves, is important enough to justify patient investigation, step by step.

The Person who gives the call is said to be the Holy Ghost —a term in very common use, but the meaning of which is vaguely apprehended. Men affirm, for example, and they do so on scriptural authority, that God is a Spirit; but when they speak of the Spirit of God—in other words, the Spirit of a Spirit—there is a degree of mental confusion from which they seek to escape by declaring that this great truth is a mystery which they cannot explain. If they mean by this that the finite mind cannot comprehend the Infinite One we have no disposition to dispute the statement; but if they mean that Christian faith in so important a matter has no better basis than vague mysteries that admit of no explanation we are constrained to demur. The whole question ultimately turns on the reality of an invisible spiritual realm. Altogether apart from religion men do admit the fact of an invisible world, that is, a world of thought and feeling as distinguished from a world of fact and activity, a realm as truly unseen as that which we call spiritual. Again, it is universally admitted that forces which are invisible —thought, hope, faith, ambition—are by far the most potent in shaping human actions, and that they act and react from man to man. Now, from this conception of an invisible spiritual realm and invisible forces, influencing human conduct and

becoming a part of human consciousness, there is a natural and easy (we had almost said necessary) transition to the conception, as taught in the Scriptures, of a spiritual Intelligence—a Person —who is the infallible Teacher of infallible truth and the supreme authority in Christ's invisible kingdom. But, having made the transition, we begin to perceive that "Person" is a term which suggests limitations that cannot be consistently affirmed of an infinite and infallible Being. Some new term must be found, or the old term enlarged to the measure of that larger thought. Such a term the Scriptures supply, for "Holy Ghost" is but the complete development of the idea of a personality that is not limited, and is the only term which adequately expresses the concept of an infinite Intelligence.

Now, in the Scriptures, preeminently in the New Testament, the Holy Spirit is represented as holding peculiar relations to individual Christians and to the Church as a whole. But these relations or offices are not in all respects the same. Speaking in a broad, general sense, the Holy Spirit may be said to have taken up the work of human salvation at the point where Christ laid it down; and everything involved in Christ's actual living presence, and more, is secured by the indwelling of the Holy Ghost. In place of the visible Leader, the man Christ Jesus, the Church has now the Holy Ghost, the invisible spiritual guide. As of old, he works in human hearts, reproving, convincing of sin, regenerating, and bearing witness to the fact of men's adoption into the family of God; while in the Church, if it be a true Church of God, he dwells to govern, to direct, to show what is the mind of God; and through men like these prophets and teachers at Antioch, chosen and qualified by himself, he directs the Church in her providential mission.

But how is the call to the ministry given? This is a question of no small importance, and answers to it may traverse the whole ground between a chilling rationalism on the one hand and a misleading enthusiasm on the other. So far as the passage under consideration can guide us, the call is twofold:

1. That to the individual chosen. This is not God's universal call to men to repent and believe the Gospel, nor is it that general call to Christian service which authorizes him that heareth to say, "Come;" but it is a special call to converted men whom God hath chosen that they may be separated from

all other employments and given wholly to the ministry of the word. So far as this call is a purpose in the mind of God it may long precede the conversion, or even the birth, of the person chosen. Thus, John the Baptist was designated as our Lord's forerunner, and Saul himself was a "chosen vessel" for a special work long before it was known to himself or to the Church. But so far as it constitutes a summons to the person chosen it is the voice of the Spirit in the heart, producing a deep and abiding conviction of duty as to the ministry of the word. Without it neither pope nor bishop, church nor council, can give the necessary authority; and with it no other authority is needed. The duty or prerogative of the Church, either collectively or through chosen representatives, is not to confer authority, but to recognize and give effect to a divine call, an authority already conferred. But for the satisfaction of the Church, as well as the quiet of the individual conscience, it is most needful that the reality of this inward call be attested by concurrent evidence. Saul's inward call was attested in many ways; but so far as we can learn neither he nor Barnabas pressed their convictions upon the notice of the Church, or tried to forestall the Holy Spirit in making known to others what he had already made known to them. Neither did they attempt to force themselves into the work to which they had been divinely called. Beyond the faithful use of their gifts in edifying the Church they let the matter rest, patiently awaiting the Lord's time. The period of waiting was not lost time. They were undergoing the best possible preparation for their work, and were proving their possession of those very qualities and endowments which made the message of the Holy Ghost to the Church, when it came, an intelligible thing.

We have said that answers to the question how the Holy Spirit calls men may traverse the whole interval between a destructive rationalism on the one hand and a misleading enthusiasm on the other. Much is said in these days about the mischievous extreme into which sundry persons have fallen in regard to the inspiration or leading of the Holy Spirit, some having gone so far as to affirm that, having his guidance, they need no other aid and can dispense alike with prayer and written word. Such enthusiasm is to be deplored, and we have nothing to say in its defense. That mischief has

resulted from a crude and unscriptural interpretation of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit's guidance may be quite true, and it is the duty of every minister to guard the flock of Christ against all such delusions; but, while deprecating the effect of unregulated enthusiasm in spiritual things, we should dread far more the influence of that latent skepticism which, in its anxiety to avoid whatever savors of fanaticism, practically ignores the great truth of the Holy Spirit's presence and guidance in the Church of God. When, under the plea of guarding against fanaticism, the glorious doctrine of the divine leading is obscured or is allowed to lie dormant, a chill like the breath of an Arctic winter falls upon the Church and every bud of promise droops and dies. Such a tendency, beginning in prudence, will quickly degenerate into the rationalism which reduces the Holy Spirit's guidance to a purely human interpretation of the written records, and will at last sink into the gross Sadducceism which avows disbelief in either angel or spirit.

But back of all this lies another question. If, as a matter of fact, men are led astray by their own fancy, believing it to be the voice of the Holy Spirit, how are they, in regard to the work of the ministry or to divine leading in general, to discriminate between a genuine and an imaginary call? By various signs, as when the supposed leading is in manifest harmony with scriptural teaching, is in the line with significant providences, or is attested by a concurrent call to the Church. But there is another sign which is preliminary to all these and essential to them, namely, a sound and unmistakable conversion to God. Conversion, it is true, does not necessarily involve a call to the ministry; but it is indispensable to the Spirit's call and guidance, because "the natural man"—the man who is not born of God—"receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him: neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned." But he that is born of God knows the things of God and is quick to hear his voice. Neither is such a one in danger of being misled. The Holy Spirit is not the author of confusion; he leads not in the direction of pride or self-sufficiency or fanaticism; and if one claiming to have the Spirit's guidance falls into these errors or delusions he only gives painful evidence that he has not the Spirit of Christ, because he knows not the Shepherd's

voice. At the very foundation, therefore, of all questions concerning divine leading or a call to the ministry we place a true scriptural conversion, proved by its fruits—the one indispensable condition without which all claims to superior spiritual illumination or a divine call are but a delusion and a dream.

2. But associated with this inward call of the Holy Spirit there is a call to the Church which is equally distinct and clear. "As they"—the prophets and teachers—"ministered to the Lord, and fasted, the Holy Spirit said, Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them." Observe, he did not say to Barnabas and Saul, "Separate yourselves." There is no encouragement here to set at defiance all authority and church order on the plea that men are following the leading of the Holy Spirit. While the call of the Spirit is distinct and clear to the messenger, it is none the less so to the Church, whose duty it is to set the messengers apart and ordain them to their work. The Holy Spirit not only called these men, but designated the service they were to perform. "I have called," said the Spirit; "it is yours to set apart, by solemn ordination, the chosen messengers." It is only thus that the Holy Spirit and the Church can cooperate in this all-important matter.

There are several things about this call to the Church which deserve special notice. In the first place, it was not addressed to the Church as a whole, but to chosen men, the prophets and teachers at Antioch. This does not imply that the membership of the Church had been ignored, but simply that their part was already done. Long before this time the Church, in its collective capacity, had recognized in Barnabas and Saul the evidences of converting grace and the possession of gifts and qualities which, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, made them efficient ministers of the word in building up and edifying the Church; and as a result of this recognition they, with certain others, were accepted as prophets and teachers among the people. What more natural, therefore, than that these prophets and teachers, whom God had chosen and qualified and whose gifts the Church had recognized, should be the media of communication when the Holy Ghost would make known his will as to those he had called to a special work? If the doctrine respecting the Spirit's authority and guidance be not a delusion there must be some method by which his provi-

dential will is indicated; and if the experience of the primitive Church counts for anything that will is not indicated by a simultaneous illumination of the entire Church, or much less left to the uncertain decision of a majority vote, but is made known to the constituted prophets and teachers in the Church upon whom rests the weight of responsibility in these matters. The illumination which these men received, therefore, was not merely that which belongs to all Christians in varying degrees; neither was it the aggregate of that illumination in the Church at large; it was a special illumination vouchsafed for special purposes, and its genuineness was attested by the fact that it was concurrent with the call which had been previously addressed to Barnabas and Saul. Let not the reader be alarmed at this, nor be in haste to resent it as an invasion of the common rights of Christians. Especially let him not avow skepticism in regard to any such illumination being vouchsafed to the prophets and teachers of the Church to-day, lest in doing so he denies one of the distinctive marks of a true Church of Jesus Christ. For if the Holy Spirit be not with the Church to guide in these all-important matters, wherein is the Church better than a secular society, organized for purely secular purposes?

At the same time it will be readily perceived that the reality and value of the Holy Spirit's leading in the Church, in the sense above indicated, depends upon the spirituality and unselfish devotion of those who are recognized as prophets and teachers, and to whom is committed, in a secondary sense, the direction of Church affairs. The call of the Spirit is not a mere official or perfunctory utterance. It is a message fraught with momentous consequences, and is addressed to those who should be keenly alert to the faintest whisper of his voice and sensitively responsive to his gentlest influence. For should it ever come to pass that the prophets and teachers of the Church become selfish and unspiritual the call of the Spirit will be unheard or disobeyed. Once and again this very thing has occurred. When the voice of God was heard from heaven saying, "This is my beloved Son, hear ye him," an unspiritual Church angrily retorted, "Not this man, but Barabbas." In the sixteenth century the Holy Spirit said, "Separate me Martin Luther for the work whereto I have called him;" and had the prophets and teachers listened, the result might have

been a regenerated Christendom. But they knew not the day of their gracious visitation. They "separated" the messenger whom God had summoned, indeed, not with fasting and prayer, as did the Church at Antioch, but with excommunication and anathema, thus affording unanswerable proof to all the ages that the Church of Rome, as such, is not a true Church of Christ. Again, in the eighteenth century, the Holy Spirit said, "Separate me John Wesley for the work whereunto I have called him;" and had the prophets and teachers of that period listened and obeyed, Methodism, as a distinct organization, might have been entirely unnecessary, while the Church of England, leavened from center to circumference with spiritual life, would have become the great evangelizing force of the after ages. But instead of recognizing the voice of the Holy Spirit she denounced it as the voice of the tempter. She moved her bishops to prohibit Wesley from preaching in her pulpits, and sent mobs to assail him when he preached by the wayside or in the fields. She forbade him to "preach in the prisons, lest he should make men wicked, and in bedlam, lest he should make them mad." And to-day, although she garnishes the tomb of the prophet whom her fathers sought to slay, she gives but cold entertainment to the great principles for which Wesley contended, and ranks the millions of his spiritual children only as heretics or schismatics. But let us beware lest at any time we fall into the same condemnation, either by sending forth any whom the Holy Spirit hath not chosen, or by failing to send those to whom an undoubted summons has come.

Furthermore, the call came to a Church that was spiritually prepared. "As they ministered to the Lord, and fasted, the Holy Spirit said, Separate me Barnabas and Saul." The word translated "ministered" indicates that the Church, or at all events the prophets and teachers, were engaged in acts of worship; and as the worship was associated with fasting we may safely conclude that some question of very grave moment was occupying their thoughts, for fasting with these primitive Christians was by no means a perfunctory observance. When they fasted it was because their deep sense of humiliation, their profound consciousness of need, their longing for some spiritual gift, was so strong and overmastering that it took away all desire for customary indulgences. It is by no means improbable that the

minds of these prophets and teachers were deeply exercised with thoughts of the great commission and the means whereby it could be carried into effect; and, looking for specific heavenly guidance, "they ministered to the Lord and fasted."

Let us direct attention to one other point in connection with this call to the Church. It was a choice of two men whose gifts had already been tried and proved in Christian service. And this proving of the gifts is far more important than the quality of the gifts themselves. If it please God to call men having large gifts, the Church should thankfully accept the boon; but as matter of fact he calls, far more frequently, men of common gifts. The treasure of the Gospel is put into "earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God." In Paul himself we have a conspicuous example. His letters, it is true, are weighty, but his bodily presence was weak and his speech contemptible And if one casts his eye over the Church to-day he will find that in all that pertains to the true work of God, the conversion of men and their upbuilding in holiness, the largest harvests have been gathered by men of ordinary gifts who have learned the lesson that "five barley cakes and two small fishes," with Christ's consecrating blessing upon them, will feed a great multitude, when the richest and most abundant viands, without that blessing, will utterly fail.

The call of Barnabas and Saul having been to some extent treated in the preceding pages, it will be less necessary to enlarge upon the circumstances of their ordination; but a brief review of the situation will help to a clear idea of what that ordination involved. These two men were already recognized as prophets and teachers in the Church at Antioch. To this ministry they had been called by the Holy Ghost; and other appointment had they none, so far as we can learn, beyond the recognition by the Church of their gifts and usefulness and the reality of their divine call. One thing seems clear—none of the apostles were directly concerned in the matter. It is true that Barnabas had been sent by the Church at Jerusalem to visit the Church at Antioch, and the apostles may have been concerned in that; but so far as the record shows none of them had ever visited Antioch in the exercise of their apostolic office, nor was any commission, mandate, or other authority sent by them, that we know of, for the setting apart of either Barnabas or Saul as

an evangelist to the Gentiles. But was not Saul himself an apostle? and was not he concerned in the matter? Truly he was called to be the apostle of the Gentiles, but not until after he was set apart as a missionary to the heathen did he exercise the authority of an apostle; nor had his apostleship been recognized in the churches, either by the other apostles or by the congregations of Christians generally. But some one may say, "From what we know of apostolic teaching and practice may we not assume that Saul had been formally authorized by the other apostles to ordain elders or presbyters in the Church of God?" We unhesitatingly answer that in matters of historic fact, especially as connected with the constitution of the Church of Christ and the authority of its ministers, we may "assume" nothing; nor may we infer anything beyond what the record clearly justifies. The early corruption of Christian faith and the prevalence of unscriptural dogma and practice arose from unwarrantable assumptions that were not matters of revelation or of divine command. If anyone can speak with authority in regard to this matter surely it is Paul himself; and he goes out of his way to affirm that neither his gospel, his authority, nor his apostleship were received from man, but by revelation from Jesus Christ. If confirmation of this view is needed the first two chapters of Paul's letter to the Galatians affirm that his call to preach among the Gentiles did not follow from conference with flesh and blood.

The manner of the setting apart of Barnabas and Saul deserves at least a passing notice. "They," that is, the prophets and teachers, "fasted and prayed, and laid their hands upon them and sent them away." Nothing could be more simple or more significant. The fasting which accompanied their previous waiting upon God was continued, showing how deeply important was the act they were performing and how intense was their desire for the Holy Spirit's guidance and blessing. They also prayed; and the subject-matter of their prayers may be readily inferred. Then they laid their hands on them and sent them away, even as the Holy Ghost had commanded.

But it may be said that all this was not an ordination to the ministry in the sense in which we understand the term, nor even in the sense in which it was understood in apostolic times—it was only the setting apart to a special work of two men who

were already ministers of the word, and who perhaps were ordained to that office before. To which it may be answered, "What is ordination to-day but the setting apart to a special work of men whose gifts and graces as ministers of the word have already been proved in service and recognized by the Church? Or what is ordination in any case or for any purpose but a similar setting apart—an appointment to a work or an induction to an office?" And these two questions suggest another, namely, "Should any man be set apart, at the call of the Holy Ghost, to any office or work in the Church of God by anything less impressive than fasting and prayer and the imposition of hands?" Surely, the act of separation should be invested with all possible solemnity, from which we should not be deterred by fears of ministerial autocracy. There is reason to fear that, in our anxiety to keep as far away as possible from hierarchical assumptions, we may model the Church after the fashion of a political democracy rather than according to the pattern shown us in the mount; and that, in avoiding the Scylla of official prerogative and ministerial inequality, we may rush into a Charybdian whirlpool of confusion, where intrigue shall take the place of prayer and fasting, and the gravest concerns of the Church of God shall be decided by votes rather than by the voice of the Holy Ghost.

Concerning the laying on of hands a word may be said. This symbolical act has come down from very ancient times. Under the Old Testament dispensation it was employed in connection with some of the Jewish sacrifices, as when the priests laid their hands upon the head of the animal designed for a burnt offering or upon the head of the scapegoat that was to be sent into the wilderness. In these cases it was symbolical of the transfer of guilt or its penalty from the transgressor to the victim. In the consecration of the Levites the people put their hands upon them, which act symbolized the setting apart of a whole tribe to the service of the tabernacle; while in other cases it symbolized the transfer of authority, as when Moses was commanded to lay his hands on Joshua and to put his honor upon him in the presence of the congregation. In New Testament times the same act reappears, with increased impressiveness and significance. In the course of the Master's ministry we hear of it in connection with the healing of

the sick, as when the ruler said, "My little daughter lieth at the point of death: I pray thee, come and lay thy hands on her, that she may be healed." And among the "signs" which Jesus declared should follow them that believe is this: "They shall lay their hands on the sick, and they shall recover." Among the apostles the act was associated with the bestowment of the Holy Ghost. When Paul found certain disciples of John the Baptist at Ephesus he baptized them in the name of the Lord Jesus, and when he laid his hands on them the Holy Ghost came upon them. When Peter and John visited the infant church at Samaria "they prayed for them, that they might receive the Holy Ghost;" and the record adds, "Then laid they their hands on them, and they received the Holy Ghost." But it must not be supposed that God is limited to this one channel of communication, for in the house of Cornelius, while Peter was yet preaching, the Holy Ghost, without imposition of hands, fell on all them that heard the word. It is worthy of note, also, that while the power of working miracles was not confined to the apostles—for great signs followed the preaching of Philip the deacon in Samaria—we have no account that the Holy Ghost was ever given in connection with the laying on of hands, save when that act was performed by the apostles themselves; and it appears to have been only on rare occasions that they exercised the prerogative.

In the ordination of men to work or office in the Church the imposition of hands seems to have been universal; and, in some cases, perhaps in many, when performed by the apostles, it was concurrent with the bestowment of special gifts of the Holy Ghost. Thus Paul, in his first letter to Timothy, exhorts him, saying, "Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery;" while in the second epistle, referring to the same circumstance, he says, "I put thee in remembrance, that thou stir up the gift of God, which is in thee by the putting on of my hands." What this particular gift was we are not informed, but it was foretold by prophecy, was bestowed at the time of the imposition of hands, and was a gift that needed to be stirred up if its usefulness was to continue. It is also to be noted that the other presbyters were usually associated with Paul in the laying on of hands; while at Antioch, when Barnabas and

Saul were sent forth, the act was performed by the prophets and teachers alone, and in it none of the apostles had any share. Neither does it appear that any particular gift was bestowed on this occasion, the men being already fully qualified by gifts and grace for the work they had to do. From all this we gather that, while the laying on of hands was an appropriate and expressive symbol in connection with ordination to a particular work, there was no supernatural virtue in the act itself; and, although it pleased God in some instances to bestow a special gift upon one who was being set apart, it had no necessary connection with the act of ordination, but might be regarded as God's attesting witness that the apostles were acting under divine inspiration in all they did or taught.

But when the apostles had all passed away, what then? Who are their successors? Read carefully the Acts of the Apostles and the epistles which they wrote, scan the history of the Church in the post-apostolic and following ages, and there can be but one answer. The apostles left no successors, either as regards the office itself or the particular gifts and powers that pertain to it. They were chosen witnesses of what Jesus did and taught. Especially were they witnesses to the great fact of his resurrection; and the supernatural powers bestowed upon them were necessary to attest the truth of what they taught and to vindicate their authority as infallible teachers in the Church of God. As witnesses, in the sense indicated, they could have no successors, and in other respects no successors were required. The apostolic office and mission were alike temporary, as were some of those special gifts vouchsafed to believers in those primitive times. "Whether there be prophecies," said Paul himself, "they shall fail; whether there be tongues, they shall cease." These will no longer be required; but the evangelist, the teacher, the pastor, yea, the prophet in the wider sense, if you will, and all that belongs to his office, will be needed and will be continued until the Gospel has been preached to all nations, and "the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ."

A. Sutherland

ART. VI.—DIVERSITY OF LANGUAGE AND NATIONAL UNITY.

THERE are those who consider language the strongest of all the various ties that bind a people into a body politic, and its influence for national unity the most efficient; and who, for this reason, would restrict a nation to a single form of speech and would have all dialects and discordant linguistic elements crowded out and replaced by the national idiom, or their influence at least contracted and neutralized by other forces, thinking that by this means the integrity of the nation will be best secured.

The fallacy of this reasoning is clearly illustrated in the history of Europe. Do all the people in Europe speaking the same language belong to the same political organization? And do the inhabitants of any one country, as a rule, use but one form of speech? During how many centuries have not the Germans been politically divided into an infinity of kingdoms, principalities, and independent States, in spite of their common official language! Of late we have heard much about a united Germany. But are all those speaking the German tongue now gathered under one scepter? What about the millions of Germans in Austria, Switzerland, Russia, Belgium, Holland, and the several smaller principalities? Even the speech of any one German State is not absolutely homogeneous. The official, the literary, language differs in every instance from the language of the common people as spoken in their homes. Millions of the subjects of the King of Prussia use a language in their daily intercourse which is as different from that used in the legislative assemblies as the Scottish of the Lowlands is from the English of Macaulay. What a variety of dialects and accent does the traveler encounter in going from the Baltic to the Alps!

France is another illustration. For centuries France has imposed its speech on the educated of all Europe. French was and still is the language of diplomacy, and is spoken by the higher classes everywhere. But France has not been able to impose it upon its own subjects as the uniform medium of daily intercourse. In the south, where formerly the Provençal

flourished, the population speak dialects and *patois* more or less intelligible to the inhabitants of the north. In the western part an entire province still speaks the Breton, a language belonging to the Celtic stock and having about as much similarity to French as the latter has to German. In Savoy and several other departments in the southeast, Italian dialects still prevail. Yet the government does not try to crush out these discordant forms of speech nor fear its safety may be endangered because of their existence. We do not hear that the Breton and the Provençal are not loyal citizens, or are less proud of their nationality than the native of Champagne or Touraine. When Alsace and Lorraine were provinces of France, German was spoken in the eastern part, yet the majority of the inhabitants of these provinces were French in sentiment, in spite of their German affinities and language. This was, of course, generally denied by German writers, but they are not to be considered reliable authorities in the case.

In Switzerland as many as four different languages are spoken, yet this diversity of speech is not considered a barrier to national unity. The Swiss is a patriot, whether he be of Germanic or Romanic descent; whether he live on the shores of the beautiful Leman, or among the lakes across whose crystal waters the arm of Tell once guided his boat; whether he have made his home in the sunny vales of Ticino, or among the snowclad mountain crags of hyperborean Grisons. England does not fear political disruption because Wales and the Scottish Highlands speak Celtic, nor is patriotism on the increase in Ireland now that English has crowded the old Erse to the wall. The political animosity of Erin is not caused by dissimilarity of language, nor will it be cured by homogeneity of speech. Did the American colonies hesitate to declare their independence and to sever the ties that bound them to the mother country because the same language was spoken by the parent and the offspring? In Canada the process of national unification has been but partial; but this is not so much due to the fact that two languages are spoken by the inhabitants as to the difference in their religious code. Were the French Canadians Protestants there would be more prospect for their assimilation; the difference in culture and progress between the two principal sections of the country would not continue

long. There are very few civilized States that present to us the spectacle of absolute homogeneity in language. Even in so small a political organization as Belgium there are three distinct races—the Walloons, who are partly of Celtic extraction; the Flemings, who are of Germanic origin; and the French. In consequence three languages are spoken by the people.

Religion is a much more potent factor in the preservation of national unity than language. This is clearly illustrated in the political history of Europe. It was not diversity of language which caused those terrible civil wars that at various times devastated entire countries, but religious animosity. History teaches that of all the various ties that bind a people into a body politic language is one of the weakest. The great Roman empire, during its most flourishing period, was composed of a congeries of peoples and races of different origins and speaking divers languages. The same was true of the great Persian empire. And the decline of these and other States was not due to a loose organization, the result of the heterogeneous elements composing the body politic, but to other causes, which had very little or nothing to do with language. To show, on the other hand, that similarity of race and language will not necessarily hold a nation together, I need only to point to Spain. There was a time when it was said that the sun continually shone on some part of the Spanish possessions. And yet Spain has lost all her colonies in South and Central America, though one common language bound them to the mother country.

Our own nation is still young and somewhat peculiar in its structure. It is composed of many discordant elements. In its veins pulsates the lifeblood of many peoples. Will this mass of foreigners, coming from every land and clime, speaking many languages, representing various races, and bringing with them views and habits not in harmony with our institutions, be permeated by our civilization and assimilated into our body politic? In other words, will they become good American citizens? That they may be so transformed is certainly the wish of every true patriot. What, then, are the best means to this end? Will it not be necessary to restrict these foreigners in the use of their native languages? Does not prudence dictate a course similar to that observed by the Czar of Russia toward the Poles and his German subjects in the Baltic

Provinces? Is the nation safe so long as half a dozen or more languages are spoken by the inhabitants in their homes and instruction is imparted to their children in those tongues, which, though dear to them, are nevertheless foreign to American soil? I answer with perfect assurance that no danger to the perpetuity of our institutions is likely ever to result from this cause. Without using coercion the assimilation of these heterogenous masses will be accomplished in a peaceful manner in due time, and much more readily than most of us are willing to admit. For every one of these imported languages can, under the existing circumstances, have but a short life in this country. So long as immigrants do not form extended settlements, spreading over entire counties or States, there is no possibility in these days of rapid intercourse that they will intrench themselves to such an extent as to ward off the leavening influences of our intense national life. The railroad, the telegraph, and the public school are the great levelers. At present it would be simply impossible for any large body of foreigners to isolate themselves so completely from the rest of the community as did the Germans in the valleys of Pennsylvania a hundred years ago. Besides, parents who have the welfare of their children at heart will not prevent them from acquiring the English language, by means of which alone they can hope to rise to positions of influence and usefulness in their adopted country. Hence, if from feelings of reverence a large percentage of our naturalized fellow-citizens be prompted to bequeath to their offspring the language which they cannot but love because its tones have been music to them since infancy, we as a nation have morally no right to forbid this so long as these people help to support the public school and their attitude toward it is friendly. Even monarchical Germany is tolerant in matters pertaining to education. Though it compels parents to send their children to school, it allows them the choice between the public and the private institutions. It does not interfere with the consciences of its subjects. Nor should we as a free nation, who are proud of our liberal institutions, wish to interfere with what is sacred to every human being—his religion and his language.

As stated above, these foreign idioms can at best have but a short life among us. Even the German tongue, the prospects of

which are the fairest of all, will eventually die out on American soil unless immigration should continue unabated, which is not at all probable. This opinion is general among the Germans themselves. The children of parents who came across the ocean are learning English very rapidly. No power can prevent them from doing so. At the same time they are also becoming Americanized. Experience proves that already the second generation is more American in habits and modes of thinking than foreign, while the third generation, as a rule, has almost forgotten the language of its ancestors. No imported language can hereafter have such a hold on life as the German had in Pennsylvania and the French in Louisiana. The days of narrow provincialism and seclusion are forever past.

In conclusion, let the public school be supported and made accessible to all children; under no circumstances let there be any division of the school funds; let education be compulsory in every State; let the ability to read English be made a condition of citizenship, and the nation can consider itself safe so far as linguistic influences are concerned. The time will come when there will be but one language spoken in the homes throughout the land—the English. No human agency can prevent it. In the meanwhile, as the process of amalgamation is going on let all parties keep their temper and abstain from harsh and radical measures. If parents of foreign birth wish to send their children to private schools supported by themselves, where they can be instructed not only in the English language but also in those things which they consider necessary to spiritual welfare, let them do so. It is not prudent, generous, or in conformity with the spirit of our institutions, least of all is it necessary as an act of self-preservation, to prevent these parents from adopting such a course.

Victor Wilker.

Art. VII.—IDEAL COMMONWEALTHS.

The great longing of humanity for an ideal condition of society in which each and all shall be entirely freed from evil and fixed in possessive enjoyment of all good is a fact known and read of all men. Expectation associates itself with desire. The twain constitute hope, of which the pleasing objective is always future and distant. "We are saved by hope" (Rom. viii, 24)—the force which moves the world and keeps all men busy, which in this checkered and troublous life evokes and invigorates all energies in the pursuit of fullest contentment, and which fortifies with invincible patience in the endurance of temporary suffering that shall be followed by eternal peace and gladness—the rest that remaineth for the people of God.

This longing for individual and social perfection is singularly connected with indistinct memories of such blessedness once enjoyed, but lost somehow in the misty long ago. Only in eldest oriental literature—Pentateuch and Hagiographa of Hebrew Semites—do they assume definite outlines. Genesis i and ii record the creation of man in the image of his Maker. The "breath of God and the dust of the earth," as Gregory Nazianzen remarks—the "immortal soul and mortal body" of Hermes Trismegistus—his very nature and constitution suggest the wondrous possibilities of his future (Gen. i, 28; Psalm viii, 5, 6; Job xxxii, 8) and the manifold felicities of his present,

> From different natures marvelously mixed,
> Connection exquisite of distant worlds.

Adam—man—is male and female; and this, the Hindoo version of creation says, through self-division of the Creator's "own substance, his mighty power." Scandinavian and Latin myths are to the same effect.

Eden, in which grew all that was pleasant and good and perpetuative of blissful life to its occupants (Gen. ii, 8, 9), is their assigned abode. The first of the four ages of the world, say the aboriginal Jains of Hindostan, is that in which men subsist on the fruit of ten celestial trees, are without kings, and "supremely happy." It corresponds with the golden age of the classic writers. The Zendavesta also records the great innocence and happiness of the primitive race in its elevated

residence. Hesiod, Greek father of didactic poetry, *circa* 900 B. C., in his *Works and Days* sings how

> They lived of old,
> When Saturn reigned in heaven, *an age of gold.*
> Like gods they lived with calm, untroubled mind,
> Free from the toil and anguish of our kind.

Ovid, the tuneful Latin genius, about A. D. 1, tells in his *Metamorphoses*, lib. i, that,

> *The golden age* was first; when man, yet new,
> No rule but uncorrupted reason knew,
> And with a native bent did good pursue.
> Unforced by punishment, unawed by fear,
> His words were simple, and his soul sincere.
> Needless was written law when none oppressed;
> The law of man was written in his breast.
> No suppliant crowds before the judge appeared,
> No court erected yet, nor cause was heard,
> But all was safe, for conscience was their guard.

Plato (*Politicus*) informs us that he had learned similar particulars from an ancient fable; and Dicæarchus, that the first men were of most excellent nature and lived most holy lives in universal felicity. The Satya age, or age of perfection, of the Brahmans was one of purity, plenty, philanthropy, praise, and prospect of celestial bliss when terrestrial probation expired.

What our race once was has left its traces in universal consciousness and world-wide literature. In primitive honor man did not abide. Genesis iii contains the tragic story of his fall, the promise of a redeemer, the expulsion from Eden, the hopelessness of return. Yet he has never wholly lost the memory of his former home. Tradition, fable, poetry, religion united to remind him of its simple happiness. The groves or the tree under which he worshiped recalled the refreshing coolness of paradisal shades and the vitalizing fruit from the "tree of life" (Gen. xxi, 33; Exod. xxxiv, 13). The Phœnician colony at Gades, now Cadiz, worshiped Hercules under the title of σωτήρ, or saviour, in a delightful consecrated garden from which "calamity-causing" woman was excluded. In Epirus, in Campania, in the Hesperidean garden, in the Elysian fields of classic poetry, were kindred reminiscences of the forfeited Eden. Apollo, lover of men and destroyer of the serpent Python; the Hindoo Krishna, with eye of divine compassion on the dead

multitudes poisoned by the horrible serpent Kalli Nager, setting his foot on the many heads of the monster, overwhelming him in combat, and then banishing him into the abyss; the Scandinavian Thor, whose mighty mace bruises the head of the great serpent which he finally slays at the cost of his own life, are distorted but pathetic symbols of the "seed" of the woman who should bruise the serpent's head.

The insatiate craving for personal and corporate perfectness is vocal, all through the crowding centuries, in politico-economic debates and in the proposal and discussion of projects for social betterment. Neither selfishness nor oppression utterly stills its outcry. Selfishness avidly grasps and holds whatsoever it may, unscrupulously disregardful of the rights and wishes of others. It hungers for power, aggrandizement, and luxuriation. In least offensive form it embraces family, clan, and nation, and shuts out all not of either from the sweep of its sympathies, except as they may minister to its lusts. It is furtive, tyrannous, and cruel. Ever disappointed, it aches and schemes with the underlying conviction that there is a better way to compass its deepest desires. The oppressed are certain there is. They also may be selfish and unjust. Yet sad experience forces upon them the belief that equity and altruistic beneficence are indispensable to the welfare of each and the whole. History is a vividly crimson photograph of their struggles for the rightful enjoyment of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and of reluctant concession on the part of privileged classes. Rome, France, Britain, and the United States of America are impressive illustrations. Through anguish, tears, and blood the people strive, by deliberate legislation, in which the need of infallible ethical guidance is touchingly confessed, to adjust relation to environment, to guard against recurrence of misery, and to reach that ideal constitution of society for which they purblindly yearn.

I. Imaginary constructions of society, built by basal, Edenic instinct and suited to the preferences of the architects, are among the choice treasures of literature. Plato, in his *Republic*, argues that it is the aim of the individual man, and also of the State, to be wise, brave, and temperate. In the State, he says, there are the three orders of guardians, auxiliaries, and producers. Of these wisdom is the special virtue of the first,

courage of the second, and temperance of all. As to the individual, wisdom belongs to his rational part, courage to his spirited, and temperance to his appetitive. In the State, as in the man, injustice disturbs their harmony. Socrates wished that he could see how such a commonwealth would work if once set in motion, but died without the sight.

II. Plutarch, writing near the close of the first century after Christ, painted an ideal commonwealth as the concreted conception of Lycurgus, the mythical Solon of Sparta. Chivalrously loyal to the right, and zealous chiefly for the health and strength of his native city, this noblest of the Heraclidæ studied the science and art of government in Crete, hygiene and Homer's poems in Ionia, and military organization in Egypt. Summoned by the Lacedæmonians to Sparta, and distinguished by the priestess of Apollo at Delphi as "beloved of the gods, and rather a god than a man," he remodeled the government by the institution of a senate of equal authority with the kings, which, while it tempered their imperiousness, also curbed the encroaching disposition of the people. He also introduced the *referendum*, or submission of legislation to the vote of the people for adoption or rejection, and rooted out the evils of insolence, envy, avarice, and luxury, and also those distempers of a State still more inveterate and fatal—poverty and riches—"by the cancellation of all former divisions of the land and the making of new ones, so that all might be perfectly equal in their possessions and way of living." Thenceforward those ambitious of distinction might seek it in virtue only. Next Lycurgus attempted to divide the movables, but was checked by an avarice which he circumvented by the substitution of iron for gold and silver money. This also helped him in the extrusion of unprofitable and superfluous arts. Commerce ended for lack of portable currency, and so did the traffic in lust, superstition, and vanity. But this loss was compensated by excellence of art in necessary things. Public tables—at which all ate in common of the same meat, and of such kinds as were appointed by law—completed the conquest of luxury and love of riches. The *menu* was not like Delmonico's. Each of fifteen persons at a table supplied monthly one bushel of meal, eight gallons of wine, five pounds of cheese, two and one half pounds of figs, and a little money to buy fish and flesh.

Lycurgus, himself an example of meekness and sterling morality, observed all his own ordinances. Children were introduced as into schools of sobriety and instructed in government, liberal breeding, and reticence.

Lycurgus published neither organic nor statutory laws in writing, but interwove their principles with the manners and culture of the citizens. Habit became common law. Frequent aggression upon the same enemy was inhibited, lest they too should become able warriors. Legislation was resolved into the education of youth. This was begun before the marriage of parents in physical training, in unquestionably immoral public exhibitions of dancing virgins, and in the incitement of young men who beheld the spectacle to matrimony. Lycurgus was the primal scientific stirpiculturist, and only less obnoxious to sound morals in his institution of abductive matrimony and illicit commerce of the sexes than John H. Noyes in the noisome Oneida Community. Children he regarded as less the property of their parents than of the State. If weakly and deformed, they were thrown into a deep cavern near Mount Taygetus. If vigorous and hardy, they were taught to despise fear, ill-humor, and crying. At seven years of age they were enrolled into companies and encouraged to fight with spirited firmness. At twelve they slept on beds of reeds, with a little thistledown added to the single garment of each to keep him warm in winter. Theft was the deft art that saved from starvation, and death was preferred to detection. Quick wit, sharp repartee seasoned with humor, concise and pithy speech, were *desiderata*. "And yet we can reach our enemies' hearts with them," was the defense of short swords by Agis. "Go and first make trial of it in thy own family," was the advice that voiced the objection of Lycurgus to popular government. He fortified Sparta with "a wall of men instead of brick." Poetry and music were equally laconic after their kind. Only in campaigns were the Spartans dudish in costume, indulgent in diet, and gentle in discipline. Men of mature years lived not for themselves, but for their country. None could exercise any mechanic trade; that was devolved upon the enslaved Helots. Contempt of the worthless, facetiousness, public spirit, ambition to be wisest and best among the good and wise, and intense patriotism were prominent characteristics;

and so was the cowardly practice of ambuscading and murdering the defenseless Helots.

Stern beauty and greatness undoubtedly inhered in this hypothetical government; ugliness and littleness were no less distinctive of it. Gold and silver were in the statue, but clay was the largest component. "Rather by the obedience of subjects" than by the rule of kings did Sparta endure for a while. The diabolism of cruelest selfishness was in its relations to the enslaved; nor was this vice altogether absent from commerce among themselves and their attitude toward their compeers. As a philosophic dream this unique commonwealth is of abiding interest; as a concrete working theory of the way in which humanity may achieve its highest evolution and deepest satisfaction it is a wretched failure. Yet it is the best that philosophic heathenism could produce.

III. Vastly better in ethics, structure, and results, because of the incorporation of professedly Christian elements, is the *Utopia* of Sir Thomas More, written in the years 1515-16, when the rickety edifice of Roman Catholicism in the British Isles was crumbling into ruins. The disorders of the times compelled thought on meliorative methods and on the discrepancy between what was and what ought to be. This *brochure* represents ideal society, as imagined by the author and described by the sage traveler, Raphael Hythloday. The commonwealth of Utopia was in startling contrast with that of England. The veiled mockery of its description precluded publication while Henry VIII lived. Erasmus commended the perusal of it as acquainting with the true source of all political evils.

Utopia—"nowhere"—is said to be a crescent-shaped island five hundred miles in shore length and two hundred miles broad in the middle, situated somewhere south of the equator. It is a beautiful and fertile land whose principal inhabitants are very unlike a great number of noblemen in England, "that are themselves as idle as drones, that insist on other men's labor, on the labor of their tenants, whom, to raise their revenues, they pare to the quick," and thus drive into the menacing standing army or cast out into the highways; where, perforce, they became desperate criminals in such numbers that the groaning gibbets could scarcely sustain the bodies of those condemned to death. These same noblemen (essentially unchanged at the close of the

nineteenth century) estopped agriculture, razed houses and towns to make pasturage, and, by ill usage, forced small freeholders to sell their acres and household goods at bankrupt prices. Sports, gambling, and drunkenness only aggravated the general distress. Religion and worship were matters of kingly caprice. The brutal Tudor would tolerate none of any kind differing from that which he professed. Dissent was crushed by imprisonment, torture, confiscation, and death. He was Church and State in one, and over both his will—variable as his foul lusts—held supreme sway. Sir Thomas More himself fell a victim to Henry's ferocious tyranny; yet not before he had accomplished, by the composition of *Utopia*, a work whose actual social energy will be lasting as his own brilliant memory. In it the lust of conquest, burdensome standing armies, debasement of the currency, iniquitous taxation, dispensing with legal inhibitions for great compositions, mercenary judiciary, divine right of kings to do as they please, religious bigotry and persecution, and avoidable poverty are all denounced with exquisite irony and resistless force. For much of all this evil aggregate the preachers, who should have publicly proclaimed what Christ taught in secret, are severely blamed. They displayed the craft of Machiavelian politicians; "for they, observing that the world would not willingly suit their lives to the rules that Christ has given, have fitted his doctrine as if it had been a leaden rule to their lives, that so, some way or other, they might agree with one another." It was different with the Utopians, "among whom all things were so well governed, and with so few laws; where virtue hath its due reward, and yet there is such an equality that every man lives in plenty."

More in this famous study figures as a Christian socialist, who sees that "the setting all upon a level is the only way to make a nation happy, which cannot be obtained as long as there is private property." Whence, he is persuaded that "till property is taken away there can be no equitable or just distribution of things, nor can the world be happily governed; for as long as that is maintained the greatest and far best part of mankind will be still oppressed with a load of cares and anxieties." To this end he would limit the acquisitions of wealth and prevent the establishment of government by the rich and for the rich, with all its concomitant evils.

His ideas of civil government are embodied in the constitution of Utopia, each of whose fifty-four cities annually sends three of its wisest senators to Amaurot, the capital, to consult about their common concerns. Its organization is of geometrical precision. Citizens reside in town and country alternately. Country families are of not less than forty persons, "besides two slaves," and over every thirty families is a magistrate. Husbandmen are model farmers and raise "an infinite multitude of chickens" by artificial incubation. Amaurot is an equalized Philadelphia, with narrow streets, uniform buildings, flat roofs, and fruitful rear gardens. Every thirty families yearly choose a magistrate called the philarch, every ten philarchs an archphilarch, and all the philarchs or syphogrants the prince. The latter is chosen secretly, on the ground of special fitness for office, and for life. The archphilarchs, or tranibors, are his legislative council, and debate every public measure for three days before reaching a conclusion. Nothing is debated on the day it is proposed. They sleep before discussing it, and thus avoid hasty and ill-considered decisions.

All the Utopians are workers. Every family makes its own clothes; trades pass generally by descent; six hours *per diem* are allotted to work, eight to sleep, and ten to study and recreation. All have abundant provision, for there is neither idleness nor luxury among them. Mental and æsthetic culture is rich, varied, and thorough. Learned men are exempt from manual labor and furnish national ambassadors to foreign powers. Surplus laborers are sent out to mend the highways, and thus to perfect the means of intercommunication. "Great obedience" to parents is a common trait. Swarming population is colonized in foreign nations claiming more soil than is cultivated, whether the natives consent thereto or not, "since every man has by the law of nature a right to such a waste portion of the earth as is necessary for his subsistence"—a *dictum* dear to the heart of Henry George. Wives serve their husbands, children their parents, "and always the younger serves the elder." As in Bellamy's new Boston, every family is supplied at the public stores with what it needs, "without either paying for it or leaving anything in exchange." This is as it ought to be, for there is enough for all, and the Rev. Dr. McGlynn agrees with Sir Thomas More, that it is "the fear of want

that makes any of the whole race of animals either greedy or ravenous." Markets are public. In the extramural abattoirs killing is done by slaves. Repasts in the public halls are common. The sick and injured are lodged and cared for in public hospitals like Bellevue, and those ill of infectious diseases are isolated in buildings like those of North Brother's Island or Sandy Hook, so that there is no danger of spreading contagion. Slaves perform all uneasy and sordid services. The sexes are seated opposite to each other at the public tables, and separate tables accommodate children and nurses. Old men are held in special honor, and entertain while they educate juniors by their talk. Proficients in the fine art of feeding, "they never sup without music, and there is always fruit served up after meat. While they are at table some burn perfumes and sprinkle about fragrant ointments and sweet waters; in short, they want nothing that may cheer up their spirits. They give themselves a large allowance that way, and indulge themselves in all such pleasures as are attended with no inconvenience."

Liberty of movement is regulated by law, no mercy is shown to tramps, and "there are no taverns, no alehouses, nor stews among them"—a condition of things that the Rev. Dr. Parkhurst and all good prohibitionists would be glad to witness in the city of New York. Surplus in one part of the island supplements scarcity in another. Wealth, represented by bonds of foreign communities, is Utopian property with which mercenaries are hired in foreign warfare. Gold, silver, and precious stones find uses in the arts, as playthings for children, and as badges of slavery and marks of infamy.

Of trifling logical forms the Utopians know nothing, but of astronomy and the exact sciences they know much. Moral philosophy evokes all their mental powers. Man's happiness, they say, is chiefly, if not wholly, in pleasure; and this they prove by arguments drawn from the principles of religion, as well as from natural reason—but the pleasure must always be good and honest. The religious principles held by them are such as might be taught in all the public schools of modern civilization, namely, the being and government of God, the immortality of the soul, happiness the end of being, personal responsibility to God, and rewards and punishments in and after this life. Self-love is the principle that measures the treatment

of others. Hence the Utopians are courteous, wise, humane, intellectual, pious, and upright. Health is prized as the greatest of bodily pleasures, and the "witness of a good conscience" as the highest of all mental delights. They are scholarly, erudite, critical, and cosmopolitan in knowledge.

Slaves are prisoners captured in battle, criminals, or voluntary hirelings. All, by good and faithful works, may earn freedom. Death is not feared, but is often sought in economic suicide. Uncleanliness is condignly punished, marriage fostered, and uncommon—if not indecent—pains taken to ascertain the perfect healthfulness of both parties to the contract. Divorce is granted only because of insufferable perverseness or adultery, in which latter case both parties to the crime are doomed to slavery. Capital punishment is not practiced, nor do penalties fail to be graduated by the nature and circumstances of offenses. Positive purpose to commit crime is punishable as the crime itself. Love of virtue is stimulated by public honors, and aspiration to office is frustrated by certain defeat. Of lawyers, considering them "as a sort of people whose profession it is to disguise matters and to wrest the laws," they have none. Every man, as his own lawyer, is supposed to know his duty. In international relations "they think leagues are useless things, and believe that if the common ties of humanity do not knit men together the faith of promises will have no great effect." Wars are waged only for the redress of overt or covert wrongs, and in these wars women are trained to take part in case of necessity. All warriors are volunteers. Retaliation primarily takes the form of embargo on trade, and never of violence more than sufficient to enforce justice. Peace is won and maintained by subsidizing friends among the enemy. Intrenchments, bayonets, masked batteries, and godly chaplains are favorite instruments in active operations. The least injury possible is done to the property of enemies, whose country is made the seat of war and who are compelled to reimburse expenses by payment of indemnity as one of the terms of peace.

Religions are many, widely differentiated, and equal before the law. All the Utopians are theists in process of emancipation from superstition, and most are Christian socialists. Religious profession and worship are free, ministers of religion are possessed of authority conferred simultaneously with

providential call to work, and atheists are never raised "either to honor or offices," or employed "in any public trust." The citizens think, as John Wesley was inclined to do, that "the souls of beasts are immortal," burn the bodies of their fellow-men, and believe that the spirits of the good may be and are in our company. They despise auguries and scorn divination; are practical brothers and sisters of charity (*Brutheskas*) and the widest of broad churchmen. In church theory and administration they resemble the Methodist Episcopalians, impart accurate ethical instruction to children, and utilize the services of women as "deaconesses" and even as ordained priests. All of both sexes in the latter class enjoy the "benefit of clergy." Worship is by the sexes seated apart, and is confessional, supplicative, and thankful. Symbolism is of purely spiritual things, and Sabbath observance of the best Roman Catholic type.

While More regards Utopia as the only commonwealth that truly deserves the name, there are many things in it that he rather wishes than hopes to see adopted in government. Could he have lived to the present hour he would be amazed and exultant over the extent to which his *Utopia* adumbrated the future. It is one of the books of the ages—wonderfully influential on faith and morals. It initiates the movements that issue in religious and civil freedom, in the reform of criminal law, and in public provision for the poor when disabled from further labor. Yet, deeper study of another volume, from whose inspired pages he drew whatever is potential of good in his own, and the application of its teachings to individual and collective life will work out far greater marvels, marvels that will wholly satisfy the indestructible yearning of humanity for perfection of personal and social being.

IV. Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis*, published in 1629, posits his ideal commonwealth in the seas wherein Australia now exults in the flush of political youth. He presents science as the civilizer which binds man to man and as the leader of all ages, ranks, and classes into the knowledge and love of God. The *New Atlantis* is painted as a glorious island—Bensalem by native title—tenanted by godly Christians who are familiar with religious oaths, quarantine, hospitals, and hospitality, addicted to wholesome and generous diet, and still more conspicuously to the "study of the works and creatures of God." For the latter

they have an order called Salomon's House—"the noblest foundation that ever was upon the earth, and the lantern of this kingdom"—whose members seek exhaustive knowledge of the affairs and state of all countries, and "especially of the sciences, arts, manufactures, and inventions of all the world;" the end of their foundation being the "knowledge of causes and secret motions of things and the enlarging of the bounds of human empire, to the effecting of all things possible." What the "father of Salomon's House" enumerates as the preparations for, and instruments and achievements of, scientific research are those best known to the profound writer, who believed in the transmutation of species and also in perpetual motion. Bacon never finished his volume. What he has done is to give his readers a grave and imposing representation of an extremely pious nation of scientists, philosophers, artisans, and artists, who implored divine illumination upon their labors for "turning them into good and holy uses," and who thought that purely religious life developed the highest civilization.

V. Thomas Campanella, Bacon's compeer, was an Italian Dominican with eager appetite for knowledge. He thought that nature should be studied in her works rather than through books. His patriotism cost him twenty-seven years' imprisonment by the King of Spain. During this period he constructed his *Civitas Solis*, or City of the Sun. This is located in Taprobane, or Ceylon, and is built in seven concentric circles upon a high hill crowned by a skillfully artistic temple. The head of its government in temporal and spiritual affairs is Metaphysic; his assistants are Power, Wisdom, and Love. The first is the military ruler, the second presides over the liberal arts and sciences, the third is in charge of the people. The Virtues are the magistrates. Property is in common; so are the public tables and the women. Children are for the State. All are told off to work for about four hours every day. None are rich or poor, for all have enough; "and on this point they strongly recommend the religion of the Christians, and especially the life of the apostles." In war the citizens of *Civitas Solis* are just, brave, expert, and pious; in peace temperate, cleanly, and long-lived. Capital punishment is for treason or impiety. Laws are short and plain. Being superstitious astrologists, they hold many absurd notions, and in prayer ex-

press submission to the divine will, "as it seems best to God." Campanella's creation is of the same class as that of Bacon. It is a scheme of society projected by a solitary celibate scholar, who seems to have known less of Christ's teachings than of those of the philosophers. It reveals the precedent environment of the author, and shows, like all its predecessors, the tokens of outgrowth from that gnawing, unrestful desire for symmetrical and perfect being and for the individual and collective happiness, once possessed but now lost, for which humanity instinctively feels that it was made.

VI. This same desire has been and is operative in the establishment of socialistic communities on a smaller scale, of which we have so many examples in the United States, and grieves over their total or comparative failure. Many of these were organized by men of powerful intellect, like Robert Owen, Saint-Simon, and John H. Noyes, who liberally contributed to carry out their respective schemes. Owen devoted $300,000 of his private fortune to make his enterprise successful, and Saint-Simon sacrificed a brilliant career in the army. Great emphasis has been placed by the majority on the importance of universal education. Celibacy, as with the Shakers, has been an essential element in some of their systems; marriage, as with the Icarians, in others; and promiscuous intercourse, as with the communities at Oneida and Wallingford, in others. All are failures. Noyes, in his book on *American Socialisms*, gives a short history of no less than forty-seven. All the Communists in the United States number about five thousand, including children. In 1878 the whole were divided into seventy-two separate communities, each with an average of less than seventy persons. The aggregate capitalized wealth possessed by them was estimated by Charles Nordhoff at $12,000,000 (now about $20,000,000), and yet they are disheartening failures to the projectors. Brook Farm, in Massachusetts, founded by men and women distinguished for education and refinement, was a total failure. All others are either total or comparative failures. The undertakings of Saint-Simon, Fourier, Bazard, and Enfantin, in France, were tragic failures. So were those of Owen in England, and so have been the phalansteries of the Fourierians in this country. Bitter have been the despairing lamentations over the whole.

VII. Is, then, this irrepressible desire for fully rounded bliss

to flame forever in the burning heart of humanity? Is there no hope of satisfaction? Profound and eager thinkers, philanthropists, and men of push and pluck reply strenuously in the negative. They stand ready to repeat, in newer forms, the daring experimentation of their predecessors. Like coral insects, building up the reef that eventually will rise above the waves to be kissed by the sun, fertilized by the flora, and converted into semblance of paradise, so these are content to aim and toil and die without attaining the objective of exertion, but hopeful that successors, building on the results of their lives, will justify the wisdom of their deeds and sacrifices. Of this resourceful and daring class Dr. Theodor Hertzka, a leading Viennese economist, and author of *Freeland—A Social Anticipation*, is an example. His publication immediately evoked desire in Germany and Austria to put his views into practice. In many of the large towns and cities persons of all classes organized local societies for this purpose, and these have been united under the title of the International Freeland Society. At the first plenary meeting of this body in March, 1891, it was announced that a suitable tract of land in British East Africa, between Mount Kenia and the coast, had been placed at its disposal. It was hoped that the actual formation of a Freeland colony would not be delayed long, and the intention was to apply to the British government for the guarantee of non-interference with the development of Freeland institutions.

Freeland is a purely secularistic attempt to solve the darkest problem of modern times in the world's economic and social order. Splendid advances of art and science have brought the unlimited forces of nature into subjection, production is of inexhaustible abundance, and yet not a single human woe has been mitigated. At least John Stuart Mill says so. Increasing facility in the production of wealth brings misery and ruin in its train. Science hitherto has stood helpless and perplexed in presence of this hard problem, whose solution, according to Dr. Hertzka, has been sought in a wrong direction:

> The solution of the social problem is not to be sought in the discovery of an *absolutely good* order of society, but in that of the *relatively best;* that is, of such an order of human institutions as best corresponds to the temporary conditions of human existence. The existing arrangements of society call for improvement, not because they are out of harmony with our longing for an abso-

lutely good state of things, but because it can be shown to be possible to *replace* them by others more in accordance with the contemporary conditions of human existence.

What these other possible arrangements of society may be is exhibited in the history and progress of the imaginary Freeland republic, established "on the basis of perfect liberty and economic justice; a community which, while it preserves the unqualified right of every individual to control his own actions, secures to every worker the full and uncurtailed enjoyment of the fruits of his labor." Central Africa, with its genial climate, rich and unappropriated lands, and manifold resources, is selected for the location of the colony. The composite colonists are duly settled therein. Exclusive right of property in occupied land is not recognized, either in the individual or in the community. For agriculture and for productive purposes generally self-governing associations are formed, of which each member shares the profits in proportion to his contribution to the common labor of the body. Anyone may join any association and may leave it when he pleases. Action is freely permitted so long as it does not infringe upon the rights of others. Capital for production, without payment of interest, is furnished to producers out of the common revenue, but must be returned by the producer. All persons incapable of labor, and also women, have the right to a competent allowance for maintenance out of the revenue of the commonwealth, which "belongs as much to the weak and helpless as to the strong and capable." Public revenue for all purposes is provided by a tax levied upon net income.

Space precludes more than the briefest glances at the romantic expedition which inaugurates this new arrangement of social order. It is amply provided with necessary material; is reinforced by the accession of an American lady, rich and beautiful, young and practical; obeys the orders of its leader with military precision; defeats and conciliates hostile natives; and reaches its goal at the feet of "Kenia in all the icy magnificence of its glacier world." Eden Vale is chosen as the new home. Agriculturists, artisans, mechanics, and miners soon make it a commodious, wealthy, and happy abode. Roads are constructed, and the colony's steamer service brings in multitudinous immigrants. Elephants and buffaloes are converted into beasts of burden and domestic cattle. Public officials are legislative and

administrative. Adult suffrage, without discrimination of sex, is universal. Of business secrets there are none. The contribution of each citizen to public purposes is in proportion to his income. Education is liberal, without cost to pupils, and teachers are highly paid. Exploitation of and injustice to labor are unknown. Canals, aqueducts, and railroads of immense length and usefulness are thoroughly constructed. Gold from native mines is plentiful, is the measure of value in foreign commerce, and also in domestic exchanges, wherein it is represented only by checks and written orders. All the conveniences and luxuries of Bellamy's future Boston are at command of the happy Freelanders. Its science, philosophy, art, literature are equaled by those of the African republic. Drunkards are few, and always of the newcomers. War with the aggressive Abyssinians quickly ends in the rout of the latter. Army and navy of the Freelanders are fearless and irresistible. Both sexes are at liberty to smoke, and women free to court mates for themselves. Sunday is a day for singing and dancing—not religiously, however. Care is an utter stranger, for all "possess the absolute certainty of continuing to be well off."

Other nations seek counsel from Freeland on the modification of their own institutions, and with a view to similar prosperity. Therefore a representative congress of all nations is invited to assemble at Eden Vale. Sixty-eight accept the invitation. In the six days of discussion that ensue all exemplify the catholic longing for perfection of nature and of bliss. Some insist that it can be realized only through obedience to the instructions and imitation of the example of Jesus of Nazareth, that he is the ideal social reformer, and that "Christ rejected wealth only because it had its source in exploitation." Opponents concede that his teaching differs in no essential point from that which is practically carried out in Freeland, and wish to make it the common property of the world. The debate is a symposium of advanced opinions on economic and political questions. Christ is honored as the great Teacher, whose instructions have been and still are woefully misunderstood and misapplied. Not with all things that are said of him can his evangelical disciples fully agree, but with the conclusion that only in and through him Edenic conditions can be restored to the individual and to the mass of society they are in entire accord.

VIII. This pathetic, restless aspiration for perfect goodness of being and relation is to be satisfied in a future beyond secular time. Dr. Hertzka is right in the confident opinion that "we are standing on the threshold of a new and happier age." But, whatever of nearest approximation to the highest ultimate possibilities of our race that new and happier age may bring, it will be only the prophecy and providential pledge of the new heavens and earth in which dwelleth righteousness. Imperfection, sickness, death, will continue until Christ shall make all things new. Then nature and character will be perfect and felicity complete. Christian expectancy will be more than satisfied. The Creator never implanted desires for good in the Adamic heart without making provision for their legitimate gratification—

> Indulging every instinct of the soul,
> There where law, life, joy, impulse, are one thing.

The recent marvelous progress of society—through seasons of darkness, convulsion, pain, and grief—toward possible perfection is presumptive proof that the ultimate goal will be finally won. The infinite Father, by revelation of his mind and will through the long series of apostles and prophets, and more particularly through his incarnate Son, lovingly guides humanity in intelligent working toward the desired consummation. Approximation toward it is commensurate with the degree of personal and collective cooperation with the Father as revealed in Christ. How this is so cannot be discussed within the limits of this essay. Suffice it to say here that the kingdom of Messiah, or the ideal commonwealth, has been inaugurated for more than nineteen centuries, has slowly but surely spread throughout the earth, is winning more benignant victories than in any prior era, and is conferring the richest blessings upon mankind.

Richard Wheatley.

ART. VIII.—AN OLD POLITICAL SCANDAL—WERE CLAY AND ADAMS GUILTY OF BARGAIN AND INTRIGUE?

THE presidential election of 1824 was marked by many peculiar features. In the first place, all four of the candidates belonged to the same political party. They were Jeffersonian Republicans, or, as we should now call them, Democrats. The old Federalist Party of Washington, Hamilton, and John Adams had not been able to survive the suspicion of unpatriotic conduct which tainted its reputation during the War of 1812, though in Pennsylvania and a few of the other States it still managed to keep up a show of life.

In the second place, there was no uniformity as to the manner in which the candidates were brought out. For twenty years prior to that time it had been customary for the members of the federal Congress to resolve themselves into nominating conventions and to recommend suitable persons for the suffrages of their fellow-citizens. This custom, however, had gradually come to be very unpopular. The great body of the people, growing more and more democratic in their instincts and impulses, had reached the point at which they resented the idea of allowing "King Caucus," as the congressional conclave was derisively called, to determine who should be the nation's ruler. The last effort to use this once formidable "machine" was made February 14, 1824; but out of the two hundred and sixteen Republican congressmen who were entitled to be present only sixty-six actually availed themselves of the privilege. The rest were prudent men who foresaw the evil and hid themselves. The chief of the caucus managers was Martin Van Buren, who was by native instinct and acquired habit a trading politician. On his motion, and in the face of some slight demand for adjournment to another day, Mr. William H. Crawford, of Georgia, Secretary of the Treasury under Mr. Monroe, was nominated, receiving sixty-four of the total number of

NOTE.—In preparing this article, the author acknowledges indebtedness to Schurz's admirable biography of Henry Clay; to Parton's *Life of Andrew Jackson;* to Roosevelt's *Thomas H. Benton;* and, on disputed points, to Stiles's *Register*, 1820–1830, which is an original authority of the greatest value.

votes cast. Carl Schurz, in his *Life of Henry Clay*, measures Crawford thus:

> He was a man of imposing presence. He had filled several public stations of importance creditably enough, but in none of them had he rendered services so eminent as to entitle him to rank among the first order of statesmen. Still, he had managed to pass in those days as a great man. His was that temporary sort of greatness that appears in history as the reputation of a reputation.

As early as 1822 the Tennessee Legislature had put forward the name of General Andrew Jackson, that genuine son of Mars, who won immortal fame at the battle of New Orleans. This action created much merriment in the northeastern section of the country. But when, in the spring of 1824, it was indorsed by both the Federalists and the Republicans of Pennsylvania, it ceased to be regarded as a joke. In the meantime the legislatures of Kentucky, Louisiana, Ohio, and Missouri had declared for Henry Clay—"Harry of the West," as he was admiringly called by his loyal followers—the most fascinating and best loved man that ever figured in American politics. New England and the Northeast generally favored the candidacy of John Quincy Adams, whose qualifications lay in his unrivaled scholarship, his long experience as a statesman and diplomatist, and his unbending integrity; but who utterly lacked the personal qualities that draw and hold the masses.

The canvass that followed was most exciting and quite as abusive as any of more recent years. It early became evident that there would be no choice by the Electoral College; but this fact did not restrain the activity of the partisans of the various candidates. From the beginning Jackson gained on his competitors; and it is possible that if the election had been postponed for a few weeks he would have been chosen in the ordinary way. The exact result was not known until late in December. It turned out that Mr. Clay had received 37 electoral votes; Mr. Crawford, 41; Mr. Adams, 84; General Jackson, 99.

For the second time in the history of the republic, the choice of the chief magistrate devolved upon the House of Representatives. Of that body Henry Clay had been the speaker for thirteen years, and had demeaned himself with so much dignity, courtesy, and ability that no one of his official rulings had ever been reversed. His influence over his fellow-members was

very great. It was felt on all hands that he would, nevertheless—though he himself, not being one of the three foremost candidates, was now constitutionally ineligible—easily be able to play the part of a Warwick and name the successful man. Assiduous court was consequently paid him from every quarter. In a letter written from Washington on January 8, 1825, to Francis P. Blair, Sr., whom he then counted among his friends in Kentucky, he humorously describes the situation thus:

I am sometimes touched gently on the shoulder by a friend, for example, of General Jackson, who will thus address me: "My dear sir, all my dependence is upon you; don't disappoint us; you know our partiality was for you next to the hero, and how much we want a Western President." Immediately after a friend of Mr. Crawford will accost me: "The hopes of the Republican Party are concentrated on you; for God's sake preserve it. If you had been returned instead of Mr. Crawford every man of us would have supported you to the last hour. We consider you and him as the only genuine Republican candidates." Next a friend of Mr. Adams comes with tears in his eyes: "Sir, Mr. Adams has always had the greatest respect for you and admiration of your talents. There is no station to which you are not equal. Most undoubtedly you are the second choice of New England, and I pray you to consider seriously whether the public good and your own future interests do not point most distinctly to the choice which you ought to make." How can one withstand all this disinterested homage and kindness?

All these pains might have been spared. Mr. Clay's mind was already made up as to what he should do. Even before he left Kentucky for the capital he had told John J. Crittenden that he was resolved to vote for Mr. Adams; and early in December he had communicated the same information to Colonel Thomas H. Benton, who up to that time had been his ardent supporter. Not long after he wrote to Francis Brooke:

As a friend of liberty, and to the permanence of our institutions, I cannot consent, in this early stage of their existence, by contributing to the election of a military chieftain, to give the strongest guaranty that the republic will march in the fatal road which has conducted every other republic to ruin.

In the same strain he addressed Mr. Blair:

Mr. Adams, you know well, I should never have selected, if at liberty to draw from the whole mass of our citizens, for a President. But there is no danger in his elevation now, or in time to come. Not so of his competitor, of whom I cannot believe that killing

two thousand five hundred Englishmen at New Orleans qualifies for the various difficult and complicated duties of the chief magistracy.

These were not new views, originated by Mr. Clay to meet the occasion and to justify a questionable piece of conduct. They had been formed and expressed as far back as the time when he delivered his speech in Congress on General Jackson's lawless conduct in the Seminole war. It is not strange, therefore, that he declined to be governed by the action which the Kentucky Legislature presently took, requesting the members of Congress from the State to give their support to General Jackson. He had not been elected by the Legislature, and felt no responsibility to it. Perhaps, also, he entertained the same general opinion on the subject of instructions that, at a later day, led Mr. Lamar to stand up in the Senate chamber and vote for honest money in the teeth of a command from the Legislature of Mississippi to do otherwise.

When Mr. Clay's purpose became generally known the adherents of Mr. Crawford and of General Jackson utterly changed their attitude toward him. Finding they could not cajole, they undertook to frighten him; and at the last they had resort to an expedient of the most desperate character. On January 28 the following letter, purporting to have been written by a member of Congress from Pennsylvania, was published in the *Columbian Observer* of Philadelphia:

WASHINGTON, *January* 25, 1825.

DEAR SIR: I take up my pen to inform you of one of the most disgraceful transactions that ever covered with infamy the Republican ranks. Would you believe that men professing democracy could be found base enough to lay the ax at the very root of the tree of liberty! Yet, strange as it is, it is not less true. To give you a full history of this transaction would far exceed the limits of a letter. I shall, therefore, at once proceed to give you a brief account of such a bargain as can only be equaled by the famous Burr conspiracy of 1801. For some time past the friends of Clay have hinted that they, like the Swiss, would fight for those who pay best. Overtures were said to have been made by the friends of Adams to the friends of Clay, offering him the appointment of Secretary of State for his aid to elect Adams. And the friends of Mr. Clay gave the information to the friends of Jackson, and hinted that if the friends of Jackson would offer the same price they would close with them. But none of the friends of Jackson would descend to such mean barter and sale. It was not believed

by any of the friends of Jackson that this contract would be ratified by the members from the States which had voted for Clay. I was of the opinion, when I first heard of this transaction, that men professing any honorable principles could not, or would not, be transferred like the planter does his negroes or the farmer does his team of horses. No alarm was excited. We believed the republic was safe. The nation having delivered Jackson into the hands of Congress backed by a large majority of their votes, there was in my mind no doubt that Congress would respond to the will of the nation by electing the individual they had declared to be their choice.* Contrary to this expectation, it is now ascertained to a certainty that Henry Clay has transferred his interests to John Quincy Adams. As a consideration for this abandonment of duty to his constituents, it is said and believed, should this unholy coalition prevail, Clay is to be appointed Secretary of State. I have no fear on my mind. I am clearly of opinion we shall defeat every combination. The force of public opinion must prevail, or there is an end of liberty.

This rather lengthy document we give in full because no condensation could do it justice. In the *National Intelligencer* of February 1 Mr. Clay made a brief and stinging reply:

I have seen without any other emotion than that of ineffable contempt the abuse which has been poured upon me by a scurrilous paper published in this city, and by other kindred prints and persons, in regard to the presidential election. The editor of one of these prints, ushered forth in Philadelphia, called the *Columbian Observer*, for which I do not subscribe, and which I have never ordered, has had the impudence to transmit to me his vile paper of the 28th inst. In this number is inserted a letter, purporting to have been written from this city on the 25th inst. by a member of the House of Representatives belonging to the Pennsylvania delegation. I believe it to be a forgery; but if it be genuine I pronounce the member, whoever he may be, a base and infamous calumniator, a dastard and liar; and if he dare unveil himself and avow his name I will hold him responsible, as I here admit myself to be, to all the laws which govern and regulate men of honor.

The flourish in the last sentence about holding his unknown calumniator "responsible" meant, as everybody knew, an invitation to a duel. It sounds very ridiculous in our ears; but it seemed proper enough to our fathers fifty years ago. Dueling is, of course, a miserable anachronism; it was always a flagrant offense against good sense and good morals.

* The cool falsehood in this claim of a "majority" for General Jackson is amazing even in such a document.

On February 3 the capitol city was convulsed with inextinguishable laughter; for on that day Mr. George Kremer, an eccentric, ignorant, and uncouth member from Pennsylvania, whose chief distinction lay in the fact that he wore a curious old leopard-skin overcoat, avowed himself the author of the offensive contribution in the *Columbian Observer*, and added:

> In the meantime George Kremer holds himself ready to prove, to the satisfaction of unprejudiced minds, enough to satisfy them of the accuracy of the statements which are contained in that letter, to the extent that they concern the course and conduct of H. Clay.

To have challenged Kremer would have been absurd. Daniel Webster wrote to his brother Ezekiel: "Mr. Kremer is a man with whom one would think of having a shot about as soon as with your neighbor, Mr. Simeon Atkinson, whom he somewhat resembles." Clay saw that he had committed an egregious and ridiculous blunder in making a premature announcement of his bellicose intentions. He felt that for the time he was legitimate game for public amusement, and that the best he could do was to recover his position with the utmost possible dignity. He therefore on the same day arose in his place in the House and asked for an immediate and searching investigation into the truth or falsity of the charges that had been brought against him, and said that, emanating from such a source as they did, this was the only notice which he could take of them. After a debate of a day and a half a committee of seven, Messrs. Barbour, Webster, MacLane, Taylor, Forsyth, Saunders, and Rankin, was appointed. Kremer promptly professed his willingness "to meet the inquiry and abide the result." But he subsequently refused to appear before the committee, and sent instead a rambling document, claiming that he was responsible only to his constituents, and affirming that he would vindicate his integrity before "another tribunal." It was evident that he was a mere puppet in the hands of abler men, who had promised to furnish him with the necessary evidence to sustain his accusations against Mr. Clay, but were utterly unable to redeem their pledge. The probabilities are that his first letter was written by Senator John H. Eaton, of Tennessee, and his last by Samuel D. Ingham, of Pennsylvania. His recalcitrancy, of course, estopped investigation, and the committee reported that they could take no further steps.

One week later Mr. Adams was elected by the House of Representatives, receiving the votes of thirteen States. Three of these States, Kentucky, Ohio, and Missouri, had cast their electoral votes for Mr. Clay, and it was, no doubt, due to his influence that they now took the stand which they did. Within fifteen days Mr. Clay had accepted an invitation to be Secretary of State in Mr. Adams's cabinet. His nomination was sent to the Senate in the following March, and a mighty effort was made to defeat his confirmation. His enemies alleged that all they had said concerning him was now openly proven to be true, and that he had rendered himself utterly unworthy to fill so high a position. Once more he solicited the most painstaking inquiry into the facts, and averred himself ready to confront and disprove everything that looked like corruption upon his part. In spite of all the opposition that could be arrayed against him the Senate ratified his appointment by a vote of 27 to 15. Among those in the affirmative were Benton, Van Buren, and Harrison; and among those in the negative were Hayne, John Randolph—who had already sneered at "the coalition between Blifil and Black George, the Puritan and the blackleg"—John H. Eaton, and, of course, General Jackson.

Before leaving Washington for Tennessee, General Jackson paid his personal respects to President Adams, and seemed to have accepted the situation. On his way home, however, he was everywhere met with such assurances of regard as more and more to convince him that he was really the people's idol and had been cheated out of the presidency against their will. Only tell a man that he has been wronged, and repeat it often enough and with enough emphasis, and he will naturally acquire the rooted belief that it is true. In many public places on the route, as fully detailed in Parton's *Life of Andrew Jackson*, vol. iii, chapter x, the general distinctly charged that he could have reaped the benefit of Mr. Clay's influence if he had been willing, but that he had magnanimously refused to stoop to such a level. A due appreciation of his own merits was one of his strong points. It has never been alleged against him that he was afflicted with anything like unnecessary modesty. Parton says:

> None of these remarkable utterances found their way into print at that time; but the poison worked in the mind of the unsuspecting voter. Kremer kept his promise to refer the matter to another

"tribunal." "Are the charges true?" he asked on the stump. "Can anyone doubt it who considers that Mr. Clay has performed the act which the letter charges him with intending to do, and now holds the office which was proclaimed as the consideration for the service rendered?" Imagine nonsense of this kind, repeated in a thousand newspapers, roared from a thousand stumps, insinuated in a thousand congressional appeals to rural buncombe, Mr. Adams silent meanwhile from a sense of official decorum; Mr. Clay silent for lack of a responsible accuser, for lack of a tangible accusation.

So things stood till 1827. In March of that year Mr. Carter Beverly, a prominent young Virginian, was a guest with a number of other gentlemen at the Hermitage. After leaving he wrote to a friend the appended letter, which speedily found its way into the columns of a paper in North Carolina:

I have just returned from General Jackson's. I found a crowd of company with him. Seven Virginians were of the number. He gave me a most friendly reception, and urged me to stay some days longer with him. He told me this morning, before all his company, in reply to a question that I put to him concerning the election of J. Q. Adams to the presidency, that Mr. Clay's friends made a proposition to his friends that, if they would promise for him [General Jackson] not to put Mr. Adams into the seat of Secretary of State, Mr. Clay and his friends would, in one hour, make him [Jackson] the President. He [General Jackson] most indignantly rejected the proposition, and declared that he would not compromit himself; and, unless most openly and fairly made the President by Congress, he would never receive it. He declared that he said to them he would see the whole earth sink under them before he would bargain or intrigue for it.

This involved and awkward document put a new face on the situation. It was widely published, and in some quarters its statements were called in question. Mr. Carter accordingly appealed to General Jackson to state the facts. The general replied at length, and virtually made himself sponsor, not only for all of Kremer's allegations, but also for much more. We quote from his letter:

Early in January, 1825, a member of Congress, of high respectability, visited me one morning, and observed that he had a communication he was desirous to make to me; that he was informed there was a great intrigue going on, and that it was right I should be informed of it; that he came as a friend, and, let me receive the communication as I might, the friendly motives through which it was made he hoped would prevent any change of friendship or feeling in regard to him. To which I replied, from his high standing as a gentleman and member of Congress and from his

uniform friendly and gentlemanly conduct toward myself I could not suppose he would make any communication to me which he supposed was improper. The gentleman proceeded. He said he had been informed by the friends of Mr. Clay that the friends of Mr. Adams had made overtures to them, saying, if Mr. Clay and his friends would unite in aid of Mr. Adams's election, Mr. Clay should be Secretary of State; that the friends of Mr. Adams were urging, as a reason to induce the friends of Mr. Clay to accede to their proposition, that if I were elected President Mr. Adams would be continued Secretary of State (*innuendo*, there would be no room for Kentucky); that the friends of Mr. Clay stated that the West did not wish to separate from the West, and if I would say, or permit any of my confidential friends to say, that in case I were elected President Mr. Adams should not be continued Secretary of State, by a complete union of Mr. Clay and his friends they would put an end to the presidential contest in one hour. And he was of the opinion that it was right to fight such intrigues with their own weapons. To which in substance I replied that, in politics as in everything else, my guide was principle; and contrary to the expressed and unbiased will of the people I never would step into the presidential chair; and requested him to say to Mr. Clay and his friends (for I did suppose that he had come from Mr. Clay, although he used the term of "Mr. Clay's friends") that, before I would reach the presidential chair by such means of bargain and corruption, I would see the earth open and swallow both Mr. Clay and his friends, and myself with them. . . . The second day after this communication and reply it was announced in the newspapers that Mr. Clay had come out openly and avowedly in favor of Mr. Adams. It may be proper to observe that on the supposition that Mr. Clay was not privy to the proposition stated I may have done injustice to him. If so the gentleman informing me can explain.

As soon as Mr. Clay had seen a copy of this letter he published "a direct, unqualified, and indignant denial." I have room for only a brief quotation. Said he, in conclusion:

Such being the accusation, and the prosecutor, and the issue between us, I have a right now to expect that he will substantiate his charges by the exhibition of satisfactory evidence. In that event there is no punishment that would exceed the measure of my offense. In the opposite event, what ought to be the judgment of the American public is cheerfully submitted to their wisdom and justice.

Again General Jackson took up his pen and addressed himself to the public, but the only thing he said germane to the question at issue was that James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, was the congressman who had approached him to see whether he

was minded to make terms with Mr. Clay. Mr. Buchanan, thus put upon the stand, did not prove to be a good witness for the fiery Tennessean. In a communication to the *Lancaster Journal* he admitted that on December 30, 1824, he had had a confidential interview with General Jackson in regard to the rumor which was afloat to the effect that, in case of his election, Mr. Adams was to be his Secretary of State, and had suggested to him the imprudence of allowing such a rumor to become current. He also confessed that he had mentioned Mr. Clay as a man whose name might well be considered in connection with the chief cabinet position, but concluded by saying:

> I called upon General Jackson upon the occasion which I have mentioned solely as his friend, upon my individual responsibility, and not as the agent of Mr. Clay or any other person.

In spite of the definite, explicit, and unmodified exculpation of Mr. Clay and his friends contained in these words, General Jackson and many of his partisans insisted that Mr. Buchanan had sustained their charge of an attempted bargain. Was there ever blindness so willful? Daniel Webster wrote:

> I do not think that General Jackson can ever recover from the blow which he has received. Many persons think Buchanan's letter candid. I deem it otherwise. It seems to me he labored very hard to protect the general, as far as he could, without injury to himself.

General Jackson was not a man to change his mind. The stanchest of friends, he was also the bitterest of foes. He had a fixed mental habit of attributing to his opponents every bad motive that could affect human action. He therefore lived and died in the belief, not only that Henry Clay was guilty of this particular piece of villainy, but also that, if he was not actually guilty of everything else that was base, the reason was to be found, not in lack of intent, but in lack of opportunity.

To come back to the main question, the only thing that can in the least give color to Kremer's charges is the fact that Mr. Clay did help to make Mr. Adams President and that Mr. Adams did appoint Mr. Clay to the secretaryship of State. But it is far from being an inconceivable thing that they both supposed they were doing what, under all the circumstances, was right and proper to be done. Of proof of bargain and intrigue, or of

any previous understanding, there was not a shred. Against such a supposition many considerations are to be urged:

1. The character of Mr. Clay. That he had his faults is not to be denied. They were such faults as must forever subtract from his reputation as a man. But they lay wholly, or almost wholly, in the sphere and region of his private life. From his young manhood up to his decrepit old age he was a self-respecting, high-minded, and patriotic citizen. That he loved his country sincerely is as clear as sunshine. If there were time and opportunity I could cite numbers of instances in which he took positions in politics that militated directly against his own preferment. Would such a man, conscious of his own great powers, and with a magnificent future still before him, barter off his manhood for a place in the cabinet of Mr. Adams? Let any sane person answer the question!

2. The character of Mr. Adams. He was as cold as a block of ice, but also as pure. Let it be granted that he was ambitious and selfish. At the same time his whole career testifies that he was one of the cleanest public men that ever trod the stage of civil affairs. Would such a man, just for once, forget his principles and descend to unutterable depths of personal degradation? The thing is impossible. Long after the events had ceased to have any practical significance Mr. Adams said:

> Prejudice and passion have charged Mr. Clay with obtaining office by bargain and corruption. Before you, my fellow-citizens, in the presence of our country and Heaven, I pronounce that charge totally unfounded. This tribute of justice is due from me to him, and I seize with pleasure the opportunity afforded me of discharging the obligation. As to my motives for tendering to him the department of State when I did, let that man who questions them come forward; let him look around among statesmen and legislators of this nation and of that day; let him then select and name the man whom, by his preeminent talents, by his splendid services, by his ardent patriotism, by his all-embracing public spirit, by his fervid eloquence in behalf of the rights and liberties of mankind, and by his long experience in the affairs of the Union, foreign and domestic, a President of the United States, intent only upon the welfare and honor of his country, ought to have preferred to Henry Clay. Let him name the man, and then judge you, my fellow-citizens, of my motives.

3. The known fact, already alluded to, that Mr. Clay's determination as to what course he should pursue as between

Crawford, Jackson, and Adams was already made up and expressed before he left Kentucky, and before there had been any, even the least, opportunity for trading, bargaining, or conference between his friends and those of Mr. Adams.

4. It is said that he could have effectually disproved all of Kremer's charges by declining to accept the secretaryship. To me, at least, it does not look that way. Those charges were designed, in the first instance, either to frighten him into voting for Andrew Jackson or else to break the force of his influence as the friend of Mr. Adams. If after he had voted for Adams he had refused to take a place in the cabinet the hue and cry would have been raised that he had been caught in the midst of a dishonorable transaction and hindered by exposure from carrying it through to the end. Conscious as he was of his innocence, and not believing that his fellow-countrymen would ever reckon him a dishonest place-seeker, conscious of his ability for great employments, and properly ambitious for just distinction, he could see no reason why he should cower in the presence of his malignant enemies and thrust away from himself a preferment that had come without any taint of disgrace or dishonor upon it. And posterity has acquitted him. Even in his own lifetime, says Carl Schurz,

> He received letters from such men as Chief Justice Marshall, John Tyler, Justice Story, Daniel Webster, Lewis Cass, and others, congratulating him upon the completeness of his . . . triumph. But he lived to appreciate the wonderful vitality of a well-managed political lie. Nobody believes that lie now. But it defeated his dearest ambitions, and darkened the rest of his public life.

On one point Mr. Schurz is slightly in error. There are still some people who accept the tale just as George Kremer, poor creature of Peggy O'Neal's husband, in his leopard-skin overcoat, first told it. There are also some people who disbelieve in the Newtonian theory of the attraction of gravitation; and there are others, for example, the Rev. John Jasper, who are quite sure that the sun revolves about the earth. But such people are not to be counted.

EDITORIAL NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

OPINION.

THE subject of transfers is always under discussion, and is frequently brought to the front in Conference deliberation and action by the arrival or proposed introduction of new men from other Conferences, especially when they are to fill particularly desirable or prominent places. The literature of the question, as it may be found spread upon the pages of Conference Minutes and in occasional articles in the columns of Methodist periodicals, would, if collected, be voluminous. It would be found, we apprehend, to illustrate to a considerable extent the possible vigor of the English language as used by men in talking of matters in which they are really interested. It would display some variety, now exhibiting much intensity of feeling, and now only a mild request for equity and an observance of the law of equivalents by balancing each transfer so far as possible with an exchange. The records, if examined, would reveal no little difference in the way in which different Conferences regard the matter of transfers, indicating that in some Conferences the doors are kept pretty wide open both for ingress and egress, with a constant current in both directions, transfers being accepted as a matter of course, as a part of the order of nature under our itinerant system, vital to connectional unity, and necessary to the most efficient working of our machinery, which aims to arrange for the greatest good of the greatest number; while, in marked contrast, in other Conferences the fences of exclusion are built strong and high, jealously guarded, and annually repaired, or, adopting a military figure, the active forces of the Conference appear as if organized into a hollow square, presenting fixed bayonets to all points of the compass, regarding every transgression of their boundaries as an assault upon individual and collective rights. The journals would show that a Conference has sometimes modified and moderated its sentiments even to the extent of saying that transfers are too few rather than too many, and that what is needed is to make them more general. A Conference has even been observed to pass strong resolutions against transfers, and then, with characteristic magnanimity and generous recognition of merit, to use the first good chance it found to elect at the head of its General Conference delegation the transferred man against whose introduction the resolutions had been chiefly directed.

Transfer literature would also show some historic modifications of sentiment in individual ministers, explicable, apparently, by change of circumstances. A good man has been known to write a series of intense articles for the public press, ably arguing in opposition to transfers and setting forth their iniquitous nature, and, shortly after, to be guilty of consenting to accept an attractive invitation which transferred him to a distant Con-

ference. It is matter of history that a certain stalwart, powerful, greatly revered, and influential minister of a former generation, a true captain of the Lord's hosts, directed a portion of his keen ability for years to denouncing colleges and theological schools, and especially to ridiculing with sharp satire the practice of making men doctors of divinity, until at last the information came to him across the sunshine of a summer day that a venerable institution in a neighboring State had marked his merits and recognized them by conferring on him the degree of D.D. Strange to tell, the tidings did not irritate him; but from that day he maintained the dignified silence of a pacified soul. It is characteristic of a wise man to change his mind when there are reasons for it. That some men spend all their lives in one Conference does not, however, prove that they have not had opportunities and urgent solicitations to change; for there are those so averse to strangeness and so attached to familiar surroundings as to resist even the most strenuous efforts and most alluring inducements to take them out of their Conferences, and among these are some of the most widely invited men in all Methodism. The result of transfers is not always good; they carry a percentage of mistakes, as do also the ordinary Conference appointments, as well as all human attempts at adjustment. Churches sometimes invite, upon incorrect and insufficient information, men whose faults are concealed and whose excellencies are magnified by distance, failing to perceive that men who could render better service are close at hand. Yet the transfer system is absolutely essential to the connectional life of Methodism, and none the less to important local interests in all parts of the Church. Moreover, in many instances it has been the making of a man when he has been transferred from the region in which his ministry began, and in which, perhaps, he was born and grew up, to a Conference where he was not known. Men have found a tonic in the change of climate and a stimulus in new environment which let loose life and power for larger achievements and a nobler service, so that the result of transfer was for them like "another morning risen on mid-noon." In most of our Conferences are men of various ages, going the rounds of limited opportunity and plodding monotonously over familiar ground, who could do nothing better for themselves and the Church than to discover some new world, and seek fresh fortunes and wider usefulness amid unaccustomed scenes. The Wilmington Conference at its last session seems to have appropriated to itself the distinction of contributing to the literature of the transfer question resolutions which, so far as our knowledge goes, are unique, and serve to diversify previous monotony. The report, written by the Rev. E. L. Hubbard, Ph.D., pastor of Union Church, Wilmington, presented by the committee, and adopted by the Conference, is as follows:

Whereas, The Methodist Episcopal Church is not a union of Conferences bound together by certain general interests, each under its own local legislation, but is a unit from sea to sea and from the Gulf to Canada; and,

Whereas, The division of the Church into Conferences is for convenience and effectiveness of administration, no peculiar rights or privileges inhering in any localities bounded by Conference lines; and,

Whereas, Certain more favorably located Conferences strenuously oppose the free and easy working of the transfer system, thus interfering with the appointing power and the general superintendency of the Church; and,

Whereas, The churches built expressly to be accommodated by the transfer system have thus far been true to the doctrine and polity of the Church and have greatly aided the local and general benevolences; nevertheless, as we fear the tendency to make real the rumor of a star Conference with star churches is drifting toward an independent Methodism, thus destroying that unique fraternity, the Methodist itinerancy, to which the present generation owes so much; and,

Whereas, Our fathers have taught us to regard our annual appointments as providential assignments to most blessed opportunities of preaching the whole Gospel, we deprecate this tendency that threatens to destroy faith in the integrity of the administration; and,

Whereas, Some of the members of this Conference feel that it is easier for one than another to secure a transfer, though equally deserving and anxious; therefore, be it

Resolved, 1. That every Methodist Episcopal preacher is eligible to any pastorate in the Methodist Episcopal Church.

2. That, while we recognize the convenience of boundaries, we deny the right of barriers between Conferences.

3. That the principle of appointment by the system of transfer is a vital part of the itinerant machinery, to be preserved as carefully as appointment by transfer from one Conference district to another.

4. That we note with great interest the growing custom of erecting churches within the bounds of Conferences to be supplied exclusively by transfers from other Conferences, and fondly anticipate the multiplication of these churches until the supply shall equal the demand. If we must have star churches let no church star be constellated.

5. The peach orchards from this classic peninsula teach us that trees from other States often bear better fruit when transplanted to this soil than do the trees of our own nurseries. In harmony with this lesson from nature we extend the hand of fellowship to all whom the bishops transfer to us, and will try to hinder none who can be transferred from us.

THE one hundred and fifth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, which met in Washington in May, was a sturdy, resolute, peremptory, and thoroughgoing body, reminding one of the saying, "It is the glory of Puritanism that it found its highest work in the strengthening of the will." A formidable amount of typical Puritanic will was on exhibition for ten days in Washington. A solid and all-powerful majority marched in unwavering column from stage to stage, and executed its will with that unflinching fidelity which conscientious servants of God display under an urgent sense of solemn duty. The Assembly pulled the reins on the liberal leaders with tremendous force. Some little affirming was done, but for the most part the proceedings were full of the spirit which says "No," and negatived a good many things with a vigorous, not to say vociferous, veto.

Presbyterianism said, through its General Assembly: No Professor Briggs nor Preserved Smith; no Union Seminary nor Lane Seminary; no errors in the original manuscripts of the Holy Scripture, which were lost so long ago that we have no acquaintance with or direct knowledge of them; no errors in the Bible as we now have it—at least, none worth speaking of—none that affect its infallibility; no revision of the Westminster Confession, although parts of it are publicly and energetically

repudiated in many of the pulpits of the denomination and suppressed in nearly all; no shorter creed for any purpose or use, although not one convert in a thousand can assent to the creed as it stands without mental reservations; no modification anywhere of the authoritative formulas of Calvinism, although no man to-day dares to preach the particulars thereof, because no congregation would endure them; no sufficiency of reason or of the Church as a guide in the matter of salvation or as a channel through which God reveals himself; no knowledge of Jesus Christ outside of the Holy Scriptures; no rationalistic teachings in pulpit or theological school; no permission to scholars to vary from the opinions of the majority on matters which said majority considers vital or important; no progress in holiness after death; no delay over legal technicalities; no weight to the decision of the New York Presbytery; no recognition of the New York Synod as a court of intermediate jurisdiction.

The victorious and the defeated parties both claim to be zealous champions of the Bible as the true word of God, as the one supreme divine revelation, as the only authoritative and infallible rule of faith and practice. Both claim to stand for inerrancy, but each for such inerrancy as is required by and harmonious with its own views, and neither, if we correctly understand their utterances, for entire and absolute inerrancy of the Bible as we now have it. The advanced scholars contend that the Scriptures are inerrant as to all the essential things which revelation was given to teach and which men could not know without a revelation, but that there are some errors touching matters not pertaining to salvation. The conservatives affirm that the Bible, not only in its original form as given by God in the beginning, but also in its present form as the centuries have handed it down to us, has been guarded of God, and is free from all error—or rather is nearly so, and would be completely so but for a few unimportant mistakes, which, they say, crept in by the ignorance or carelessness of transcribers, translators, revisers, or typographers and which the Author of revelation has not thought it necessary to prevent.

How long the present majority can retain control of the denomination is uncertain. No contest was really decided by it. The struggle, which seemed to reach a notable crisis there, has not yet culminated. The greatest questions involved still remain in the arena of debate. The Westminster Confession will be modified in spite of the majority vote of a hundred General Assemblies. Methodism was God's instrument for deciding that, and it was settled a hundred years ago. At least so it seems to the writer, a by no means inerrant but very fallible mortal, who is so conscious of his fallibility, both in knowledge and in judgment, that nothing could induce him to persecute another mortal who might see fit to differ with him in opinion.

SUMMER philanthropy has an ever-increasing field for its operation. It is a mistake, born of ignorance or indifference to the facts, to assume that only in the colder seasons of the year is there distress among the worthy poor and an anxious waiting for alleviation by Christian char-

ity. The cessation of the frosts does not always bring returning health. The melting of the winter snows and the reappearance of nature's abundant blossoms are no pledge of a full larder. Probably no less than winter rigor is summer heat a period of suffering in the homes of the poor. The very increase in temperature brings its peculiar diseases—often sudden, intense, and quick in their fatality—against which poverty has no protection. And even if there be escape from such virulent disease there is among the destitute a need of fresh and nutritious food, of cooling drinks, of refreshing shade, for which the cry ever comes to the Christian ear from out the bitter depths of penury. So that true benevolence, mindful neither of times nor of seasons, ever moves on its holy mission through the scenes of squalor and destitution.

But with the enlargement of the opportunity for summer philanthropy, resulting from the ever-multiplying population of our American cities, there seems also an ever-increasing application of practical charity among the deserving poor. Never in the onward movement of the Christian system has such wise and widespread attention been given to the summer wants of the "submerged tenth" as at the present time. Even the bare enumeration of these kindly charities, covering many fields of successful operation, would transcend our present limits. Time would fail to mention the beneficent work of flower missions, of floating hospitals, of ice distribution among the poorer districts, of free medical attendance among our tenement populations, and of fresh-air excursions which bring health and gladness to thousands of suffering children. Each recurring summer seems, in fact, to show greater activity on the part of these benevolences and, through the financial contributions of many friends, an increase in the number of beneficiaries blessed. Yet it would be a matter for sadness rather than congratulation were it known that the limit of such philanthropic activity had been reached. The little which has been done to alleviate the summer wretchedness of the poor seems beggarly in comparison with what has perforce been left undone. Even the much that Christian interest and sense of conviction would do, were its ability commensurate with its desires, hardly includes the whole field of need. The example which has sometimes been set by the great newspapers of the day, or by other corporations purely secular, should have a general imitation on the part of commercial and Christian organizations. In the not distant future, if the relations between employer and employed continue to receive their definition and emphasis, our great wholesale and retail establishments will find it necessary to pay greater attention to the summer recreation of their subordinates. The duty of our Sunday schools, also, is only measured by their treasury. The writer knows the case of a twelve-year-old scholar in one of our metropolitan Sabbath schools, a winsome and beautiful child, who is city-born and has never looked upon the country in her life. She is one of thousands. In the better times to come our churches, moreover, must help give the adult poor the sight of the Lord's mountains and sea, and in so doing will give them the Gospel. Manifold is the opportunity for true charity in its unobtrusive ministrations.

CURRENT DISCUSSIONS.

CHURCH UNION; THE CHICAGO-LAMBETH INITIATIVE; ONE WORD MORE.

If any one supposes that Christian unity is a threadbare theme he is in error; it remains an intense and living question for this decade and the next. How great a service may have been rendered to the power of Protestant Christendom and the weal of the world by the overtures toward reunion promulgated from Chicago and Lambeth it is yet too early to estimate. Those proposals summoned all communions to a searching examination of the momentous subject of Christian unity. It is undeniable that they have already succeeded in concentrating attention upon the topic and have brought about the world-wide discussion they invited. The size and shape of ultimate results cannot be foreseen. A quarter century is but a brief time for considering so extensive and intricate a matter; but the general subject is launched upon the moving current of the age and cannot be recalled. The discussion, which is only well begun, will go on until something satisfactory is accomplished.

The first set debate in this country over the reunion overtures herein referred to took place in the pages of the *Church Review*, between twelve writers from the Episcopal Church, four of whom were bishops, and twenty from other denominations. The present editor of the *Methodist Review*, as one of the twenty, offered the following response, which, as it has not appeared on any Methodist page, he ventures to reproduce here, desiring to follow it with some further reflections which, in the light of later events and utterances, may seem neither irrelevant nor untimely:

"This article is invited by a request which presents as materials for consideration the overtures toward reunion put forth by the House of Bishops of the Episcopal Church in 1886, the Lambeth Conference indorsement of the same in 1888, and the conclusions of the London Conference of leading Anglicans and Nonconformists held in December, 1889. It is proper that our response to this courteous invitation should be with equal courtesy of spirit as well as with such perfect candor as is necessary to personal honesty and to the value of any discussion. Nothing but good, and perhaps greater good than any of us foresee, can come of frank and fraternal debate. To save ourselves at the outset from the misfortune of being at any point misunderstood, we premise our conviction that fervent love, utter respect, and general cooperation between all Christian bodies, resulting in all possible effective unity, are parts of 'a consummation devoutly to be wished;' and there is no prayer in which we join more earnestly than that of Christ for oneness among his disciples, in which petition we imagine that we hear the voice of Protestant Christendom uniting. We apprehend that the only difference of opinion will be over the kind and form of unity considered possible.

"The first three quarters of the basis proposed for union by the House of Bishops and the Lambeth Conference is intelligibly clear and, we think, not in the nature of things impossible to agree upon. Over the Holy Scriptures as the first foundation stone there can be no dispute. Agreement upon the two creeds, which are virtually one, as a sufficient statement of Christian faith seems perhaps a not altogether unlikely or remote possibility; for undeniably the trend of the time is toward an abbreviation of creeds, contracting the required confessions of belief into narrower compass. Our personal sympathies and judgment move in that direction; and, if we mistake not, the persuasion grows throughout Protestant Christendom that wisdom lies that way. A firm adherence to the few items absolutely necessary to constitute Christian faith, with range and verge for free opinion beyond, has obvious and great advantages. One advantage is that this course returns us toward the simplicity of the primitive Church, freeing us possibly from some things which may be of the nature of incrustation rather than growth, and tending to save us from the error of teaching for doctrines the commandments of men. Another gain in such abbreviation of creed requirements is that it renders feasible a more extensive unity, as fewer points of harmony are held requisite for union. Do not interest and justice both urge to this? Would not this larger inclusiveness put the Church in possession of its own by claiming and appropriating all those who vitally belong to it, while it would admit to church privileges everyone who is essentially Christian and, therefore, fairly entitled to recognition and membership? There can be no danger in this. A strengthening of the stakes of the Christian tent would make safe a lengthening of its cords to an enlarged comprehensiveness. Put loud and unanimous accent on the fundamentals. Let the solid emphasis of all Protestant Churches be massed on the few central essentials of faith, closely compacted in statement, instead of being distributed and dispersed over voluminous amplifications and peripheric variations, and there will be no peril in embracing all who loyally assent to those indisputable essentials.

"Another effect of a restriction of Christian creeds to the comprehensive fundamentals is an allowance of greater liberty in nonessentials and in items of secondary importance, a larger range to individual thought and taste in what may be derived through experience or reasoned and constructed on the divinely outlined foundations. We take it to be the general opinion of our day that such an allowance of freedom is in harmony with true progress. A formal union which does not permit liberty to individuality is mechanical, superficial, insincere, oppressive, and temporary. While we witness many efforts toward realizing brotherhood and organizing unity of various kinds, the most imperious voice that shakes the air of to-day is the one which demands recognition and protection for the rights of the individual, both in matters of thought and in matters of conduct. Protestantism and democratic institutions are responsible for that. It is essential to the soundness and stability of any sort of union that only so much concession toward concert of opinion and

action be asked of each member as may be absolutely indispensable to the secure existence of that union.

"The Lambeth report's third condition of union, relating to the sacraments, may be passed with approval and without debate. It is at the fourth and last point of the proposed basis that we are brought to a halt by what seems a lack of explicitness. The documents themselves give us no light as to what is intended by the 'historic episcopate' in the overtures of the Episcopal bishops or their Lambeth indorsement. Is it our obtuseness, or is it something else, that causes perplexity or hesitation in us of 'other communions' over many Episcopalian and Anglican deliverances on the subject of church union? When the American bishops say, in a communication to the House of Deputies, 'We believe that all who have been *duly* baptized with water in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost are members of the Holy Catholic Church,' we receive no clear message, because we are in doubt what is the precise thought behind that one word 'duly.' In like manner, when the same message says, 'In all things of human ordering or human choice, relating to modes of worship and discipline or to traditional customs, this Church is ready in the spirit of love and humility to forego all preferences of her own' for the sake of unity with others, while our hearts burn within us responsively to the sweet, gentle, winsome tone of the utterance, we are yet not informed by the message what things the House of Bishops regards as of 'human ordering or human choice;' and just there lies a possibility of the reopening of an ancient debate, from differences of opinion between the bishops and the unprelatical denominations. We count it also a defect in many of the appeals for union that they fail to include a definition of the nature and degree of the desired unity. Collateral evidence, however, indicates that generally, if not always, it is organic union that is contemplated in such overtures. The *Church Review*, in its issue of January, 1890, spoke of the resolutions adopted by the Conference of leading Anglicans and Nonconformists in London, the preceding December, as 'the only practical result yet reached in the matter of organic unity.'

"The first and greatest obstacle in the way of such union is the diversity of opinion as to its possibility or desirability. Without any disposition to imply that it is impossible for the Anglican Church in Britain and the United States to be God's chosen instrument to lead on a world-wide reform, we may yet remark that it seems somewhat strange that, if the organic union of Christendom is a necessity, such intelligent and enterprising bodies as the great Presbyterian Church, the Congregational Church, and the Methodist Episcopal Church should not perceive its desirability, and, with their characteristic zeal, practical habits of mind, and desire for the highest systematic efficiency, move for it. Is there any sign that these influential Churches regard organic union as a clear *desideratum*? No fact is better known than that the non-Anglican communions have not been in the habit of considering denominationalism in general an unmitigated evil; while of course each denomination thinks its own sepa-

rate existence justifiable and necessary. It is not certain that any one of these religious bodies, if it had the power to destroy denominationalism by absorbing all other Churches and Christians into its own fold, would do so, the reason for this being a persuasion that denominationalism in itself has a mission, the fulfillment of which has been and will be beneficent and variously advantageous. It is quite impossible for us to believe that the majority of Protestant Christians will ever be prepared to agree with the Rev. William Granger, a zealous and honorable advocate of church union, that the father of lies is the author of denominationalism, any more than they will concede the assertion of the Romish Church that Protestantism is a work of the devil.

"The American Episcopal bishops say, 'This Church does not seek to absorb other communions,' but if 'any Christian bodies' seek 'the restoration of the organic unity of the Church' the Church is ready 'to enter into brotherly conference' with such bodies. If any prophet sees in the ecclesiastical sky a sign as big as a man's hand that any of those 'bodies' are seeking or likely to seek organic union with the Church which now issues overtures, we shall be glad to have the token pointed out. In 1872 Dr. Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury, characterized it as visionary to 'look forward to a time when all the various denominations throughout Britain are to come and desire admission into the Church of England.' The sagacity of this opinion is plain to minds of only ordinary discernment from less lofty points of observation than the archbishopric of Canterbury.

"The *Church Review* in its issue of January, 1890, remarking on the fact that no Methodists joined in the Conference of leading Anglicans and Nonconformists in London the previous month, said: 'The Methodists are exactly those upon whom our claim is the strongest and who had least ground for quitting our fellowship.' In a sermon in Christ Church, Bedford Avenue, Brooklyn, a New York city rector said in presence of the Bishop of Long Island, 'If we had treated the Methodists wisely and fairly they would not have gone out from us.'

"If the Methodists are especially in mind in the appeals for church union we can only say that the time of their probable return in a body to the Anglican communion seems to us very remote; indeed, all reasonable expectation of such a return is as dead as the cause of the Stuarts, with whose restoration under Charles II, in 1660, the less liberal and more exclusive views toward non-Episcopalian bodies were fastened on the Anglican Church. The House of Hanover is as likely to abdicate in favor of the descendants of the Stuarts as the Methodist Church is to abjure its right of existence in deference to Anglican views. And surely the noble and intelligent men who are urging the overtures herein considered are too wise to suppose that, in any approach toward union, any one of the non-Episcopalian bodies will be influenced in the slightest degree by a desire to recover connection, alleged to be lost, with an 'historic episcopate.' The day never can come which will find these large and powerful denominations dissatisfied with the validity and authority of their minis-

try or the genuineness of their standing as proper and living parts of the body of Christ. In these matters they will abide solidly on the foundations they have chosen. They believe, with some of the greatest leaders the Episcopal Church has ever had, that 'apostolic succession,' so-called, is a myth, entirely unprovable, and spiritually valueless even if it were proven. Nor have pretensions to superiority based on this notion always been put forth by the Anglican Church. If we mistake not there were a hundred years during which, in the language of an eminent clergyman of that communion, 'No one in the Church of England thought of calling in question the validity of the orders and sacraments of the Reformed Churches,' which were presbyterial in ordination and government, and from which ministers and members were received to immediate and equal standing in the Church of England.

"We hold that there may be a vital and effective unity of Protestantism without organic consolidation, and that in our time every sunrise finds that spiritual oneness more complete. It is absurd in these days to imply that denominationalism necessarily means 'bitterness and unhallowed strife.' The only strife it legitimately stimulates is an emulous rivalry in usefulness. The lamentable old dim days of mutual misconception, which were like that battle on dark Dundagil by the Cornish Sea, where

> Friend and foe were mingled in the midst,
> And friend slew friend, not knowing whom he slew,

are long gone by, and more and more on all the circuit of great Zion's walls the watchmen see eye to eye and concentrate hostilities upon the foe.

"Whether an organic union of all, or of the principal, Protestant communions is desirable or even possible, is matter for gradual elucidation by freer and frank discussions like the present, in the spirit of love and meekness, with a disposition to make all possible concessions 'for euphony's sake,' as the college phrase puts it. While to us neither the possibility nor the desirability is clear, we offer to all sincere and earnest reasoners a hospitable mind open to light and conviction.

"One thing, it seems to us, must occur to every reflective mind. In all attempts at reform a logical order and natural sequence of consistent action should be preserved, and, whether it be organic union or only a perfect fraternity and cooperation that is aimed at, all overtures are likely to be futile if unaccompanied by a full recognition, in utterance and bearing and action, of ecclesiastical equality, a practical recognition by an even interchange of pulpits, ministers, and members. Negotiations for union ought to be conducted on a level, and not on an incline. If the latter is the case the consulting group has difficulty in keeping its footing on the slope long enough to hold a conference, and the members of it tend to slide away from one another. Until every barrier to actual fraternity is thrown flat by the hands which now hold such barriers up organic unity is certainly a Utopian dream. In a message to the House of Deputies the Protestant Episcopal House of Bishops in 1886 avowed the 'solemn purpose' to seek some practical plan for 'terminating the unhappy divisions' which separate their 'fellow Christians in this land;' but in the

same message the bishops declined to approve a resolution adopted by the House of Deputies sending mere cordial greetings to their 'Congregational brethren' assembled at the same time in the same city. We must be pardoned if, like Mr. Lincoln, we are 'reminded of a story.' In Warren County, New Jersey, is a village named Harmony. At Martin's Creek, one day, a traveler asked a man whom he met on the road, 'How far is it to Harmony if I go straight ahead?' 'Well,' replied the man, 'if you go straight ahead in the direction you are going it is about twenty-five thousand miles, but if you will turn right around it is three miles.' We do not trifle. Our words are earnest, prayerful, and loving. Shameful would it be to write or speak otherwise on the sacred and momentous subject of Christian unity. If there be any question which men should consider upon their knees this is one of them. If there be one desire which we ought to foster with hopeful and yearning hearts, making it dictate our prayers and our actions, it is that the great Head of the Church universal will lead on his leagued hosts ordered in whatever unity shall contribute most to widest and swiftest victory. We are bound to hold our doubts in check with the constant remembrance of the lesson history teaches, that it is possible for us to be living, without knowing it, on the eve of great events; and the perfect unification in some form or other of all Christian forces may be nearer now than we think."

The debate of which the above was a part was declared by the *Church Review* to be the most notable religious discussion since the Reformation and certain to prove the most fruitful. One of the writers who replied for the Episcopal Church found fault with us for quoting from Rev. R. P. Blakeney, D.D., LL.D., of Christ Church, Claughton, England, the statement that during a certain hundred years "no one in the Church of England thought of calling in question the validity of the orders and sacraments of the Reformed Churches," which were presbyterial in ordinations and government, and from which ministers and members were received into immediate and equal standing in the Church of England. If the words we quoted are "historically false," as asserted in the *Church Review*, the mistake belongs to the Anglican author of them, and not to us. Frankly, the statement seems to us extreme, for probably there were some strict sacerdotalists who magnified Episcopal ordination; but it is historically plain that they were uninfluential in controlling official action. In the first chapter of Macaulay's *History of England* is this passage: "An instrument is still extant by which the Primate of all England, in the year 1582, authorized a Scotch minister, ordained according to the laudable forms of the Scotch Church by the Synod of East Lothian, to preach and administer the sacraments in any part of the province of Canterbury. In the year 1603 the convocation solemnly recognized the Church of Scotland, a Church in which episcopal control and episcopal ordination were then unknown, as a branch of the Holy Catholic Church of Christ. It was even held that Presbyterian ministers were entitled to place and voice in ecumenical councils. . . . Nay, many English benefices were held by divines

who had been admitted to the ministry in the Calvinistic form used on the Continent, nor was reordination by a bishop in such cases then thought necessary or even lawful."

So much by way of competently authoritative statement concerning Christian unity in Great Britain in the sixteenth century. To this we may add that it is declared, as appears in Mr. Faulkner's article in our present issue by authority higher than our critic, that in the post-Reformation period ministers not episcopally ordained were appointed to office in the Church, which action was defended even by High Churchmen in England, Ireland, and Scotland; and that the Church of England "hath never publicly condemned and pronounced the ordination of the other Reformed Churches to be void." In agreement with this is the statement of the Rev. Charles James Wood, special lecturer in 1892 to the Episcopal Theological School, at Cambridge, Mass., that apostolic succession cannot be proven; that there is no assertion of a tactual succession in the Articles of Religion; that it was not held by the English reformers, nor insisted on by Cosin, Jewel, Andrewes, Hall, or Whitgift; and that to insist that it is essential to the being of the Church would be to out-Herod Herod, since even the Church of Rome has not always insisted on reordination. "If then," argues the lecturer, "the tremendous assumption of such a ministerial succession, as shall serve for an unbroken conduit for a substantial force called grace, gives no signs of itself, . . . we may well ask ourselves if it be necessary to hold tactual succession and substantial grace; and if we do what is the practical outcome?"

As to the attitude of the Episcopal Church in relation to this subject in early American history it is proper to reproduce the following paragraph from an article by Dean Stanley, which appeared in *Littell's Living Age*, in July, 1889: "In the State archives at Hartford there is still to be seen a petition from the Episcopal clergy of Connecticut urging the governor of the State to use his influence in inducing the Congregationalist clergy to allow them access to the eucharist. There is something highly instructive in a record which represents the clergy of the Church of Archbishop Laud and Bishop Ken acknowledging the spiritual validity and value of sacraments administered by Congregationalists and half imploring the civil power to force this rival Church to allow them to participate in its communion."

It must be confessed that the discussion by thirty-two participants in the *Church Review*, to a part of which we have just replied, was ominously discouraging; at its close the prospects of reunion, so far as appeared therein, did not seem to have been helped in the least by the Lambeth proposals. The "historic episcopate," which had been mentioned simply as a fact in the original overtures, without definition of its nature, significance, or authority, was sharply defined by the *Church Review* writers with unflinching and repellent severity, and the only thing made clear was a great gulf fixed between the Anglicans and all non-Anglican bodies. The writers selected to represent the Episcopal side were, for the most part, rigid High Churchmen, and the unanimity of their prelat-

ical views was appalling to all friends of union. The *Church Review*, in summing up the debate, remarked with evident satisfaction that the carefully chosen Episcopalian writers "agreed in every particular on all the great questions at issue;" that the discussion had made it "impossible for any bishop, priest, or layman of the Anglican communion to say that the term 'historic episcopate' does not mean what is generally known, inside the Church and out of it, as apostolic succession;" that "the Church of England has never recognized any other than Episcopal ordination;" and that when Episcopal rectors invite into their pulpits ministers of other Churches they are guilty of a violation of the laws of the Church and a breach of their ordination vows, the offense being the same whenever they assist in services in non-Episcopal Churches.

The stiff, unbending attitude of those twelve apostles of "apostolic succession" in the *Church Review*, and their precipitously lofty claims—including the *jure divino* theory of the episcopate, the triple-ordered ministry, and the tactual transmission of ministerial grace, authority, and power—caused us to say within ourselves that, if the cause of reunion was to be so quickly and fatally wounded in the house of its professed friends, we wondered why it ever was begun. To broach overtures of union and then to take the most extremely obstructive position, as if they held a palm branch in the left hand and a drawn sword in the right, seemed a clear sign that their idea of union was that we should make an utter and uncompensated surrender by abandoning our position and coming to theirs. When we closed the volume which contained these priestly and episcopal utterances nothing seemed left us but to adopt, concerning the Church of England, the language in which the committee of seventeen bishops, in their report to the Lambeth Conference, expressed themselves touching the advisability of sending overtures to the papal Church. They declared it useless to consider the possibility of union therewith, because "painfully aware that any proposal for reunion would be entertained by that Church only on condition of a complete submission on our part to those claims of absolute authority against which we have felt for three centuries bound to protest." The papal claims to absolute authority are not more peremptory than those of the High Church Anglicans; and submission to such pretensions, whether issuing from the banks of Tiber or Thames, is no easier for us than for the Lambeth churchmen. As to the relations of the Episcopal body to Rome, many Romanists do not hesitate to describe the Anglican Church as the connecting link between the Papal and Protestant Churches, pointing out that, while its Low Church wing is positively Protestant, its extreme ritualistic, sacramentarian, sacerdotal wing is scarcely distinguishable from Romanism; and some affirm that in the meditative bosom of Rome, along with age-long purposes and astute policies, there is the hope that, if the intermediary Anglican could swallow up the distinctly Protestant bodies, then the holy Roman Church might absorb the Anglican and its contents.

In this connection it is not unfair to notice certain editorial language in the *Church Review*, which seems to throw light on its concep-

tion of the position held by the Church of England and her American daughter. The editor speaks of "reunion between the Anglican communion on the one hand and the Protestant communions on the other;" he says that "the Protestants have accused the Anglicans of disagreeing among themselves;" he refers to the "inviting of ministers of the Protestant Churches into Episcopal pulpits"—expressions which indicate that the *Church Review* does not class the Episcopal body among Protestant communions. Such phraseology tends to justify the words of an eminent English Nonconformist, the Rev. Dr. R. F. Horton, recently spoken in New Haven, "The Anglican Church is Roman and mediæval. But for it the Churches in England would be united to-day." Even more definitely grim and bitterly severe is a late utterance of Archdeacon F. W. Farrar, who takes a gloomy view of the condition and tendencies of the English Church. These are his words: "The whole cause of the Reformation is going by default; and if the alienated laity, who have been driven into indifference by the Romish innovations and Romish doctrines forced upon them without any voice of theirs in the matter, do not awake in time and assert *their rights as sharers in the common and sole priesthood of all Christians*, they will awake to find themselves nominal members of a Church which has become widely popish in all but name—a Church in which catholicity is every day being made more and more synonymous with stark Romanism, and in which the once honored name of Protestant is overwhelmed with calumny and insult."

In the Anglican communion are antagonistic parties. The reunion propositions which originated with one party were modified and, as far as possible, checked by the opposing party. How this was done at Lambeth is clearly shown in the article on "A Suppressed Chapter of Recent Church History" in this issue of our *Review*. In our judgment and for our present purpose the chief value of that article is, that it reveals the existence and strength of a party within the Church of England and its branches in favor of repudiating High Church claims and accompanying all overtures for union with the avowal of readiness to recognize the validity of non-Episcopal ordinations and the entire parity of other Protestant bodies with the Anglican. We call attention to that party, to what it has done and is doing, and record our faith that the future belongs to it; its battle, "though baffled oft, is ever won." This party, with a petition signed by thirty-two bishops and over a thousand of the clergy, procured the framing and adopting of the original overtures at Chicago. It carried its cause to Lambeth, and, in the Committee on Reunion, consisting of seventeen bishops, it was strong enough to add to the Chicago action a proposition to recognize non-Episcopal orders. Although it was allowed no voice in the *Church Review* it continues to speak and can never be silenced. Its colossal champion in the United States was that superb embodiment of Christian manliness, that great gift of a gracious God to the breed of little men, that man of wide vision and large love whom we knew as Phillips Brooks; a man whose convictions and disposition were indicated in his addressing an assembly of Congrega-

tional clergymen as "Beloved brother ministers;" a man of such noble and stalwart proportions in personality and influence that, when he died, the universal sorrow of the American people made the continent his bier.

About the time the *Church Review* was declaring it to be no longer possible for anybody in the Anglican communion to deny apostolic succession, the most venerated and influential rector in the city of Brooklyn, speaking on church unity from the pulpit of Holy Trinity, said that the Episcopal Church had gone too far in its advances toward reunion ever to turn back, and that the only authority it could lay claim to was that of "love and a sound mind;" that the Presbyterians and Episcopalians would have little difficulty in coming together except on the question of the episcopate, and, with a little common sense and willingness to hold the views of the old English Churchmen who went to the Continent after the Reformation and greeted the Reformers with reverence as fellow-ministers, that difficulty would soon vanish.

The same sentiment was manifested by word and action when Phillips Brooks and Dr. E. Winchester Donald participated in the installation of Dr. Lyman Abbott as the successor of Henry Ward Beecher in the pastorate of Plymouth Church, and Dr. Donald said, "We are here openly, and are ready to meet any competent authority which may be pleased to inquire into our right to be here and extend as Christian ministers our greetings to other Christian ministers. I want to say in the most explicit terms that I stand as an Episcopalian minister and High Churchman, if you choose to call me so, and extend my greetings to Dr. Abbott and Mr. Bliss as ministers of the Lord Jesus Christ, in every respect spiritually competent to preach the word of God and to administer the two sacraments which belong to the Church." This sentiment spoke again when Dr. S. D. McConnell, of Philadelphia, said to the Presbyterian Union of New York city, "What is wanted is organic union, and it is possible. The four principles laid down at Chicago and Lambeth as a basis are not an *ultimatum*, but only a memorandum." The same fraternal longing found utterance in the Lichfield Diocesan Convention in England, last spring, in an applauded motion favoring reunion between the Church of England and the Nonconformist bodies by the recognition of all those ordained in non-Episcopal communions as true ministers of Christ.

The reunionists in the Anglican body are earnest and irrepressible, undiscouraged by defeat—a minority which means to become a majority and will persist until it does. Beyond what it has accomplished in stirring up sentiment and procuring action in its own Church, the sympathetic responses which this party has evoked from other denominations prove that a sincere and powerful irenic spirit pervades the Protestant Churches. A Presbyterian suggests that if the Baptists would relax their close communion a union of that body with the Congregationalists would be possible. A Baptist is of opinion that the time ought not to be far away when there shall be a pan-Episcopal Church in which the Methodist and Protestant Episcopalians can consolidate. Not infrequently it is affirmed that many in the Presbyterian Church feel the defects of their form of gov-

ernment. Seeing the inefficiency of the presbytery for administrative purposes because of the lack of an executive head, they advocate the permanent setting apart of one chosen presbyter to the sole work of superintending the general affairs of the churches within each presbytery. Whatever name be given, this is diocesan episcopacy. If the day shall come when the obvious practical advantages of having certain necessary powers of decision and administration vested in one man rather than in a larger body are perceived by a ruling majority in the Presbyterian Church, and when extreme Calvinism is eliminated from its standards, as it is certain to be; and if, in that same day, the moderate Episcopalians who renounce apostolic succession and all similar pretensions obtain control of the Anglican Church in all its branches—what will then stand in the way of an organic union of Presbyterians and Episcopalians?

In Washington, on the 18th and 19th of last May, a significant official correspondence passed between the Presbyterians and Episcopalians, in which the Commission on Church Unity of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church wrote that the law relating to the episcopate is subject to alteration or amendment on grave occasions when the exigencies require; that the Episcopal body is ready to modify, if necessary, many things which it has most highly esteemed, including the law governing the episcopate; that it recognizes to-day the authority of the presbyterate precisely as the English Presbyterians of 1660 asked that it should be recognized. The Commission added suggestions calculated to promote the growth of a mutual understanding and concomitant love, and to insure a "drawing together to the final attainment of corporate unity—the goal never to be lost sight of or in any way obscured"—so that everything possible may be done in the interest of Christian unity and the reorganization of American Christianity. To this offer of conciliatory concession and sacrifice the Committee on Christian Unity of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church replied, avowing a readiness to make similar sacrifices in order to the securing of Christian unity and to abandon any traditions, laws, or usages which, however dear and profitable, do not embody essential truth, substituting for them other forms, if thereby the healing of divisions might be promoted; adding that the General Assembly was not without hope of a satisfactory solution of the problem of reunion and would gladly cooperate in all wise and scriptural measures for the reorganization of the American Church.

We are aware that the fraternal movements to which we have been calling attention will be regarded in some quarters with scepticism and disfavor. It will be said that the current talk throughout Protestantism about organic union is a momentary craze, a *fin de siècle* fad, a vague, impractical wistfulness which will spend itself in talk; that a reaction will set in, the parties to the parley draw off and give themselves to their accustomed work in the old ways. Or we expect some church historian to raise an alarm against consolidation by undertaking to show that concentrated ecclesiastical unity has always meant concentrated ecclesiastical tyranny; but the facts he will cite would argue with equal force for the

division of those Christian bodies which have already grown very large. Against all imaginary objections the faith we are unwilling to relinquish compels us to look for a more perfect coordination of religious forces, by which sympathy shall banish antipathy and affectionate alliance do away with all remaining apathy and alienation. The divine Spirit is moving the hearts of men in all parts of the world toward ecumenical Christian fellowship. There is yearning for union among those who hold the evangelical essentials. A happy sense of spiritual unity spreads and deepens among the branches of Christ's family. Christendom feels along its shores a gulf stream warming chilly seas, melting icebergs, and making cold coasts bloom with summer. The strong and vital current now running through the different members of the Church catholic we hold to be an arterial outflow from the heart of Him who ever prays that all members of the Church, which is his body, may be one in him. In the religious thought and action of to-day we behold "onward-sloping motions making for one sure goal." We predict that the rising tide of intensely fraternal feeling, which the dullest observer can scarcely fail to see, will break the dikes somewhere and flow freely and far over fields which have shut themselves up in exclusiveness by guarded barriers of division. The final form results may take cannot be foreknown, nor the rate at which events will move; but effects, actual, valuable, and grand, are as certain as the sunrise is when, in the eastern sky, God begins to make for himself a crimson "rose of dawn."

THE PROBLEM OF THE COLLEGE.

EDUCATIONAL organization is undergoing some changes which are witnessed with pride by all persons interested in American civilization. These changes tend to the creation of great American universities; and it is a delightful promise that in a quarter of a century we shall be able to furnish all higher education in our own country. But this admirable movement is in some danger of becoming a centralizing one. There is a true saying, which is only relatively true, that "we have too many colleges." The sense intended is that our too small resources are expended upon too many attempts to found colleges. But if one considers the good one small college has done—if he take some one of the many for a study—he will come to feel that no small college can be spared. The ideal must be to build the university out of our resources and to keep every small college and enlarge its resources. The small colleges are already feeding the universities. The number of young men who after graduation at the small college resort to the universities is growing rapidly. It is safe to say that in ten years the annual number of such university students has doubled. In the very profitable discussion of this subject during the year we have not noticed any reference to the small college as a feeder of the university. The head of one of the small colleges tells us that, at the most moderate estimate, his college furnishes to better equipped institu-

tions more students than it graduates, and that the majority of these students would not graduate at any college if this particular small college did not exist. So far is this college from depriving the richer ones of students that precisely the reverse is true. This testimony may be taken as evidence that the future university is to be made possible by the missionary work of four or five hundred small colleges in close contact with the villages and the farms. A close observer will find that the new colleges of the last quarter century have not impaired the patronage of the older colleges. A new college behaves very much as a new Methodist church behaves—creates a new patronage. The creation of new colleges is not to be feared so much as the creation of new universities. For the equipment of a college to educate two hundred students a relatively small amount of money suffices; but there is no limit to the demands on the treasury of a great university. The benevolence which builds the small college would not be extended to the university. The college and its product are clear gains from the first, and a new college in the midst of a considerable population should be welcomed as a new civilizing force, as a new mission station for liberal education.

It would be an invidious task to fix the relative values of the education given in the small and in the large colleges; but it may be suggested that there is already an interplay between the small college and the university. The college sends its graduates to the university and gets its professors from the university. This interchange has begun, and it is sure to go on increasingly. Under this interaction, whatever may have been the relative merits formerly, the values of college education in large and small institutions must tend to an equality. The advantages to the university arising from the work of small colleges are so obvious to the experienced eye that it would not surprise us if, by and by, a great university should undertake the founding of small colleges through which to replenish its own student body.

The line between college and university is not yet finally determined. President Adams, then of the Cornell University, suggested, a few years ago, that this line should be drawn about the end of the sophomore year. Much might be done by broad-minded leaders in education, thoroughly in sympathy with both college and university education, if they would seriously address themselves to the task of so arranging the lines that the college might attain its highest usefulness and expend no force in competition with the university. There *is* a problem of the college, and a part of it is to find the proper end of college work. Another large part of this problem is set for us in a kind of despondency felt by men in the small colleges, and caused, they affirm, by the tendency to regard their work as an impertinent interfering with the functions of wealthy institutions. There is also some cause to fear that local springs of benevolence in this kind are somewhat retarded in their flow by the spectacle of the rivers of gold flowing into universities. The American mind glorifies the colossal, and even in the rural village the man of means likes to do some great thing. But we can no more dispense with the small college than we can

abolish the small church. The strength of the future university will be discounted by any tendency to eliminate the college and leave the universities to be recruited from the public schools. Four hundred small colleges may furnish ten thousand university students in A. D. 1925.

WHAT ARE THE FUNCTIONS OF THE CHURCH?

THE question put in another form might read, "Has the Church a mission to the individual only, or to society at large as well?" No thoughtful person would deny the influence of the Church upon society in general. But it is certainly as yet the prevailing belief that this influence is and ought to be through its influence upon the individual. Through her various agencies the Church reaches and molds the life of the convert, and the number of converts thus brought and held under the power of the Gospel measures and conditions her influence upon the community. Every soul won from a wicked life and brought under the sway of the kingdom of God weakens by so much the forces of evil and enlarges equally the preponderance of good. The motive which has prompted effort in soul-winning has not been the uplifting of society, but the salvation of the individual—the immortal being exposed to eternal condemnation and misery, and therefore to be rescued from the destiny toward which he is hastening with rapid strides. But seldom does the interest extend beyond the individual to the society of which he forms a part. Thought has centered about the ideal man, while the ideal kingdom of God has been forgotten. Sometimes, indeed, patriotic considerations furnish an argument in favor of home missionary endeavor, and occasionally reforms are advocated in the name of a philanthropy broad enough to embrace all mankind. Yet the general fact remains that it is the individual, and not the society, which the Church directly seeks to reach and improve.

Not only so. Protestantism has largely confined its efforts to the purely religious and moral development of the individual. If there is any broad and significant exception it is in the educational agencies which the Church has fostered. It has been felt that if the Church redeems one from the power of sin and imparts to him aspirations commensurate with the dignity of his nature she has done all that lies in her province to do. He can then enter the struggle of life with more than an even chance of success. Such sentiments have not held control in the Church by mere accident. They are the result of a careful estimate of values as drawn from the gospel scheme. Jesus came into the world to save sinners. It is for them that he died. He relieved temporal distress of every kind during his public ministry, but it was incidental to his great mission of calling sinners to repentance. It is because the Master thought of men under the two mutually exclusive categories of the saved and the unsaved that the Church has continued to do the same. The Church is the one institution upon earth which represents the divine compassion toward the

spiritually lost. To rob herself of this peculiarity would be to abdicate her throne of glory.

We have here, then, two distinguishing characteristics of the work of the Protestant Church: first, her emphasis of the individual, and, second, the limitation of her efforts to the individual's moral and religious regeneration and life. The latter involves the former. Men cannot be saved in masses, but only as individuals. The whole Protestant idea is that each soul has its independent relation to God. The Church as such is of small moment. It is an organization of individuals, but it can guarantee salvation to none of its members. Its theory is not that God saves the Church, but that he saves souls. Hence each soul is not only responsible directly to God, but also has its rights as against the Church. No man's conscience can be overpowered by any organization. The sacred right of individual liberty is a fundamental principle of Protestantism.

As a consequence there is in the Church such a development of individualism as to endanger her unity. The centrifugal forces are almost as strong as the centripetal. Yet the danger is not as great as it seems. Had there been a competent yet uninstructed observer of the processes by which the nebulous masses which now form the systems of the universe were separated into numberless smaller ones and compacted into their present form, he would have seen with pain the breaking up of the attenuated matter into independent fragments. He would have mourned that each was becoming self-centered and taking its own peculiar form. To his mind it would probably have appeared far more seemly that there should be one great body of matter—unity, even at the loss of variety. But if the same observer could have watched the processes of systematization, could he have seen the worlds fall into their orbits and swing in perfect harmony around their common center, he would have felt that the apparent anarchy was only the preparation for a far more glorious unity. A system of worlds, each a unit, and yet together forming a higher unit, is a more attractive illustration of perfect harmony than a single world containing the material of all worlds. Such a system will Protestant Christianity become. At present the individualizing tendencies are relatively too prominent. The denomination and the individual are too self-centered. Each must learn his place in the system, and so feel the force of the central sun as to keep his place and perform his part. This will not only correct the excessiveness of individual self-consciousness, but will enable the Church to look at masses of men, at society as a whole.

What, then, are the functions of the Church aside from the salvation of the individual? To secure a correct answer let us ask what course Christ pursued. He came to seek and save the lost. But for this he had not come into the world. Yet his efforts were not confined to the alleviation of spiritual woe. He was a philanthropist and statesman as well as a Redeemer. The philanthropy of Jesus will not be denied; but his statesmanship may not at first sight be so evident. His purpose to affect the State might be inferred from the fact that he has affected it wherever he has been preached. Yet this would not sufficiently prove that such

was his purpose. For this it is necessary to examine his doctrines. The result of such an investigation is plainly in favor of the view that he had in the plane of his vision not merely the individual, but the State and the world. He taught his disciples to perform their duties to the State; he defined the relation of the kingdom of God to the same, and affirmed that his rulership in the hearts of men was not in conflict with the rights of the earthly ruler. His ethics were so constructed as to lift men above mere casuistry and establish principles of conduct as suitable for national as for individual life. If his teachings are followed nations no more than individuals may be innocently godless; and international policy is as much amenable to his behests as the conduct of individuals toward each other. In a number of instances Jesus not only defined his attitude toward the State, but laid down principles which it must ultimately accept. If this be true the Church, which is the representative of Christ, must take its position on all questions of morals influencing the welfare of the State, its obligations to God and to other nations. The doctrine of the separation of Church and State is often so construed as to imply that the Church must confine its functions solely to the spiritual and moral renovation of the individual, while to the secular arm and the secular judgment is committed the conduct of national affairs. This error is enforced by a failure to distinguish between Christianity and the Gospel. The relation of the two is not that of identity, but of the whole to one of its parts. The Gospel is indeed the good news of the redemption by the blood of Christ. But Christianity is a far more comprehensive idea, embracing everything which pertains to human conduct and destiny. The Church has no more glorious mission than that of proclaiming to souls in bondage to Satan the deliverance offered by Christ. But it is impossible for the Christian to do his Master's will and at the same time be obedient to a Christless State. This was soon discovered by the authorities of the Roman empire, and the struggle for supremacy was inevitable. Christianity must either transform or overthrow the power of Rome. In three hundred years the former was accomplished. On purely partisan questions the Church may be silent, only doing what she can to abate the animosities of political campaigns. But upon the principles involved, so far as they are of a moral kind, the Church must speak, if not in her legislative capacity at least through her pulpits. The cry of the politician to "keep politics out of the pulpit" springs from the feeling that Christian morals and political principles are often inconveniently at variance.

But not alone on questions which have become partisan, but also on all matters relating to the welfare of men, the Church should commit herself and be active. So far as temperance, slavery, marriage and divorce, polygamy, and many other reforms are concerned, this has been done in recent years with no uncertain sound. Yet there are other interests not so clearly connected with the moral welfare of the people concerning which the Church has too long been silent. It is safe to say that the Church has never yet applied herself to the study of social and economical questions. Individual cases of distress she has gladly relieved; and it is

false to assert that the Church has not cared for the poor and unfortunate. Her whole history is a refutation of such a slander. But Christian principles have never been applied on a generous scale to the prevention of human misery. It is not enough to relieve cases of misfortune when they appear. Many of these need never appear if Christian principles prevail in society. There is something wrong in the system under which such fearful evils arise; and we may be sure that it is not the Christian features of the system which are to blame. Were our whole civilization informed by the spirit of Christianity every individual would hold a different position in society from that which he now holds. Questions of property, wages, taxes, are questions of equity and justice which the Church dare not neglect if she is to be the representative of the helpful spirit of Christ. Yet just because the Church has felt that her mission is spiritual and heavenly all such problems have been left far more to the study of seculars than of ecclesiastics. It is not right in the hope of another world to forget the demands of this. Where this is done it is little wonder that those who feel the curse of a wrong system upon them cry out against the Church for its indifference to their situation. Eleemosynary institutions are well enough, but the Church should see to it that henceforth there be less need of them than heretofore.

One of the strongest evidences that the Church has had too narrow a conception of her mission is that so many organizations distinct from the Church are formed to carry forward efforts of a Christian character. Why, for example, should there be any need in a Christian country for a separate organization for the rescue of fallen women? It is simply because the Church has not felt that for this or for any other class of unfortunates she is specially responsible. Such as came to her altars with proper evidence of repentance she would accept, but left it to others to provide on any large scale for their rescue. Yet if any work could represent the spirit of Christ Jesus it is to seek and save these lowest of the lost. Penal institutions should perhaps be left entirely to the State to support, although even here the Church should make her influence felt in the principles of their management. Nor should reformatory institutions and hospitals be thrown upon the Church alone for support, especially where voluntary contributions are her only source of income. But the Church as such should either establish, or cause to be established, institutions looking toward the rescue of all the exposed classes from the clutch of the tempter. The open saloon, which as often stands for good-fellowship as for dissipation, should be met, not by another saloon, but by a place of assembly equally free of access, and as inviting in its appointments as it is possible to make it, where men may meet and gratify their love of congenial society. A Christian temple whose precincts are too sacred for such uses is dedicated to some other god than the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. It is the bane of our ecclesiastical architecture that it symbolizes and is adapted chiefly to the purposes of devotion. In consequence none enter the Church except such as feel some distinctively religious need. Upon all others we fail to have any direct influence what-

ever. Christianity must seek with mighty and increasing energy to turn men from sin to holiness. But if it cannot do this must it have no mission to them whatever? Must men feel that the Church cares nothing for the unconverted except as she hopes to convert them? We may indeed mourn that any should love our Lord so little that, while enjoying the privileges of the church reading room, he would wholly absent himself from the prayer room. But are we accomplishing any better work when we close up our reading room and allow him to seek his literature outside of the Church? Will he therefore feel the more kindly toward our Lord? The human wants of which Jesus took cognizance were far more comprehensive than those of the soul. So far as it lies within her power the Church should meet these broad demands of humanity. Were this ideal realized the multitudes would follow the Church even as they did our Lord, who would not turn them away though they desired only to be fed on the loaves and fishes. The beneficial effects of this principle are finding recognition in foreign missionary work, where the Christian school-teacher and medical missionary prepare the hearts of the people for the reception of the Gospel. Even in Christian lands the first condition of successful effort on the part of a Church is that it possess the affections of the people. To this end it must show itself in sympathy with the needs of mankind, whatever they may be. And this does not transcend the proper functions of the Church of God. The prevailing idea that only in securing men's spiritual development does the Church have her legitimate sphere of action is a reminiscence of the old ascetic belief that everything is sinful which is not directly connected with the relation of the soul to God. Both proposition and corollary are false.

The Church of to-day needs to awake to the fact that she must compete for the souls of men. As never before the forces of wickedness and of worldliness are organized. The natural man has an affinity for the world and for wickedness which he does not have for the Gospel. The avenues of approach to his soul on those sides which the Church neglects are far more numerous and open than toward the Gospel. We insist upon the Gospel; he insists upon his worldly wants. We have nothing to offer which he desires. The result is that he is alienated from Christ more and more. This we charge to the hardness of his heart, and with truth; but perhaps we could soften his heart by another method. If we offered him some other good which he could appreciate it may be that we could win his confidence so that he would listen when we seek also the welfare of his soul. It is a plan that has worked well when tried by individual Christians. Why should it not be efficacious when undertaken by the Church as an organized body? We need abate none of our earnestness in the effort to save men from sin. Nay, we must rather increase these efforts, and that by employing a greater variety of methods adapted to a greater variety of characters than heretofore. On a larger scale than in the past we must follow the principle of John Wesley and deny Satan the exclusive right to the good things of this life. If we leave all these things to be furnished by the world we strengthen by so much the world's

hold upon our youth and weaken by so much our own. Not only so. We show that there is in our minds a divorce between the legitimate affairs of life and Christianity. This is fatal to all true piety. It is upon just such an idea as this that the maxim, "Business is business, and religion is religion," is based. Furthermore, we expose the lives of the people to influences not controlled by the spirit of Christ. If the Church does not furnish amusement the world will; and, rather than not be amused, most people will attend entertainments from which they would stay away if purer and more elevating ones were offered. We cannot offer a church card table, nor a church theater, nor a church dance without placing ourselves exactly on a level with the world and destroying the distinction which should here be maintained. But there are other amusements which are just as pleasing to the majority. Any congregation that will can compete with the world in furnishing entertainments for its adherents. They can do it without descending to that which is debasing and without any interference with evangelistic efforts. If by entering into competition we can hold the masses true to the Church is it not plainly a duty to do so?

But the question reaches wider still. In every large city there are thousands of young men and women who have aspirations far beyond the range of their opportunities. Many of these belong to the Churches. They are anxious to become stenographers, telegraphers, bookkeepers, and to accomplish themselves in music, drawing, elocution, etc. Is there not here a field for church activity? Every such occupation acquired becomes an added source of power and influence. The Church develops her own resources by encouraging all these things. But in most cases all provision for such advancement is left to outside benevolent enterprise. In many instances the Young Men's or Young Women's Christian Associations furnish the facilities needed. The result is that those receiving the benefits feel more kindly toward these institutions than toward the Church. The former have befriended them, the latter has not. Why should the Church forfeit all these opportunities for winning the affections of the people? Why give men over for so large a portion of their time to influences which are often both in rivalry and in opposition to us? Our church edifices could with very little modification be adapted to a greater variety of purposes than they now are. There is scarcely anything of the kind now suggested which would not pay its own expenses from the very beginning. Few churches are so poorly provided that they could not furnish or enlist the necessary talent. Only the feeling that such efforts on the part of the Church are within her sphere seems lacking. Let the splendid organization of the Epworth League be an illustration of what can and ought to be done. Projected upon this broad Christian principle, the languishing work of many a downtown church about to be abandoned would revive, and the masses would begin to feel that in the Church they have a friend. The favor bestowed is small in comparison with the salvation of the soul. But even a cup of cold water may be given in the name of Christ, and those who in his name minister to the temporal good of men shall not lose their reward.

PROGRESS OF CIVILIZATION.

THE pursuit of knowledge is the master passion of mankind. In some sense ignorance always seems a reproach. The human mind is a perpetual interrogation point. Nor does it put inquiries merely for the idle sport of asking questions, without expectation that they may be answered. Every mystery in nature is a standing challenge to the intellectual man; every wonder in revelation is a defiance to his skill and a call to investigation. There is no closed gate which the scholar does not seek to open and through which he does not ardently wish to walk. The very uncertainty of what lies in the untrodden fields beyond gives zest to his pursuit and activity to his imagination. And that there are yet many closed gates should be one of the satisfactions of the student. Only intellectual sluggards can regret the existence of mysteries in the universe. Through experiment and struggle is the scholar to enter into his kingdom. In harmony with this view the unceasing diligence of the investigator is one of the satisfactory spectacles of the times. He is not abashed to confess his ignorance, since this confession is one of the first steps to knowledge. In that humility which becomes men who have much to learn he is as one who has but mastered the alphabet. Never in the history of mental research has true scholarship been more modest in its professions. But its zeal keeps pace with its humility. Every department seems to vie with the others in the untiring application of its specialists. In theology the review of all the fields of early New Testament history, the textual study of every Hebraic and Greek manuscript, and the revision of every definition of systematic theology seem the order of the day. Always a noble pursuit, because of the weighty interests of man the immortal which are involved, the study of theology was never more inviting or promissory of rewards to the inquirer. Astronomy is likewise alert. Feeling its privilege to review all that Ptolemy and Copernicus, Tycho Brahe and Kepler, Herschel and Fraunhofer have left as truth, and thankful for all the deductions of these leaders in its department, its gaze is still upward to learn the ultimate certainties. No eclipse nor meteoric shower nor distant asteroid goes unnoticed. We cannot limit the future of astronomy even by its past. Concerning the immeasurable stretches of space whose very mention is awe-inspiring, and the constellations which gleam in distant beauty in the firmament, what wonders will our children's children not know in the coming century! Geology, archæology, paleontology, ethnology, botany, and chemistry—all of them most sublime and engaging pursuits—are also at white heat in their investigations and experiments. One covets the opportunities for specialism in each of these departments, so broad is the field for inquiry and so certain the harvest yield. And what shall be said of the advance of medicine? In its various subdepartments the progress is marvelous. The surgeon is learning the possibilities of operation upon vital organs that but a few years ago it would

have been reckoned madness to touch. The germs of hitherto unexplainable diseases are being discovered. Hydrophobia seems to be mastered. Wonderful additions to *materia medica* are made, and human life, that always precious inheritance, is put at greater premium. The ultimate truth in all departments is worth the effort. All hail to the progressing scholarship of the world!

WITH the skill of a great commander Mr. Gladstone seems to be advancing the interests of Home Rule toward their consummation. Though a lull has come for a little in the great agitation, the cause, like all others which involve the rights of humanity, is immortal. As though it were altogether lodged in the person of the "grand old man," its opponents have somewhat lately heaped upon its champion their contumely. Like a chapter from the old books of the martyrs seems the story of the burning of Mr. Gladstone's effigy in the streets of Belfast, or the record of other indignities with which his excited adversaries have requited him. In his green old age, when honorable service and accumulated honors would seem to justify his retirement, this octogenarian is fighting the battle of his life for Irish autonomy. Neither effigies nor the hootings of mobs alarm his intrepid soul. Were his life's blood the crowning demand made of him in the prosecution of his sublime idea he would pay the price with a martyr's courage. Life has but little more for him in years. To walk the path of death for others would be to follow Paul and Polycarp and Huss, and more of the world's greatest heroes. Yet no moral reform can die with the individual. Though Stephen was martyred and Peter thrown into the dungeon the Christian religion grew and flourished. Because Galileo was haled before the Inquisition true science was not eclipsed or overthrown. What if Luther and Bunyan were imprisoned? Still the truth moved on. The cause of Livingstone and Hannington still lives in Africa. The "soul" of the martyred John Brown went "marching on" with untiring course, accomplishing what the living John Brown could never have effected, until slavery was trodden under foot by an indignant nation. To burn Mr. Gladstone in effigy, to assault his person, to put him to martyrdom, is not to end the cry for Home Rule. Though in the judgment of its adversaries it is not without its radical demerits, yet it takes its place with the great moral reforms of history. Such principles are greater than individuals. For their preservation the sleepless sentinels of God stand upon the watch until the daybreak.

OF the publishing of many books there is no end. The statement lately made that nearly five thousand new volumes were issued during 1892—the number being an increase of more than two hundred books over the total of the preceding year—is a surface argument that is full of promise for the progress of literature. In no age since the invention of type and of the later facilities for cheap and rapid publication has the printing press exerted a more commanding influence over home and society. It

rouses the tenderest sentiments to activity; it incites to indignation over wrong-doing; it stirs to daily accomplishment. Whoever writes the list of the forces that shape our nineteenth-century life must put foremost among these influences the printing press. In the present instance the classification by departments of the five thousand new volumes for the past year affords instructive lessons. Probably it will cause no surprise that, in the enumeration of publications for 1892 made by the *Publishers' Weekly*, fiction leads the list. Some 1,102 volumes, or nearly a quarter of the total of the new issues, are included in this division. Among the remaining classes the religious department embraces 502 new volumes; law, 374; poetry, 259; biography, 234; travel, 192; history, 165; arts, 128; philosophy, 33; and humor, 31. The catalogue is worthy of more than passing study. That but thirty-three new books have been added to the department of philosophy does not, at least on the surface, argue for the conservation of intellectual vigor on the part of the American nation. Now, as heretofore, it is easy to count upon the fingers the lovers of metaphysical or scientific inquiry. The dust gathers quickly upon the treatises of scholars in the department wherein Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* is a conspicuous ornament. There is always foothold and to spare in the sphere where Hegel and Cousin moved as untiring and peerless investigators. The nation, it is evident, is consumed by no burning love for philosophy. Perhaps its indifference is explained in part by the more practical demands of the age to which it belongs; but certain it is that one of the inspiring departments of intellectual research is an untrodden domain to the great majority of American readers. In the conviction that the cultivation of the philosophical tastes tends in part to the greatness and progressiveness of national life we can but deplore the showing which the tabulation affords. But, passing from philosophy to other departments, the issue of 165 volumes in the department of history and of 234 in the field of biography inspires a greater degree of encouragement. The two departments go hand in hand. All biography is true history; all history, in its final analysis, is the kaleidoscopic grouping of individual biographies. Hence both departments are invaluable. Human life is a perpetual circle. The past interprets the present. A nation that has time in its pressing employments to commune with individuals and governments which have passed from the stage cultivates a most intelligent view of existence. Many of the historical volumes which have been issued in the past year have treated, we infer, of epochs in eastern and ancient experience; and those who have read have broadened their horizon forever. Among the biographies of the past year the life-stories of Christian heroes, of godly women, of self-sacrificing missionaries, have been included, and such characters never die. Their influence sweeps all continents and permeates all centuries. The American nation has been benefited in the addition of these late life-sketches to biographic literature. As to the issue of fiction, the reactionary movement which has already begun in France has hardly made a corresponding impression among ourselves. A few of these latest romances, we suppose, are good;

many are probably passable, without particular moral lessons; not a few are likely the portrayals of impossible situations on the part of impossible heroes, are tainted with inelegances or even vulgarities of utterance, or are couched in the labored and grandiloquent verbiage of the hack-writer. Whoever watches the stream of novels that pours from the perennial fountain-head of publication must regret the issue of much that flows forth broadcast upon its poisonous errand. The excessive patronage of the department of fiction in our public libraries is not a wholesome sign. All right thinkers must deplore the reading of so much that is enervating, and hope for its speedy extermination. Yet the American people read. Reading makes "the full man." In the enlarging issue of printed books lies a prophecy of the universal spread of knowledge.

THE Commencement season has returned again in the cycle of the year. Without variation, save in relatively minor details, the experiences of this festival week have reproduced themselves as they have come for the past century to the American graduate. Under the campus trees the alumnus with his whitening hair has wandered—older by many pages in the almanac and wiser by many contacts with the jostling world than when he first walked those shades a graduate. In awe-inspiring conclave the boards of trustees have again surveyed the interests of their universities and have set into operation enactments that will advance still further the interests of higher education. Out upon the fragrant air of June the strains of the college roundelay have rung. Awarded have been the last prizes of undergraduate life, and forth into the great world has trooped the liberated and elated host, dreaming over again the old dream of service, success, and imperishable fame! Whoever has once trod the Commencement stage, when life was new and sweet, is in harmony with the season and is a brother forever to this new company that now enrich the public life. Commencement—talismanic word! An oasis is it in the arid desert of too many crowded lives; a halt in the weary climb toward the summits; a song in the prosaic round of official service. Rich is the man who has had in his soul-development the molding influences of a Commencement season! But after Commencement, what? The question should not be lightly dismissed. The prime responsibilities of life are on the graduate. *Noblesse oblige.* To have been awarded a diploma from Harvard, Yale, Johns Hopkins, or any of the goodly company of Wesleyan Universities means that one should fight in the front rank the battle with unrighteousness. The world never expected greater things of the alumnus. He must be in the highest sense a noble man. He should do nothing in a desultory, a selfish, an unworthy way. While desiring to speak of the many glorious opportunities for worldly success that open before the graduate, we may at present only refer to the moral quality of his service. In medicine, the law, commerce, letters, or the ministry the uttermost is expected of him. Unto "whom men have committed much, of him they will ask the more." The seal of responsibility is set upon the very forehead of the university graduate.

THE ARENA.

THE ORDER FOR PUBLIC WORSHIP.

BISHOP GOODSELL, in the January number of the *Review*, has a very suggestive article entitled "Whither?—A Study of Tendency." The bishop's opportunities for observing the tendencies in the Church qualify him for speaking on such a subject and entitle his opinions to careful consideration. On page 17 he says: "I note, secondly, the manifest tendency toward a greater participation on the part of the people in the exercise of public worship. Against all protests, fears, and hysterics, the ritual in some form has come to stay." Again he says: "There is a distinct tendency toward unity in and around the Anglican Prayer Book."

There can be no valid objection to this goal whither the tendency is carrying us, since the Anglican Prayer Book has stood the test of time as a manual of devotion, and is hallowed by a thousand sacred charms and associations. Mr. Wesley declared it, in his opinion, the best ever used in the Church; and, somewhat modified and abridged, it was adopted as the legal order of public worship when the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized. Mr. Wesley himself prepared an edition of it, and sent it to America when he sent Dr. Coke with letters of episcopal authority to organize the Church. This book, entitled *The Sunday Service of the Methodists in North America, with Other Occasional Services*, the Conference of 1784 adopted for the use of the Church which was then organized. This was one of the acts of the organizing Conference, and was a part of the Constitution of the Church; and it was as much ordained that the new organization should be a liturgical as that it should be an episcopal Church. The bishops and elders proceeded at once to use the liturgy which was thus provided. Its discontinuance in the ordinary Sunday services was gradual, and not on account of any legislation repealing its use, but because of the primitive condition of the country, the difficulty of providing and distributing the books, and the inconveniences attending many of our congregations, most of which were compelled to meet in private houses and other places ill adapted to the orderly forms of public worship.

Now, since there is a distinct tendency toward the Anglican Prayer Book, as Bishop Goodsell has shown, why should not our bishops and others in places of authority and influence seize the opportunity to direct this tendency and so secure the uniformity in our public worship so long desired but not yet obtained? Probably not one half our ministers now conform strictly to the order laid down in Chapter V, Part I, of the Discipline. Some sin by omission, others by commission. One congregation uses the Psalter, another recites the Creed and sings the Gloria Patri, while another "enriches the service" in some other way. Some ministers fail to repeat the Lord's Prayer, and so on.

The Methodist Episcopal Church was the first in America to adopt a prayer book after the independence of the United States had terminated

the authority of the Anglican Church in this country, and all later comers are mere copyists and imitators. Why should not our book agents issue an edition of the *Sunday Service?* Then all those ministers and congregations that are "enriching the service" in various ways could use this book, prepared by the original Methodist, our venerable founder, for the use of the Methodists in America. There can be no legal objection to the restoration of the *Sunday Service*, since the law which ordained its use has never been repealed. Its use would not be an innovation in our system. It is entirely competent, therefore, for the book agents to publish the book and for any of our congregations to use it. By this means it would gradually come into use in all our congregations.

There can be no doubt that this would be an advantage to the Church in many ways. Our Church has not ceased to be a great evangelizing agency—God forbid it should!—but it is now far more than that, because it has been such an agency. It has a large duty of caring for and edifying the millions gathered into its fold through its great revivals and providing for their nurture in the Church which brought them to Christ. Since there is a manifest tendency on the part of the people toward a greater participation in public worship, the Church should take notice of this fact; and since the tendency is toward a prayer book, the adoption of the *Sunday Service* would evidently be the providential means of supplying the want. And especially is this so since the conditions which caused the book to fall into disuse no longer exist.

There is a dignity and solidity attending the use of a liturgy which does not attend an extemporized service; while many prayers offered in our pulpits on the occasion of public worship are sadly deficient as an expression of the people's wants. The average man is swayed more or less by his moods and tenses even in public prayer; and now and then—seldom, let us hope—the minister castigates a delinquent congregation when he is ostensibly supplicating the throne of grace in their behalf.

In many congregations, even at the morning service, one fails to hear prayer offered for "the President of the United States and all others in authority," while "all sorts and conditions of men" are left out, except the mere handful present; and often there is no general confession, without which the morning prayer is incomplete. Surely we need some better guide or directory for public worship under these circumstances. The use of a liturgy would cure these defects.

It should be borne in mind that the employment of a liturgy has never fallen into disuse among us for special occasions, but only for the regular Sunday services. It would be but a step, therefore, to the restoration of the *Sunday Service* for morning and evening worship, as recommended by Mr. Wesley. This would be a return to the provision made by the first Conference, which sent out Francis Asbury as the first bishop consecrated in America, with this historic liturgy in his hands, to organize and direct what has become the great American Church. The restoration of the liturgy would gratify our most intelligent and loyal people, and would be a means of education to all in genuine love, respect, and reverence for

the Church. The want of a ritual is manifest in most of our city congregations, in many of which some innovation is made upon the bald forms of our ordinary service. Richard Watson believed a mixed service, combining freedom and liturgy, the best for the Church. We may and ought so to provide that there would be no need of further innovation to meet the wants of our people. The restoration of the *Sunday Service* would make its historic prayers, fragrant with the odor of the sanctuary and consecrated by a thousand hallowed associations, the common heritage of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and so afford the best ritual for the remotest frontier church as well as for the great city congregations.

Probably other branches of Episcopal Methodism would follow our example, and the liturgy would become a bond of union that would hasten the day when the broken fragments of a once united Church would be again united, and so our reproach be taken away.

Hastings, Minn. E. R. LATHROP.

WAGES AND PROFITS.

IN Dr. Todd's able article in the May–June number of this *Review*, while there is much to commend, there are also certain representations which appear to be open to criticism. I do not think that the inequalities in the relation of wages and profits are so great or so nearly universal as are claimed by him and by many of the popular agitators. Inequalities there are, and evils that call for redress; but let us not ignore any of the actual facts in the case. It is not the regularly employed wage-workers, as a class, that are the chief sufferers. One may properly enough sympathize with the weaker party in a fight; but after all it is always in order to inquire whether, in a given case, he is perfectly in the right. Our sympathies are more properly due to another party, so much weaker as to not be in the fight at all—"the submerged tenth," the unemployed, the casually employed, those whose earnings afford only the scantiest means of subsistence, who cannot combine or organize, who cannot strike or boycott, who have no "walking delegate," who do not cry nor lift up, and whose voice is not heard in the street.

Let us look at some of the clearly ascertained facts concerning wage-workers and employers. Dr. Todd's case of the cotton manufactory, I fear, is a fancy sketch rather than a concrete instance. His figures respecting the capital of the concern are to me somewhat confusing, and I cannot quite make out how much there really is. But it is clear enough that, in his opinion, if approximate justice prevailed in the distribution of the product the five hundred laborers would receive an average of $460 each and the proprietors seven per cent on their working capital, or, as I figure it, in all a little more than six per cent on their whole investment. Now, $460 is more than the ordinary average wages in a cotton factory amounts to if we reckon all the operatives, men, women, and children. But six per cent on his capital is also more than the stockholder in a cotton factory receives on the average. If he gets a dividend of four per cent per

annum, including interest on his investment, he is apt to feel pretty well contented; and if a well-established corporation yields much more than this the stock immediately goes above par, and by the time the dividend reaches eight or ten per cent its value doubles.

In the report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor and Wages for 1890 we find elaborately tabulated information on the whole subject of "net profits." It has cost years of toil, and all the reports from thousands of sources have been carefully analyzed and subjected to the most approved scientific tests. Their truth is beyond question. On this very subject of cotton manufacture we learn from this Report that there are in the State of Massachusetts 165 establishments. Of these there are reports concerning net profits from 137, of which 87 report net profits and 50 report no net profits. The capital of the former aggregates $65,022,512; of the latter, $36,822,437. The percentage of establishments and capital respectively is substantially the same. The net profits of the aggregate of the 137 establishments the Report represents as follows. It is usual in estimating net profits in business enterprises of this kind to allow five per cent for interest on capital, ten per cent for depreciation, and five per cent for selling expenses, bad debts, etc. But, says the Report: "If we make an allowance of one per cent for interest, two per cent for depreciation, and one per cent for selling expenses, it will leave 1.23 per cent net profit, equivalent to 0.65 per cent on the capital invested." It does not require much arithmetical ability to prove that in the cotton industry in Massachusetts even a not very high rate of wages would secure to the laborer a much larger income than a division of the product on the plan proposed by Dr. Todd.

Once more. This same Report informs us that in the 10,013 establishments investigated, comprising sixty-four separate industries, there were employed 419,956 laborers (including men, women, and children), and that the average wages of all these was $351.02; and that had all the net profits been added to the wage fund and the net product divided equally among laborers, partners, and stockholders the share of each would have been $349.47, or $1.55 less than each laborer actually averaged, while each partner and stockholder would have received a little more than $9 more than he actually did receive. Of course this does not touch the great army of the unemployed or of the casually employed, or the women at work in sweaters' shops. I apprehend it is to them that we might better turn our attention and our sympathies.

Dr. Todd insists that "the employers are partners in the losses which take place in business establishments." They suffer from the revulsions and depressions in trade; but what they suffer is lack rather than loss. But according to the proposed plan they would be compelled to participate in positive losses, and this would be a sore addition to their misfortunes.

It has been estimated that over ninety per cent of business enterprises fail sooner or later. I am not at all sure that this is true. But the certainty that a very large proportion fail makes it imprudent that poor men should risk their earnings in a general partnership instead of remain-

ing satisfied with an assured compensation, even if that were smaller than equity demands, as it sometimes certainly is. The profits of manufacturers are sometimes enormous, but such profits are rare.

Auburndale, Mass. GEORGE M. STEELE.

CORRECTION OF DR. STRONG'S "SELF-CORRECTION."

ENGLISH meter has received from the ordinary English scholar so much less attention than Latin meter that it may be well to correct Dr. Strong's correction of himself in the matter of Mrs. Adam's favorite hymn, "Nearer, my God, to thee." He was right in the first place in regarding the meter as pure iambic, and his thought that it is dactylic is an error. It will be observed that the only variations from uniform iambic measure are in the first foot. But it is a recognized law in English meter, perfectly familiar to those who have cared to study the subject, that the first foot of an iambic line may be a trochee. The line "Nearer, my God, to thee," is simply one of three iambi, of which the first has been replaced by the permissible trochee. In any piece of blank verse (iambic pentameter) something like a quarter of the lines will begin with a trochee. Our hymns offer innumerable illustrations of the same license. As an example it may be sufficient to mention such lines as: "Arm me with jealous care," "Help me to watch and pray," "Soldiers of Christ, arise," "Early, my God, without delay." In all these cases where the scheme is iambic it is an error to regard the first foot as a dactyl. It would leave the fourth syllable hanging in the air. WILLIAM HAYES WARD.

New York City.

THE MILLENNIUM.

INTERMINABLE difficulty stands in the way of those who persist in defining this term in a material sense. They will not admit that Christ's kingdom was inaugurated at his advent; that there were then fulfilled such scriptures as "Yet have I set my king upon my holy hill Zion;" that the righteous branch foretold by Jeremiah was then raised unto David, whose fallen tabernacle was then built again; that Christ then ascended the throne as the eternal successor of David, to reign henceforth over spiritual Israel, and to gather into his kingdom those out of every kindred and nation who should own his sovereignty. Disciples to-day who put a more carnal construction upon the words "kingdom," "reign," and "conquest" are doomed to the same disappointment suffered by disciples in the days of Christ. "My kingdom is not of this world," said the Saviour. In no place throughout all his teachings does he refer to any future period when these hopes respecting a temporal reign shall be fulfilled; but all goes to the account of those who maintain the opposite, fortifying their argument for only an invisible and spiritual reign, which shall increase in influence and power until it shall pervade all nations and shall stretch "from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth."

Guthrieville, Pa. G. S. KERR.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

CONFERENCE STUDIES FOR THE QUADRENNIUM.

(Continued.)

SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.

THEOLOGY is recognized as the foremost of the sciences. All its facts lie in the Bible and in the human consciousness. The formulation of these great facts by logical processes is the work of the systematic theologians. Biblical theology treats of these facts as they are recorded in the Scriptures, in relation to their environments. Systematic theology compares the doctrines which arise in exegetical studies and frames them into an harmonious system. Its study has won the homage of the profoundest minds in Christendom. No one can succeed in this department who is not sincerely reverent. He must also possess a logical and penetrating mind and have the instincts and the training of a philosopher. He needs, too, a familiarity with exegetical processes and results. It is a study for the mature intellect.

There is a tendency in these days to depreciate the study of systematic theology. It is a result of the trend of modern thought to discard formulation, especially in religion, and to apply itself chiefly to the practical. But surely the doctrine of the teaching concerning God cannot be lightly passed by. Who does not want to know what the Scriptures reveal concerning his nature and attributes, his will and character? These truths are found scattered here and there throughout his word as it has been unfolded from age to age. The harmony of these teachings during the progress of so many centuries is a proof alike of their correctness and of God's constant acting on the minds of his people in the communication of his truth.

There is no principle recognized among men as a basis of action which is not in a sense a doctrine. There is scarcely a volume that is written on any subject which is not in a certain sense the proclamation or advocacy of a doctrine. Whoever will dismiss doctrine from the world must at the same time expel truth from among mankind, for all truth is the expression of doctrine. Systematic theology, which is truth analyzed, harmonized, and formulated, is merely the doctrinal expression of the Holy Scriptures upon the most momentous subjects, and is therefore worthy of the study of all persons, especially of all preachers of the Gospel. That it is Bible truth systematized is no more to its discredit than it is to the discredit of natural science that it contains the laws of the universe as found in the world of physical nature. This study of systematic theology on the part of young preachers will not only awaken a deeper interest in all matters pertaining to religion, but it will also develop the intellect and stir the heart. For this study ample provision has been made in the new Disciplinary course. It is placed in its logical position immediately following the studies in exegesis.

In the first year systematic theology is to be studied. In the second year a particular department is considered, namely, Atonement in Christ. In the third year theological study is continued, Bishop Foster's *Supernatural Book* being the volume employed. In the fourth year the study is completed. Thus work in systematic theology continues during the whole course. The books studied are the latest and ripest productions which have appeared from our Methodist press; and the Church is to be congratulated on her productiveness in this great department.

The important problem for the young itinerant is that of the mastery of these large and at the same time compact works. In this regard two suggestions may be made. The one is to study by logical processes, endeavoring to find the standpoint of the author and to discover the mental movement by which the argument proceeds. Every great author has processes of reasoning peculiar to himself; and the ability to follow out these processes rather than to commit the book to memory is of primary importance in this study. Again, the student will find it very beneficial not to depend on the analysis, as found in the table of contents, however valuable and exhaustive it may be, but to make an analysis for himself. This method will at once stimulate the intellect and help the memory.

THE YOUNG MINISTER—THE PREPARATION.

When the consciousness of a call to preach the Gospel has taken possession of the young Christian, and when he is convinced that he will best answer the call by a preparation for the sacred office, a further question arises, namely, what shall be the character and the extent of that preparation? He naturally begins to take counsel of his friends. Each one presents a different course of study. One will tell him to enter on the course prescribed in the Discipline for admission to Conference, claiming that this, with the Conference Course added, is entirely sufficient. Another will prescribe a college course, a third a college and theological seminary course, while a fourth would have him enter a theological school at once. The situation is exceedingly perplexing to a young man who wants information at the most critical period of his life.

It would be unwise to lay down a rule that will apply in all cases. Each one of the courses indicated has something in its favor. In general, it is safe to say that the first method mentioned is a mistake. There are few persons who cannot make a more extended preparation than that. Such an amount of study would admit him to the work of no other profession, and it should be adopted only in extreme cases and under the pressure of a great necessity for laborers. The Epworth League adopts courses of study more vigorous, and yet the young preacher is to teach those of whom the Epworth League is composed.

The second course, that of college preparation, is the one which very properly attracts the greatest attention. The desire for this is very great because one sees the importance of the training which the college or the university gives him for his contact with men in other walks of

life. College training is generally regarded as essential to what is designated as a liberal education, and therefore includes those branches which foster mental development. It is remarkable to note the unanimity with which certain studies have been agreed upon by educators as best adapted to promote intellectual training. The catalogues of the various universities and colleges show that substantially the same introductory studies and the same amount of work are required by all of them. It is true a few institutions have eliminated Latin and Greek from their requirements for admission, but the number is so small that they scarcely form an exception to the general rule. Mathematics, English grammar and composition, Latin and Greek, the elements of history and of one or two modern languages, constitute the essentials. It is to be observed that these studies are intended to promote education, or mental discipline, rather than to supply information. The young student must begin by developing his intellectual faculties, and thus far no studies have been found so well adapted to secure this end as mathematics and the ancient languages.

Here then the young student for the ministry must begin. He must submit to a course of drill. It must be slow. "Make haste slowly" is an adage in no sphere more applicable than in preparing for college. Constant review is the only safe rule, and all abnormal and hasty methods of advancement must be set aside if one would attain the best passport for his college life.

INTELLECTUAL RECREATION.

THERE is ever a distinction to be observed between earnest study and intellectual recreation. By study is meant the application of one's intellectual faculties to the subject in hand until it has been mastered or until a satisfactory conclusion has been reached. This kind of study is not easy, and is only possible in its full sense when one's powers have been well disciplined by a thorough preparatory course, and especially by careful training in the classics and mathematics. Genius has been defined as the power to hold the mind to a subject until it is viewed on all sides and comprehended in all its aspects.

This capacity is of very great value to a young preacher. The danger to which he is chiefly liable is intellectual dissipation. This is the carrying to excess that which we have designated as intellectual recreation. Such recreation is as necessary in its measure as physical recreation, but when it becomes a business, rather than a diversion, it assumes the nature of dissipation. It is very pleasant to read the many fascinating articles which are constantly appearing in the periodical press. Indeed, such is the extent to which magazine writing is carried that many of the ablest writers convey their choicest productions to the public in this way. The danger arises when these become the complete source of information rather than the complement of that which has been studied in other and more extended forms. This method is like taking an article in an average cyclopedia as conveying all needful information on its subject, instead of being, as it is intended to be, a mere outline.

The danger, however, does not consist merely in the fragmentary nature of such a method of study. It lies also in the tendency to do one's work in fragments of time, to get knowledge by employing odd hours and special moods, instead of securing it by hard and continued labor. Steadiness of application is as essential for a student's life as it is in any other career. Intellectual growth is only secured by learning to hold the powers steadily to a given subject with absolute, unflinching attention. It is implied in the adage, "Be a whole man to one thing at a time." Such study is more than a glance at an article when it arrests the attention. It is such an absorption in the theme as is only satisfied when one has passed from what is written to his own independent meditations and conclusions. Until this has taken place the conclusions reached cannot be satisfactory to the inquirer.

When study is turned into recreation there arises a kind of mental dissipation which is very injurious to the mental powers and is a serious obstacle to the acquisition of thorough knowledge. This danger should be specially guarded against by the young minister. He must give less time to the ephemeral productions of the day and more to the great works of great authors if he would continue to grow in intellectual vigor. He must be watchful lest his mornings, inadvertently, become entirely occupied with desultory reading. He must be careful lest some interesting subject divert him from his task and he find the day gone before his real work has been performed. He must see to it that the hours consecrated to study be not wasted on that which is not worthy of his time or of his powers.

This view by no means involves the neglect of the literature of the day. It means that every kind of intellectual employment should have its appropriate place, and that no kind or amount of general reading can be a substitute for earnest and faithful study. There is room, also, for recreation in literature, and the magazines of our time are exceedingly rich in that which is fitted to satisfy the highest and the purest taste.

THE PRESERVATION OF MATERIALS—ANOTHER WORD.

THE preservation of sermonic materials continues to be a subject full of interest, and still calls forth important notice from our readers. The following communication from Brother Lynch is self-explanatory and seems to contain some valuable suggestions:

EDITOR ITINERANTS' CLUB: In the January number of the *Review* Brother Hartley writes concerning this subject. I have another suggestion that I am certain will prove of great value to all who adopt it. It does away with the necessity of arranging a blank book or of troubling one's self about a possibly new and better method. It consists simply in purchasing a cheap little book called *The Bible Index*, copyrighted by John M. Stevenson and for sale by A. D. F. Randolph & Co., New York. This book is a veritable treasure to me, and I would not part with it for

any consideration were it impossible to procure another. It consists of a neat blank book, of very good quality of paper, ruled so as to provide for two thousand Scripture references. In the first column there is space for the insertion of the number to be posted in the Bible opposite to the verse commented upon. In the second column provision is made for a second reference and for any number of subsequent references. The third column is devoted to the Scripture text, and the last column has space for the book reference. Thus ruled its use is exceedingly simple. For instance, suppose the minister should be reading Townsend's *Bible in the Nineteenth Century*, on page 113. He would there find a passage that beautifully illustrates John i, 3. He instantly turns to his study Bible and places opposite the verse, on the margin, the figure 1, which means that the first passage commented upon in the *Bible Index* is John i, 3. Then in the *Bible Index* the minister writes in the third column, "John i, 3," and in the fourth column, "See Townsend's *Bible in the Nineteenth Century*." If the next day he should be reading Geikie's *Hours with the Bible*, vol. i, page 51, he would find an illustration for 1 Cor. xiii, 12, and would write on the margin of the study Bible the figure 2; in column three of *Bible Index*, 1 Cor. xiii, 12; and in column four, Geikie's *Hours with the Bible*, vol. i, page 51. If, after the student had made two hundred and seventeen entries, he should be reading some passage in a book that again illustrated 1 Cor. xiii, 12, he would simply turn to his *Bible Index*, without making note in his study Bible, and write in the second column the number 218 opposite the second entry. Then opposite this number 218 in the first column he would write 1 Cor. xiii, 12, and the name of the book he was reading, with the page. Every time he wished to comment upon that passage of Scripture he would find the two references, and any others he might add thereto. To illustrate the method of using the book I transcribe a few lines from my copy of the *Index*, as follows:

Number opposite text in marg. Bible.	Next reference, same text.	Text.	Book reference.
7		Matt. iv, 1.	*Ecce Homo*, chap. ii.
12	36	Exod. xx, 14.	Butler's *Bible Work* (Exod.–Deut.), p. 190.
36		Exod. xx, 14.	*Hom. Rev.*, vol. x, p. 278.
41		Rom. 1, 16.	*Ss. Book A*, p. 13—(1.)
48		Rom. iii, 26.	Raymond's *Theol.*, vol. i, p. 23, etc.

I doubt if any *index rerum* yet arranged will afford the advantages offered in this little book; and, as it is already prepared and costs but seventy-five cents, it will pay any minister to give it a trial. If I do not receive letters of thanks for this suggestion I shall be surprised, as some ministers of distinction have said it is one of the most valuable books any friend ever brought to their attention. With this device and a *Foster's Index*, either the busiest or the most careless minister ought to be able to hold the more valuable facts and suggestions of his daily readings.

Reading, Pa. F. B. Lynch.

FOREIGN RÉSUMÉ.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

PROFESSOR DR. F. H. HESSE, OF GIESSEN.

It is truly astonishing how few German theologians hold to the Pauline authorship of the pastoral epistles. Among those who concede their post-Pauline origin is Hesse. Nevertheless he is not so extreme as to deny all traces of Pauline authorship and influence. On the other hand, he holds that fragments of these interesting letters, at least, are from the hand of Paul. He furthermore holds that these letters contain information concerning the life of Paul subsequent to the point at which the Acts of the Apostles ends, and that this information is far more trustworthy than any which we can find in the traditions of the Church. These letters are, therefore, to him not the product of forgery. They reflect different periods in the history of the Church and have reference to the needs of bishops of different localities. They are a compilation of instructions given at various times in reference to the rights and duties of officers of the Church. Therefore we dare not think of them as the product of one pen, although, on the whole, they are the product of one spirit and have the same historical background. Nor is each of these letters written by a distinct author. The history of the origin of each is the history of all. They were probably all put into their present shape by one author; but several hands worked over the original document before it reached its present form, about the middle of the second century. This, in general, is the favorite view of to-day. There is a reaction against the extreme view that they were written for the purpose of subjugating obstinate opposers of ecclesiastical authority, and that, to give them greater effect, they were ascribed to Paul, though he had no hand in them and they did not reflect his principles. As the tendency to-day is to admit the Johannean spirit in John, while denying his authorship, so the Pauline spirit is seen in these letters, though they were not wholly written by his hand. The supposition that to the Pauline portions were added the directions concerning ecclesiastical officers helps us out of an historical difficulty, since these letters, if wholly Pauline, presuppose a much earlier development of the officiary of the Church than we have otherwise reason to find. To those who do not believe in a divinely ordained principle of church government the supposition of the late origin of these directions holds nothing very repulsive.

DR. ERNST HÜCKSTÄDT.

Occasionally an overburdened German pastor finds time to make his influence felt outside the bounds of his own parish. Such is the case with Dr. Hückstädt, whose studies in the history of doctrine are of great value. A brief statement of his treatment of the Book of Hermas the Shepherd will illustrate his method of historical research and show the significance of such studies. He begins by fixing the date, the authorship, and the

object of the book. He then proceeds to educe the doctrines it contains: 1. Concerning the revelation of God in creation; 2. Concerning the revelation of God in the sacred history. It is under the second point that he commits the offense of reading into the book what he believes and out of it what he does not believe. He holds that the author was a member of the Church catholic, and that his book is a presentation of the doctrines in vogue about A. D. 140. As it was written at that period of the Church's history he supposes the teachings to be comparatively true to those of the apostles. Now he finds, with regard to Christ, no reference to the supernatural conception, no representation of Jesus as the Son of God, no support for the idea that Jesus was more than a sinless man, no teaching concerning the doctrine of original sin; while he makes the preexistent Son of God identical with the Holy Spirit. The death of Christ had no special significance. It was a part of his work, as that which preceded and that which has since followed. It seems a pity for an author so well qualified by natural endowments and cultivation as Hückstädt to allow his own subjectivity to so completely master him. One is impressed throughout that his conclusions are foregone, and that all he does is to so interpret the language as to make them support his opinions. He strenuously opposes Zahn, confessedly the greatest expositor of Hermas, unless we may except Harnack; and he opposes him chiefly along those lines which affect evangelical doctrine. His course vitiates confidence in all his conclusions, even on points where no special doctrinal significance is recognized. It is difficult, indeed, to eliminate wholly the subjective element from our judgments, and there are few who succeed in the attempt. But in the case of Hückstädt the subjective is plainly the predominant element.

DR. HEINRICH BÖTTGER.

This man, who was a librarian, waited until he was eighty years old before he took up the cudgel against the dogmaticians. He is appalled at the divergent beliefs which are held in the body of Christ, and believes that only an appeal to primitive Christianity can settle the questions in dispute. He maintains that early Christianity was practically free from dogma, and that the faith of the Church was mainly centered about miraculous manifestations; that is, the supernatural elements of Christianity were those which held the attention of the followers of Christ. That the attempt to systematize theology and state the fundamental facts of the Christian religion in exact words has led to wide divisions among Christians is unquestionable. The Christianity of revelation pertained to life. There were many gaps in the system, but none which affected conduct. It is only when men begin to philosophize upon Christianity as a system that differences of opinion begin to arise. When religion becomes a theory, as well as a practice, all manner of speculations may be expected to arise. It is the bane of Christendom to-day that we are striving after a science of religion. The leaders of religious thought are investigating the Christian system with all the power of their intellects; they might better

spend their energies in trying to further the practical interests of Christ's kingdom. It is the peculiar merit of the Ritschl school in Germany that they insist upon making Christianity a practical concern; their mistake is in not consistently carrying out their own fundamental position. John Wesley was wiser in his day. He, too, believed that Christianity was nothing more than a practical concern of life. There were many dogmas which he firmly held and many which he denied; but to the utmost of his ability he avoided antagonism with others, and maintained the importance of the practical side of religion. Germany has been riven with controversies until the life has been taken out of her faith. America is raising up a class of theologians whose tendencies are in the same direction. The danger from them is not in any views they may hold of the inspiration or inerrancy of the Bible, but lest they lead devout minds to shift the center of gravity from the heart to the head. They have no thought of this kind, but there is danger of that very result.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

THE PROPHECIES OF THE CAPTIVITY, BY R. T. HEREFORD.

This book is mentioned here, not because it is of any special importance or because it adds anything to our stock of theological knowledge, but because it is a convenient handbook in which to find in English a popular presentation of the latest conclusions of criticism concerning the latter part of Isaiah. The author does not positively deny that Isaiah wrote the last twenty-seven chapters. He claims, however, that their subject, manner, and style are so distinct as to warrant their treatment as an independent work. The book is one of the series of biblical manuals published by the Sunday School Association of London. The commentary is based upon the English of the Revised Version. The introduction is treated under five heads: a general sketch of the historical groundwork of the prophecies; a sketch of their form and contents; an account of the theology of the prophet, so far as it is characteristic of him; a special notice of his doctrine of the "servant of Jehovah;" an account of the evidence bearing upon the date and authorship of the prophecies. After reading the book one is filled with wonder that a Sunday school association should think it worth while to publish it. The purpose of a Sunday school association, as we understand it here in America, is to furnish literature which tends directly to spiritual edification, not to trouble itself with questions of higher criticism. Yet here is a book which tacitly assumes the correctness of higher critical principles and spreads the results before the minds of the young. The wonder ceases, however, when we read on past the last comment and into the list of advertised books for the Sunday school and home published by the Sunday School Association, and see the prominence given to the Unitarian faith. Although many Trinitarians believe with regard to the last chapters of Isaiah as does this Unitarian, yet would they hardly think it a suitable thing to teach their views to a Sunday school class. These critical opinions are not

settled in the minds of most critical scholars. They are held as opinions, not as dogmas. They have not yet reached the stage where they may with safety be made the property of the adult layman, much less of youth. But the dogmatic negativeness of the Unitarians loves just such food. They believe, not as scholars, but as partisans. Nevertheless, we still recommend this little manual, not to children and youth, but to more mature Christians who wish to know the modern teaching concerning Isaiah.

"THE SERVANT OF THE LORD" IN ISAIAH XL-LXVI, BY JOHN FORBES, D.D., LL.D.

As a companion to the book just mentioned this should be used. It is written with a full knowledge of the arguments against the Isaiahan authorship and of the fact that nearly all European scholars admit that Isaiah did not write it, and yet it maintains him as the author. He gives five principal reasons for holding to the traditional view. 1. The reference in the decree of Cyrus (Ezra i, 1, 2) to the supremacy of Jehovah is copied from Isaiah xliv, 27, 28; xlv, 1, 13. Professor Forbes thinks so worldly-wise a man as Cyrus would not have issued such a decree without the most convincing evidence of the genuineness and antiquity of the prophecy of Isaiah. 2. He thinks the language, "I am the Lord which called them by name;" "I have called thee by name;" "I have surnamed thee," referring to Cyrus, could have been justified only by its utterance long before the birth of Cyrus. The emphasis it gives to the fact that he is called by name would be ridiculous if written at the close of the Babylonian exile. 3. "The fondness of the writer for paronomasia, or allusion to the symbolical import of names, speaks strongly for his identification with the proto-Isaiah who arranged his first great prophecy so as to bring out successively the import of the names of his sons and himself. . . . A later writer . . . would have most carefully avoided such apparent identification of himself with his predecessor." Besides, the writer of second Isaiah has identified his age with that of Hezekiah (chap. xxxviii, 5–22) and his queen Hephzibah (chap. lxii, 4, 5). 4. He affirms that the prophecy of chapters xl–lxvi forms part of the whole Book of Isaiah. Chapters xxxviii, xxxix, narrate Hezekiah's sickness and the message of the Lord to him—"All that is in thine house . . . shall be carried to Babylon. . . . And thy sons . . . shall be eunuchs in the palace of the king of Babylon," thus preparing the people for his prophetic description of the Babylonian period. 5. The fact that chapter xl does not begin with a formula such as "The word of the Lord came," as distinct prophecies usually do, shows that it is a continuation of what had already been begun. Some of these arguments directly contravene the positions taken by the supporters of the deutero-Isaiahan theory. For example, in opposition to 3 it is usually held that the second Isaiah identifies his age with that of the Babylonian exile, whereas the second Isaiah made his age that of Assyria. Also, in opposition to 4 it is held that the first Isaiah never announces the Babylonian captivity, and hence could not speak as the writer of chapters xl–lxvi does. The book is a true specimen of higher criticism on the traditional side.

THE LIVES AND TIMES OF THE MINOR PROPHETS, BY REV. F. W. FARRAR, D.D.

We do not mention this book for its originality nor for its recent publication, but for much the same reasons which have prompted the mention of the two preceding, namely, that it is an accessible source of critical information on the topic of which it treats. In fact, the book, one of the *Men of the Bible* series, gives us a tolerably full critical discussion in popular form of the whole question of prophecy. Farrar follows Kuenen's division of the prophets into five groups: 1. B. C. 900–850. The Pre-Assyrian period —Amos, Hosea, Joel (?); 2. B. C. 850–700. The Assyrian period—Micah, Isaiah; 3. B. C. 626–586. The Chaldean period—Nahum, Zephaniah, Jeremiah, Habakkuk, the elder Zechariah, Obadiah; 4. B. C. 586–536. The exile—Ezekiel; 5. B. C. 520–400. The postexilic prophets—Zechariah, Haggai, Malachi. It will be noticed that he does not include in this list either Jonah or Daniel. The former only comes legitimately under his notice. He, with most other recent authors, denies it the character of prophecy, calling it rather "the history of a prophecy." It is a moral allegory, not actual history. He favors the view that it was written subsequent to the exile, possibly as late as the Maccabean age. Farrar is not of those who doubt the historicity of Jonah on account of its miracles. His position is that of many other evangelical critics, that there is no reason for taking these statements as literal facts. Its moral and religious lessons are equally valid if it be taken as allegory. He believes also in a threefold Zechariah. The division he makes is the usual one—chapters i–viii; ix–xi; xii–xiv. In order to understand this division it must be remembered that the true Zechariah (i–viii) was a postexilian prophet. The anonymous author of chapters ix–xi he places in the northern kingdom about the time of the first Isaiah. The third portion was also written by an unknown prophet, who lived, probably, about the time of Jeremiah. This method of treatment will illustrate the critical view that the name placed at the head of a book does not necessarily apply to all the prophecies which lie between that and the next name. Farrar thinks it impossible to maintain the unity of Zechariah, and regards the assignment of the three books to one author as a mistake arising from forgetfulness of the real author and some slight similarity between the three parts.

THE HIGHER CRITICS AND THE PROPHETS.

Excepting the Pentateuch, no part of the Old Testament receives at the present time so much attention from the higher critics as the books of the prophets. The importance of these books to the various critical theories is inestimable. Generally speaking, the traditional view of the authorship and date of the prophecies is not questioned. The latter part of Isaiah, the books of Daniel and Jonah, and Zechariah ix–xiv are placed at different dates from those generally accepted; but the remainder are conceded to be the work of the prophets to whom they are ascribed. As a consequence, whatever they say is scrutinized with the most minute care, to determine what they knew or did not know of the history of

Israel declared in the earlier books of the Bible to have occurred prior to or during their lifetime. It is one of the strongest evidences to the critics of the late origin of the Pentateuch, that the prophets seem not to have known of many of the provisions which it contains, but on the contrary denounced the very things the Pentateuch commands. This, it is supposed, they would not have done had these commandments been known to be in existence and derived from Moses himself. The prophets thus become in a measure to the Old Testament what the four principal letters of Paul have been to the New Testament. They are the criterion by which the rest is judged. One of the consequences of this is a large number of published works on the prophecies and the prophets. In the nature of the case these critics must take their stand concerning prophecy. Until they are sure of their ground here they can make no progress. This is as true of the New Testament critics as of the Old, but for a different reason. Much of the New Testament professes to be the record of the fulfillment of prophecy. But if it be such its supernatural character is at once assured. Hence there is of necessity a feverish anxiety on the part of traditionalist, conservative, and radical to ascertain the facts as to fulfillment or nonfulfillment. If the professed fulfillments recorded in the New Testament are unreal, then the connection between the events in the New and the prophecies in the Old is destroyed; our faith in the supernatural character of Christianity, and also in the inspiration of the prophets, is somewhat shaken. On the other hand, it must also be settled whether the apparent fulfillments are mere coincidences or whether the mind which inspired the prophecies also directed the history, so that all came to pass as predicted. Were the prophets deceivers, or were they sincere? If the latter, what proof have we that they were truly sent of God? The great difficulty in believing in the true inspiration of the prophets lies in the other difficulty of finding an agreement between their predictions and their fulfillment. This divergence is admitted by most cautious conservatives; but it is explained in a different way from that employed by the radicals. Both classes undertake to explain the phenomena from the nature and purpose of prediction. But the radicals simply place Hebrew prophecy on a par with similar manifestations in heathendom, while the conservatives maintain the true divine mission of the prophets. The explanation they give of the partial nonfulfillment of the predictions of the Old Testament prophets is that these predictions are conditional. In Jeremiah xviii, 7–10, God declares it as one of the principles of his government that he will carry out his threatenings or recall them, according as his people subsequently conduct themselves; and so also of his promises. And God is moved to make his promises and threatenings conditional by the fact that man, with whom God has to deal, is a changeable being, and also by the fact that he will not cut himself off from the privilege of exercising mercy. It is the failure of the radical student of prophecy to recognize this conditionality of the prophecies which has caused them so often to declare the prophets either deceivers or deceived. A further explanation is given in the fact that many of the prophecies were put in the form of a promise

of temporal good, subsequently realized in spiritual blessing. Yet it was necessary to predict in the earthly form, because God foresaw that Israel would make the fulfillment slow by their sins, and because promise in the earthly form alone would have the effect of controlling their conduct. Thus taken literally many prophecies never came to pass; and yet they were realized in a higher form, made possible by the gradual development of a higher religious state. Whatever weight we may give to these explanations, they show conclusively that it is not necessary to suppose that the prophets were, on the one hand, deceivers nor, on the other, deceived. They spoke the truth. Their predictions found fulfillment according to the possibilities prepared by man himself.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

PRUSSIAN ECCLESIASTICAL STATISTICS.

THE report of the Church authorities in Berlin of the work of the evangelical Church for 1891 has recently been published. It contains the following interesting statistics: Of the 562,961 children born during 1891 there were baptized 533,244; out of every 100 marriages 91 were solemnized by ministers. These figures are supposed to indicate an unexpected loyalty to the ordinances of the Church, neglect of baptism and civil, instead of ecclesiastical, marriages having heretofore been on the increase. Of those adults who became adherents of the evangelical Church 289 were Jews, 2,478 Roman Catholics, 478 from other communions. Of those who forsook the evangelical Church 6 became Jews, 204 Roman Catholics, and 2,679 entered other communions. These figures also are encouraging, take them as you will. For the number of Jews and Romanists who became evangelicals is large in proportion to the number of those evangelicals who became Jews or Romanists. The 2,679 evangelicals who entered other communions went mostly to Methodist, Baptist, and other similar organizations. But the number of divorce processes increased frightfully, the whole number being 12,026, while there were actually 4,273 divorces granted. The whole number of new churches dedicated was 59.

THE READMISSION OF THE JESUITS TO GERMANY.

ON the 20th of February a meeting of those who are opposed to the return of the Jesuits was held in Barmen. About 1,500 persons were present from Prussia, Würtemberg, Thuringia, and Bremen, the meeting having been called by about 480 evangelicals from every part of Germany. Professor Dr. Achelis, of Marburg, spoke on "The Morals of the Jesuits;" Professor Dr. Rietschel, of Leipsic, on "The Order of Jesuits and Our Civil Life;" and Court-preacher Rogge, of Berlin, on the political side of the question. The strong utterances of the meeting against the readmission of the Jesuits were sent by telegraph to the imperial chancellor. At the same time another meeting was held in Ludwigshafen which adopted similar resolutions. A petition has been sent to the Reichstag

from the committee in Barmen signed by 68,798 persons. Another gathered by the pastors of 39 different parishes has been sent, and it reaches the proportions of 84,655 signers. Petitions have also been sent from almost all officiaries of the congregations in the district of Wiesbaden. From Leipsic a petition was sent signed by 15,604 persons. Even Roman Catholics in many cases sign these petitions. It hardly seems possible that in the face of all this opposition the Jesuit laws will be repealed.

MISSION WORK IN UGANDA.

A RECORD of the many difficulties through which missionaries in Uganda have fought their way cannot here be given. But at latest advices prosperity seems to have come with some promise of permanence. The country is divided among the Protestants, Romanists, and Mohammedans. The heathen population is not, however, by any means extinct. The king is nominally Protestant and is receiving evangelical instruction, sometimes attending divine service. His pages and servants are being taught to read, and the women of his court are being instructed in the biblical history and the principles of the Gospel. Already over 300 persons have been baptized, among whom are 100 communicants; and besides these over 2,000 are receiving instruction preparatory to baptism. A new and commodious church, capable of accommodating at least 2,500, is nearly complete. The land is at peace. The one condition of success for Protestantism now seems to be that the English should maintain their hold upon the government. The natives of Uganda are very bright, not only learning with great facility, but also displaying remarkable aptitude as teachers. The dark continent will yet be penetrated with the true Light.

CHANGES OF FAITH IN SAXONY.

THE number of those who left the National Church during 1891 was 502, while those who entered it were 205. The number of proselytes to the Roman Catholic Church was 28, the number who forsook Romanism to enter the Saxon National Church was 115. The Dissenters received from the National Church 138, and 15 Dissenters returned to the National Church. The Irvingites received from the National Church 102, and gave it 6; the Baptists 95, and gave it 4; the Methodists 86, and gave back 4; the Separatist Lutherans 74, and gave back 5; the German Catholics 20, of whom 18 returned. From Judaism 36 persons entered the Saxon Church, while of the latter 1 became a Jew. The number lost from Romanism to Protestantism was five times as great as the number lost from Protestantism to Romanism. But it will be noticed that the National Church suffered a net loss of 337. The number of Roman Catholics who became Methodists or Baptists is not given in our sources of information; but the number of the converts of these two American denominations here given, being those only coming from the National Church, does not at all indicate their total gains. It is interesting to note that the people of Germany are thinking about their faith, and are not blindly following in the traditions of their fathers.

EDITORIAL REVIEWS.

SPIRIT OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

MEN will never have done writing of the Jew. Because of his religious prominence he stands as a perpetual study. With his physical, social, and commercial peculiarities he is a marked character in modern civilization. In his serious views of life, resulting from his ethical training, and with centuries of persecution, exile, and hardship as an indelible part of his racial history, he is one of the most tragic actors upon the stage of human performance rather than a delineator of lightsome comedy. Taking it all in all, no figure is more fascinating than that of the Israelite, and none is more sure of a large place in future literature.

The perpetual interest that centers around him has its latest expression in various articles found in recent numbers of several important *Reviews*, prominent among these being a paper on "The Development of New Testament Judaism" in the April number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*. "Of all the peoples of Western Asia," argues the author, Professor Schodde, "only the Jews were able to resist the disintegrating process which set in with the conquest of the Orient by Alexander the Great, and to which the individuality and nationality of the others fell an easy prey." Differentiating the Jews in this manner from other contemporaneous nations, the professor finds in this resistance the "operation of factors in the historical development of Israel which were absent in the life of other peoples." These factors were "the religious convictions and ideals of the people." But in the New Testament days the Pharisees as a class particularly "represented the controlling religious thought of the times." In three respects, according to the writer, did their teachings differ from those of Christ: (1) as to their carnal conception of the kingdom of God upon the earth; (2) in the substitution of the nomistic principle for the principle of faith; (3) and as regards the person of the Messiah. If this be the character of New Testament Judaism the inquiry into the forces which were operative in the development of post-exilic Israel becomes an important one. In the judgment of Professor Schodde the commencement of New Testament Judaism reaches back to the times of Ezra. "The beginning of an erroristic development," he remarks, "was introduced into Israel's religion when, through Ezra's and Nehemiah's activity, the law became the sole controlling religious factor to the almost total exclusion of the prophetic element." From which period the continual existence and operation of legalism may be traced, being rebuked by Malachi, encouraged by the Maccabean wars, and fostered by the undermining influence of Hellenistic culture in the East.

Somewhat connected with the foregoing article, so far as its discussion of the Messiahship is concerned, is a paper in the *Biblical World* for June

on "The Teachings of Jesus and the Teachings of the Jews in the Time of Christ Respecting the Messiah and His Kingdom." Professor Scott, of the Chicago Theological Seminary, is the writer. By his showing Jesus taught not only "a new conception of the character of God" and "a new view of man and the world," but also a notion of the Messiahship that was in striking divergence from the beliefs of Judaism. "Rabbinical theology," the professor states, "taught no God-man. The scribes expected that Messiah would be born as other men. He would not be sinless. In adult life he would become the Messiah. He would probably die like other men." Such a view of the Messiahship is so different from the teachings of Jesus thereupon that its very mention is sufficient. The Jewish views regarding the Messiah, moreover, were "diverse, fragmentary, and conflicting;" while the Lord "first presented and taught a consistent, personal, whole Messiah." Jesus also "appeared as prophet, priest, and king"—a combination "unknown to the Jewish conception of the Messiah." Furthermore, the Jews, in their theology, held no doctrine of a suffering Messiah who should make atonement for men by his pains and death. And, finally, as regards the Messianic kingdom, its nature, and coming, the teaching of Jesus was in striking opposition to the views of Judaism.

In the *Contemporary Review* for May appears a vigorous article upon a phase of the Jewish question, entitled "The Antisemitic Movement." When the first Napoleon predicted that in fifty years Europe would be either Cossack or Republican it is well said that he "reckoned without the Jew." Upon the Continent the latter is a ruling factor. On the Seine, the Spree, the Danube, he dominates the press. Many of the great international telegraphic news companies are his property. He is ruler of the produce and money markets and the purveyor of popular amusements. The "consulship of the great and lesser powers is almost entirely" in his hands. In short, with a minutiæ of delineation which only a consultation of the article itself may make plain is there set forth the extraordinary influence of the Jew upon the Continent. But persecution, as well as prosperity, is still his lot. In Russia, in Roumania, in Austria, in France, and elsewhere the hostility of the ages is repeating itself against those whom Herr Stœcker calls the "scum of the earth." Yet this Antisemitism is to be explained on other grounds besides envy of Jewish success. There is in addition "a spirit of restlessness abroad—a feeling that something is wrong and must be put right." The revolt is against the materialistic tendencies of the age. There must be "a rebirth of individual character." The protest is against the Jews only as they are the most prosperous representatives of that which "foreshadows the decadence of character" in national life.

THE *Nineteenth Century* for June opens with a scholarly article by James Martineau on "The Gospel of Peter." Brief as this fragmentary document is, Mr. Martineau finds in it most interesting variations from the story of the crucifixion as written in the accepted gospels; discovers therein Docetic

doctrines which set the reader down in the midst of a *Gentilized* Christianity; and traces in it some "useful marks of time" which point to A. D. 130 as the approximate date of its appearance. The second article, by C. de Polignac, discusses "Ulster and the Confederate States." Under the caption of "Six Hundred Years of English Poverty" Gustav F. Steffen has prepared an exhaustive study of "the fluctuations of the purchasing power of wages," with all that the phrase signifies. An elaborate chart in colors adds to the value of the article. The next paper, by W. Roberts, is entitled "Rare Books and their Prices." Only some expert like this editor of the *Bookworm* has new light to throw upon this subject. R. F. Murray writes "An Impossible Correspondence—1892;" Mrs. Caroline Creyke, of "The Rothamsted Experiments" as applied to vegetation and animals; and Charles L. Eastlake, "The Poldi-Pezzoli Collection at Milan." An article by J. Henniker Heaton, on "Post Office 'Plundering and Blundering,'" calls for some needed reforms in English practice. The unsatisfactory results of the Habitual Drunkards' Act, after fourteen years' experience, are set forth by John Batty Tuke in a paper entitled "Habitual Drunkards." A. P. Sinnett thoughtfully replies to Professor Max Müller, in "Esoteric Buddhism;" Lord Vernon discusses "How to Attract Capital to the Land;" and P. L. Sclater, in "A Naturalist's View of the Fur-Seal Question," contends that "pelagic sealing" should end. "The Craving for Fiction," by Herbert Maxwell, is a timely advisory article. The closing paper, on "Protection and the Empire," by Walter Frewen Lord, calls for unity of free trade action among "Englishmen the world over" as necessary to national perpetuation.

THE *North American Review* for June is an interesting number. It opens with an important paper on "The Lesson of the Naval Review," by the Hon. Hilary A. Herbert, Secretary of the Navy. That prolific writer, W. H. Mallock, presents an article in answer to the question, "Who Are the Greatest Wealth Producers?" He denies that the wealth of our modern world is created chiefly by manual labor, and insists that by far the larger share of it may be distinctly traced to the part taken in industrial activity by the brains of the few who have the ability for invention and management. Surrogate Ransom, of New York, attempts to show "How to Check Testamentary Litigation." The son of Charles Dickens writes on "Disappearing Dickensland." There are two articles of only passing interest on "Police Protection at the World's Fair." Andrew Carnegie contributes a paper entitled "A Look Ahead," in which he predicts a reunion of England and America in a general federation of the English-speaking world preliminary to the parliament of man. Professor Biles, of Glasgow University, who designed the great ocean steamers *Paris* and *New York*, writes that "thirty knots an hour to Europe" is a possibility already within clear sight, making it appear that, in the opinion of a skilled expert in practical nautical engineering, ships may be built to cross the Atlantic in four days. This seems a remarkable rate of speed. The Rev. Dr. Rainsford, of St. George's Episcopal Church, New

York city, is a man of energy and expedients, who directs a large variety of religious services and humane efforts; but his article on "The Possible Reformation of the Drink Traffic," in the May issue of this same publication, and his replies to his critics in the June number present a grotesque and impossible scheme for any Christian Church to undertake.

THE *Fortnightly Review* for June contains: 1. "The Bank Panic in Australia;" 2. "The Currency Crisis in the United States;" 3. "The Two Salons;" 4. "Drink and Crime;" 5. "African Legends;" 6. "Le Secret du Précepteur;" 7. "The Unification of the City;" 8. "The Poor Children's Holiday;" 9. "The Interstellar Ether;" 10. "The Comédie-Française in London;" 11. "In Memory of John Addington Symonds;" 12. "The Royal Academy;" 13. "The Empire and its Institute." It is difficult in so much that is good to specify what is best. The first two articles are pertinent notices of the prevalent and perplexing stringency in the financial world. Archdeacon Farrar is the writer of "Drink and Crime" and shows the intimate connection between the two, in reply to Mr. Walker's previous assertion of their nonrelation. Henry M. Stanley, in "African Legends," records various curious and weird narratives told him by his "trusty dark companions round the evening camp-fire." In the interests of the London child toilers Lady Jeune contends for an increased holiday recreation. In his article on "The Royal Academy" D. S. MacColl assaults its uncatholic spirit, its low standards, and its preference for the new "in a cheapened form."

THE *New World* for June opens with a paper by Hermann Schultz on "Modern Explanations of Religion," which is a careful consideration of some of the theories of its origin. The trend of the paper by C. Lloyd Morgan is sufficiently clear from its title, "Evolution: A Restatement." In a study of "Tennyson and Browning as Spiritual Forces" C. C. Everett finds that the former "represents the realistic and human aspect of ethics and religion," while the latter "represents rather their ideal aspect." But "each had his special work and each performed it nobly." Elisée Bost instructively discusses "The Social Movement in French Protestantism;" George Batchelor ably notices "The Triple Standard in Ethics," such standards being external authority, social utility, and the personal ideal; and John P. Peters, in "The Development of the Psalter," antagonizes some of the "critical methods" of Professor Cheyne's Bampton Lectures of 1889. The article of Joseph H. Crooker on "The Congregational Polity" is clear and valuable; while the concluding paper on "Andrew Preston Peabody," by Philip Stafford Moxom, is a most admirable biographical sketch of one of the leaders of later Unitarianism.

THE *Quarterly Review of the United Brethren in Christ* has: 1. "The Roman Catholic Church and the Public Schools;" 2. "Tendencies Threatening Bible Authority;" 3. "Christianity and Social Evolution;" 4. "A

Century of Sabbath School Work in the United Brethren Church;" 5. "Depravity." The first article, by L. F. John, vigorously contends for the principle of Church *and* State as "essential to civil and religious liberty." In the second paper, J. P. E. Kumler notices as three forces which assault Bible authority: (1) a "growing belief in the law of natural progress;" (2) the exaltation of "the religious consciousness to a level with, and even above, the revealed word of God;" (3) higher criticism. The third paper, by W. C. Day, shows the parallel growth of Christianity and of society, with the dependence of the latter upon the former. The fourth article, by Robert Cowden, presents statistics of denominational growth which redound to the credit of the United Brethren. The final paper, by W. S. Reese, is a thoughtful discussion of Article VIII of the Confession of Faith held by the United Brethren. In addition to these articles a curious and attractive paper is found in the editorial department on "A Census of the Population of Heaven."

THE *American Catholic Quarterly Review* for April is a weighty number and contains the following: 1. "The Age of the Human Race According to Modern Science and Biblical Chronology;" 2. "The High Church Position Untenable;" 3. "Latin Hymns and English Versions;" 4. "English Liberty from the Reformation to the Triumph of the Prince of Orange;" 5. "The Lately Recovered Apocryphal Gospel According to Peter;" 6. "The Late Archbishop Ullathorne;" 7. "Notes to Show the Necessity of True Religion for Rational Men;" 8. "Catholic Tendency in American Literature;" 9. "Madagascar and Catholic Missions;" 10. "More Light on the Election of Urban VI;" 11. "Scientific Chronicle." The first article devotes twenty-four pages to showing that astronomy, history, and linguistics require a greater antiquity for mankind than biblical scholars have been accustomed to concede; but the discussion of the most important part of the thesis goes over to a future article. The next article is based upon William Francis Brand's life of the late Bishop Whittingham, of the diocese of Maryland, who is characterized as the most remarkable personage, except John Henry Hobart, that has figured among the leaders of the High Church party in the Protestant Episcopal Church; and it shows with great force that the reasoning by which the Anglo-Catholics, Ritualists, or High Churchmen, as they are variously called, justify themselves in the position they take ought, by an *a fortiori* logic, to carry them one step farther into the open arms of Rome, "the mother and mistress of Churches." This is an argument hard to dispose of, and some of the strongest men have yielded to it. The fourth article reads history through Romish spectacles, and is unfair to persons and untrue to facts as they appear to Protestant and to neutral eyes. The seventh paper was left at his decease by Adrian Worthington Smith, a brilliant young Catholic layman. Its tone is elevated and its contents are of the richest and noblest; but the article is, after all, a piece of sophistical special pleading to prove the falsehood of all teaching contrary to Roman Catholic dogma. In the eighth article George Parsons

Lathrop, with the ardor of a new convert and the studied skill of an accomplished *littérateur*, tries to show what Romanism has done for literature in this country, and how American writers, from Anne Bradstreet, wife of an early New England governor, down to Hawthorne, Lowell, and Longfellow, have been indebted to the influence of Catholic culture, art, and worship. Mr. Lathrop fails to make out a strong case. The result is feeble and flimsy.

THE *Contemporary Review* for June has the following list of articles: 1. "Ulster: Facts and Figures;" 2. "Some Eton Translations" (made by Mr. Gladstone when eighteen years old); 3. "The Eight-Hours Day and the Unemployed;" 4. "The Church in Wales;" 5. "In the Poet's Garden;" 6. "King John and the Abbot of Bury;" 7. "The Primitive Gospel;" 8. "A Conscript's View of the French Army;" 9. "The Prospects of the Civilized World;" 10. "The Pope and Father Brandi: A Reply." The most interesting and valuable things in this array of contents are the fifth, seventh, and ninth papers. The fifth, by Phil Robinson, is a delightful ramble through poetry to find the flowers which the poets have culled and preserved in their pages. In the seventh E. J. Dillon discusses the character of the sources from which the four gospels were derived—the observed actions and reported sayings of our Lord which may be said to constitute "the Primitive Gospel," made of various written narratives and trustworthy oral traditions. The ninth article is a wide survey, by J. Llewelyn Davies, of the present condition, observed tendencies, and probable future of mankind. On the whole it is far from cheerful. We decline to believe in so gloomy and darkening a prospect. Humanity refuses to be discouraged and labors hopefully for a better morrow.

THE *Yale Review* for May first comments on "The Gold Reserve and Bond Issues," "The Farmers' Movement in Connecticut," and "Trade Unions and the Law." The second of these comments sets forth the hostile legislation of Connecticut against the Sheffield School of Yale University, through which funds granted by the national government to the State for providing instruction in agriculture and the mechanic arts have been taken away from Yale, in violation of a long-continued contract with the university and greatly crippling the work of its scientific school. The claim is here made that this farmers' legislation in Connecticut is only a branch of the National Granger movement, and is in effect a nullifying of an act of Congress. The third item of "comment" notes two tendencies of law evinced in recent judicial decisions relative to the responsibility of trade unions, namely, to recognize labor organizations as bodies which in themselves are legal and which have a standing in court, and to apply to such organizations the same responsibility with regard to the public that has been applied to corporations. The contributed articles which follow treat on, 1. "Individualism as a Sociological Principle;" 2. "The Republic of Andorre;" 3. "The Unrest of English Farmers;" 4. "An Athenian Parallel to a Function of Our Supreme Court;"

5. "The Natural History of Party." In the first of these articles President Andrews, of Brown University, writes along the line of his specialty, and asserts that automatism in the economic domain is not sufficient. Things will not go right of themselves or by any natural law. The functions of government are not confined to police work; it should also make itself a regulating and harmonizing factor in the economic sphere. The second article is a most interesting account of a little republic hid from all Europe for a thousand years in a valley among the Pyrenees, a curiously surviving fragment of mediæval Europe, not essentially modified, even now, by the civilization of to-day. The third article aims at explaining in part the present agricultural discontent in England. The last contributed paper divides the life-history of any great political party into (1) the origin of parties; (2) the party before its advent to power; (3) the party in power; (4) in opposition; (5) in dissolution. Among signs that betoken the dissolution of a party are enumerated the following: 1. Inability to provide for a new and dominant want of the State; 2. The appearance of faction, though this phenomenon does not necessarily portend party decay; 3. Pessimism and the dominance of senile elements.

THE *Catholic World* for June contains several noticeable articles. One of these, by Augustine F. Hewit, is on "The Human Soul of Jesus Christ." The "distinct, perfect human nature of Jesus Christ," remarks the author, "has already been shown to be an article of Catholic faith. His human soul is the principal and superior part of this composite nature. It was the soul which gave winning and commanding power to the glance of his eye, beauty to his face, majesty to his bearing, and was 'sorrowful even unto death.'" "The Latest Phase of the Drink Question," by A. B. O'Neill, is a notice of the Keeley cure, and closes with the suggestion that the Catholic total abstinence societies investigate its claims and, if worthy, give it their "sanction and cooperation." In his article on "What Are We Doing for Non-Catholics?" A. M. Clark writes of the responsibility and the work of the Church. He is the agent in the distribution of "a printed prayer for the conversion of America!" In the concluding article, entitled "Bishop Vincent Not a Good Methodist," we find a rejoinder to the latter's recent paper in the *Forum* on "The Pope in Washington." The gist of the reply is that Bishop Vincent is astray in the interpretation of conscience. We cannot judge the article an instance of superlative polemics.

THE *London Quarterly Review* for April enrolls in its table of contents: 1. "The Great Enigma and its Answer;" 2. "William Cowper;" 3. "The Incarnation in Modern Theology;" 4. "Bernard of Clairvaux;" 5. "Some Socialist Leaders;" 6. "England in Egypt;" 7. "Building Societies;" 8. "The Church of Jerusalem and the Gentile Mission." The first article considers the answer of Christian theism to the question, "What is the meaning of man's life, whence comes he, whither is he going, and Who dwells up above there among the golden stars?" The

second and fourth articles consider, in cursory review, recently issued biographies of two conspicuous characters in Church and in letters. According to the author whose *Manual* is noticed in the third article, the Incarnation is "the center of Christian theology." The socialist leaders noticed in the fifth article include Guesde and Malon, of France; Werner, Bagniski, and Wildberger, of Germany; Von Vollmar, who "belongs to one of the oldest families in Bavaria;" and Morris, Hyndman, and Burns, of England. In the sixth article the right of England to rule in Egypt is shown by her works in that ancient land. Proper restrictions upon building societies form the basis of the seventh paper; while, in the eighth, those who are interested in Judaism will find a review of five volumes recently published upon the apostolic times.

Our Day for June has in part: 1. "President Cleveland's Speech at the Opening of the World's Fair;" 2. "The Duty of Church Members in the Temperance Reform;" 3. "Trusts and Monopolies as Modern Highwaymen;" 4. "Newspaper Apologies for Pugilism;" 5. "The Prophecy of Columbus: A Poem Read at the Opening of the World's Fair." In the second paper Joseph Cook speaks some burning words on the relation of the Church to temperance reform, concluding with the caustic sentence: "It is high time that Americans and, most of all, American Churches should quit fooling with fools." The title of the third article is a sufficient explanation of the demand made therein by W. O. McDowell for greater restrictions upon trusts and monopolies. In addition to the contributed articles the present magazine also contains the second lecture in the Boston Monday series, its title being, "Is the Fourth Commandment Binding upon Christians?" In sturdy and masterly language the lecturer makes an affirmative answer to the inquiry.

THE *Review of Reviews* for June, like all its predecessors, and probably like all its successors, is crowded full of good things. Its sweep is the wide world. To specify its details of discussion is impossible. Whoever reads it reads an encyclopedia of current events.——The *Missionary Review of the World* for July has articles on "The Islands of the Sea" and "Evangelization of the Islands;" "John Eliot, the Apostle of the Red Indians;" "The Japanese Religious Press;" "Indian Missions in the Canadian Northwest;" and "The Present Aspect of Missions in India."——The *Preacher's Magazine* for June contains its usual excellent grouping of sermons, homiletic suggestions, and practical notes.——The *Indian Evangelical Review* for April includes in its contents articles on "Christianity and Some of its Evidences," by Sir Oliver Mowat;" "Social Work Among the Pariahs," by W. Goudie; "Theosophy and Christianity," by David Macewan; "Christian Schoolbooks for Mission Schools," by J. A. MacDonald; "Our World," by A. T. Pierson; "God's Silence and Man's," by S. G. MacLennan.——The *Treasury* for June opens with a sermon by James Demarest. In its various departments the issue is up to its usually excellent standard.

BOOKS: CRITIQUES AND NOTICES.

THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE STUDIOUS READER.

WHETHER books shall be a blessing or the opposite—useful, useless, or injurious—is decided by various conditions. A single book has been sufficient to ruin some men. Ill-selected, pernicious, or simply miscellaneous reading is immeasurably demoralizing. The subtlest and most deadly poisons are not in the chemist's flasks, but in literature. The writings of Theodore Parker did little good to any, but assuredly, in proportion to their circulation, much harm to many. It is unsafe as well as unmanly to read with a passive and servile submissiveness of mind. Some men seem to be victimized by authors. One is the lifelong thrall of some dominant thinker; another is at any given time certain to be under the spell of whatever book he may have read last. The habit of critical discrimination toward all that passes before the mind must be cultivated. Mental independence must be defended. Books should stimulate and assist the originating powers to creative action, and not suppress native energies. The excessive reader lacks the fecundity, freshness, and raciness of the free, reflective, and unsurrendered mind. No mere bookworm ever produced anything that was alive or enlivening. The book which is provocative of thought is more valuable than any invoice of information, however large. "Strive to think well; this is the origin of morality," said Pascal. Thinking makes the man; thinking right goes far to make the good man. One should read, not for the sake of knowing books, but for the sake of thought. To every serious mind reading is a study. Hence the importance of selecting such books as are worth earnest study. Of those noticed in this issue we commend the following: *The Holy Spirit in Missions*, by A. J. Gordon; *Books and Their Use*, by J. H. Thayer; *Christus Consolator*, by Gilbert Haven; *Pagan and Christian Rome*, by Rodolfo Lanciani; *Short History of the Christian Church*, by J. F. Hurst.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Holy Spirit in Missions. By A. J. GORDON, D.D., Author of *In Christ*, *The Twofold Life*, *Ecce Venit*, etc. 12mo, pp. 241. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, $1.25.

This book is made up of six lectures delivered, in 1892, at New Brunswick, N. J., before the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church in America, on the Graves Foundation. By the establishment of this course Mr. Nathan F. Graves, of Syracuse, N. Y., provided for the annual presentation of the sublime and momentous theme of foreign missions before theological students. No wiser or more effective way for reinforcing the corps of workers in the mission fields could be devised than to kindle the fire of missionary enthusiasm in the hearts of students in theological schools, universities, colleges, or seminaries. Familiarized with ideal motives of life and standards of conduct, fresh and unspoiled by the sordid

influences of the world, filled with the generous impulses and chivalric readiness, which belong to youth, to do and dare in some brave and self-forgetting fashion, the young people in our halls of learning are the readiest material, as well as the finest and best prepared, for being made into missionaries by scores and hundreds under the call of God, made acquainted with the wide opportunities and urgent demands, and impressed with convictions of duty deep and clear and strong. Such lectures as these before us, delivered in every educational institution of all the Christian denominations, would make those schools recruiting stations from which would come a steady stream of volunteers, the flower of the land and the hope of the world, not only offering to preach the Gospel and enlighten the darkness of heathen lands, but insisting upon going and determined to go, if not in one way then in another. There are more young people, devoted, educated, and knowing what they are about, who are willing and ready to go as missionaries to the ends of the earth than the Church is willing to send. The number will increase until the Church shall be roused out of its torpor and shamed out of its niggardliness. Undeniably the Church lags far behind its duty and its fast-enlarging opportunity; yet it is not good to speak harshly of the Church of the living God. All that is being done is done by and through it. It is the Church that produces all these Christian young people and makes them both fit and ready to go; it is the Church that founds and supports the educational institutions in which they are trained and where the missionary call finds them; it is the Church which rears such ministers as Dr. Gordon to deliver such awakening and inspiring lectures as these; it is the Church that rears such laymen as Mr. Graves, fills them with Christly love for mankind, and moves them to devote their means to the maintenance of such lectureships. Whatever means widely diffuses abroad and conveys to the most appreciative and responsive quarters mission information, correct and full, is directly promotive of missionary zeal and activity. As a general rule missionary zeal is in proportion to knowledge. That any in our churches should be indifferent to the world's evangelization is deplorable; that some who suppose themselves to be Christians should actually express their disbelief in, if not disapproval of, the work of foreign missions is scarcely less than horrible in this closing decade of the great missionary century. What is needed is *information*, INFORMATION, INFORMATION. The preaching of the word brings sinners under conviction. Give knowledge first, enforced and impressed by the Holy Spirit, and then follows conviction. Drench and deluge the Church with information. Ignorance is our curse and our shame. Whoever in this day dares open his lips in opposition to Christian mission work in all lands only advertises himself as an ignoramus, his ignorance being so dense that he actually regards it as substantial wisdom. Probably we are doing this type of Christian too much honor in classing him with ignoramuses. Most likely it would be entirely fair to characterize him as guilty of disingenuous evasion and to consider his disfavor as only a cheap way of dodging his proper share of the financial responsibility.

Dr. Gordon has the spirit of Christ and, therefore, the zeal of missions. He sets forth the great work in six lectures on "The Holy Spirit's Program of Missions," "The Holy Spirit's Preparation in Missions," "The Holy Spirit's Administration in Missions," "The Holy Spirit's Fruits in Missions," "The Holy Spirit's Prophecies Concerning Missions," "The Holy Spirit's Present Help in Missions." To say that this book is worthy of its subject is saying a great deal; yet we are inclined to say it, both on account of its spirit, its scope, and its treatment. And this we say notwithstanding in some minor points his view is not ours, his putting of things being sometimes shaped by doctrines which we cannot accept. In one or two particulars he seems to us to go to extremes, to the weakening of his presentation and to the confusing of things that differ. The things we refer to are such, however, as do not diminish the powerful impression this book makes upon minds which, in some things, hold a somewhat different point of view.

Dr. Gordon's volume has spirituality without sensationalism. It is full of faith, devotion, force, and practical religious good sense. After seeing itself well provided with Bibles and Testaments every Christian family in this year of our Lord, 1893, ought to make sure of having at least one book of this sort on the subject of Christian missions. After the histories contained in the Scriptures which we call sacred there are no human annals, no stories of battles and campaigns, that can match in heroism, patience, self-obliteration, sublime elevation of purpose, and lofty exhibition of the noblest human qualities the great, growing, and glowing history of Christian missions. This modern age in which we live witnesses a world-wide movement which is a renaissance of apostolic days and the prelude of an approaching millennial era. That it seems yet far off is no proof that it is not approaching.

The Book of Joshua. By WILLIAM GORDON BLAIKIE, D.D., LL.D., New College, Edinburgh. 12mo, pp. 416. Price, cloth, $1.50.

The First Book of Kings. By F. W. FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S., Late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, Archdeacon of Westminster. 12mo, pp. 503. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther. By WALTER F. ADENEY, M.A., Professor of New Testament Exegesis and Church History, New College, London. 12mo, pp 404. Price, cloth, $1.50.

The Psalms. Vol. I. Psalms I–XXXVIII. By A. MACLAREN, D.D. 12mo, pp. 385. Price, cloth, $1.50.

The Acts of the Apostles. Vol. II. By the Rev. G. T. STOKES, D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Dublin, and Vicar of All Saints, Blackrock. 12mo, pp. 480. Price, cloth, $1.50.

The Epistle to the Philippians. By ROBERT RAINY, D.D., Principal of New College, Edinburgh. 12mo, pp. 368. Price, cloth, $1.50.

We have already noticed from time to time many of the volumes included in the "Expositor's Bible" series, have pointed out their more pronounced peculiarities, and have set forth their excellences of exegesis and literary finish. To the many numbers of the series already issued may now be added the six volumes which are above indicated. The first three

treat of important epochs in Old Testament history. Believing that the "naturalistic method" of regarding the Jewish historical books is "a failure," Dr. Blaikie finds in "the supernatural" a sufficient explanation of various strange occurrences. "It was the supernatural element underlying Hebrew history that made it the marvelous development it was; and that element began at the beginning and continued more or less actively till Jesus Christ came in the flesh." In this spirit of reverence for the supernatural the author has ably interpreted the pregnant period of Jewish story covered by the Book of Joshua. Archdeacon Farrar's treatment of the First Book of Kings may be dismissed in a word. It has so much of the clearness and charm of the distinguished author's writings that one reckons it an unusual book. There is not a dull page in the volume. In his discussion of the first thirty-eight Psalms Dr. MacLaren has followed the expository method and, consequently, "found it necessary to leave questions of date and authorship all but untouched." There is in the book much strong meat for sermonizers. In his present volume Dr. Stokes has discussed the latter chapters of the Acts more briefly than the earlier chapters in his previous work. The reason for this he declares to be that the latter chapters "are occupied to a great extent with the work of St. Paul during a comparatively brief period, while the first twenty chapters cover a space of well-nigh thirty years." Feeling that he has nothing new to say on the later narrative of St. Paul's adventures, he acts the part of the wise man in abbreviated notice thereof. Yet his treatment is so full, substantial, and rich that a valuable addition is made to the literature on St. Paul's times. Dr. Rainy's volume on the Philippians keeps company with its fellows in clearness of interpretation. The key to his treatment seems to be found in his observation that "the apostle's teaching repeatedly touches on the question how the problem of practical human life on this earth is to be conceived and dealt with under the light and the influence of Christianity." Messrs. A. C. Armstrong & Son are the publishers of this important series.

Canonical and Uncanonical Gospels. With a Translation of the Recently Discovered Fragments of the Gospel of Peter, and a Selection from the Sayings of Our Lord not found in the Four Gospels. By W. E. BARNES, B.D., Fellow of Peterhouse, and Theological Lecturer at Clare College, Cambridge. 16mo, pp. 112. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Price, cloth, $1.25.

Distinction must be made between the canonicity of the gospels and their inspiration. The latter has reference to their supernatural origin and their transmission to the world through chosen agencies; the former to their acceptance by men as the actual word of God. The second relates to the internal spirit of the text; the first, to the attitude of the heart toward the voice which has spoken from on high. And the first problem is none the less imperative of settlement than the second. A conviction of this leads our present author to say of the gospels: "We are not going to try to show that they are the very word of God. . . . The main purpose of this treatise is to sketch the evidence from which we conclude that the four gospels have been accepted from the earliest times as

the authoritative accounts of the life, teaching, and death of the Lord Jesus." Quoting the assumption of the author of *Supernatural Religion* that the earliest period at which the gospels "existed and were of authority in the Church" was A. D. 180, Mr. Barnes proceeds to investigate the time anterior to this date when his antagonist affirms that he found "no trace of any of our four gospels, except the third." Tatian (A. D. 160–180), Justin Martyr (A. D. 150), Hermas (*circ.* A. D. 140–150), and Papias (A. D. 140–150), besides the apostolic fathers, are the several witnesses whom he summons to testify as to the existence of the gospels in their respective times. The first, "a rough mountaineer from beyond the Tigris," in his "Oration to the Greeks" and the famous "Diatessaron," makes quotations from the gospels. The second, in his "Apology," particularly quotes from Matthew and Luke; the third, in "The Shepherd," speaks particularly of the collection of the four gospels; the fourth gives specific testimony for St. Mark; while the apostolic fathers—Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Polycarp, and Barnabas—in the very beginning of the second century seem to show in their writings the existence at the time of the gospel books. It is not true that Mr. Barnes would claim any novelty of treatment in these historic citations. Yet it is always profitable to review the testimony of these early witnesses for the canonical books; while their present grouping in compact form makes the treatise of Mr. Barnes particularly useful for handy reference.

Books and Their Use. By JOSEPH HENRY THAYER, D.D., Litt.D., Bussey Professor of New Testament Criticism and Interpretation in Harvard University. 12mo, pp. 94. New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

Thirty-two pages of this treatise contain an address delivered before the Harvard Divinity School; fifty pages are filled with a list of books for the use of students of the New Testament, intended to guide "the average theological student" to such works as the author thinks will help him most in the study of biblical philology and archæology, New Testament "Introductions"—including the origin, preservation, dissemination, and interpretation of the New Testament writings—and New Testament times and theology. The list includes lexicons, concordances (all of which are to be surpassed by Dr. James Strong's monumental work), harmonies, grammars, Bible dictionaries and cyclopedias, maps, atlases; besides works on biblical geography, natural history, ethnography, legislation, worship, philosophy, literature, science, and chronology, together with treatises on the formation and history of the New Testament canon, the Greek text, and various translations. Dr. Milton S. Terry's *Hermeneutics* is mentioned first among works on that subject, and is called a *μέγα βιβλίον*. Dr. B. F. Cocker's *Christianity and Greek Philosophy* is recommended. The *Commentary on Matthew*, by Dr. J. A. Broadus (Baptist), is spoken of as "especially valuable—probably the best in English on that gospel," with the added remark that "its denominationalism is of a mild, tolerant type." All the works of R. C. Trench, H. A. W. Meyer, F. Godet, George P. Fisher, and A. B. Bruce are included. The author gives

warning (which many receive too late) against encyclopedic commentaries like Lange's *Bibelwerk*, "a conspicuous specimen of misdirected labor" with its "avalanches of impertinencies," while its "homiletical and practical" material is positively injurious. No live man ever yet derived aid worth mentioning from such materials, or from "sermon helps," "sketches and outlines," or the like. In early life we bought a few such books, and rejoice to be able to give enthusiastic testimony to their utter worthlessness. We would as soon attend a school where a skeleton sat in the instructor's seat instead of a living teacher as have a library made of such books. If there were to-day a log in the wilderness with a student on one end of it and the dead and exhumed skull of Mark Hopkins on the other, would that be a college? That was not what Garfield said. The preacher must dig out and quarry his own stuff. Ready-made "homiletic helps" are an incumbrance to the man and *impedimenta* in the library. "The perpetual use of crutches will transform a well man into a cripple." Professor Thayer admonishes his students against the passion for novelty. "Experience teaches that what is new is not always true." Historical methods are so recent that present results are provisional and tentative. The power of novelty intoxicates some minds. "So great is scholarly competition in some countries, notably in Germany, that a young writer has little chance of advancement, or even of getting a hearing, unless he broach some notion never heard of before. If it have a flavor of paradox, so much the more likely to gain attention." This state of things is fraught with obvious peril. "Wisdom was not born when we were; some thinking, and not all of it foolish thinking, has been done by former generations."

Christus Consolator; or, Comfortable Words for Burdened Hearts. By GILBERT HAVEN. 12mo, pp. 264. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, $1.25.

Great-heart *redivivus!* In this book the radiant personality of Gilbert Haven revisits us. They keep in London a phonograph into which Robert Browning talked. Set it in motion, and out comes the hearty voice, so familiar and so dear to all his friends, repeating to living ears the thoughts and tones uttered on earth years ago by a great thinker now in heaven. Not of him can it be said, "The dead are voiceless." It would be worth an Atlantic voyage just to listen to that phonograph, which, until time and use shall wear it out, will repeat with tireless iteration what Browning said and exactly as he said it—that and nothing else, like Tennyson's little bird, which had but one passage of few notes and sang it over and over throughout the summer days. Such a phonograph is this book; whoever gives it a chance by opening it hears Gilbert Haven talk. Why do we so seldom say Bishop Haven? For the same reason that we habitually say Phillips Brooks, rather than Doctor or Bishop Brooks; because the man was greater than the office (no disrespect to the high office, but an involuntary tribute to the transcendency of the man). There was a good, large, round manhood toward which we have an affectionate feeling that makes

us want to say Gilbert, and there was in him so little officialness and so much all-brotherliness. Here are the subjects on which Gilbert Haven talks in these chapters: "Two Greek Books on the Life Beyond;" "God Hiding and Revealing Himself;" "The World Vanishing;" "Man Fails, God Abides;" "Taking Children in His Arms;" "Endurance—Happiness;" "The Blessedness of the Blessed Dead;" "The Christian Soldier;" "The Enigma Solved." His son, the Rev. William Ingraham Haven, edits this book and adds a few notes, some of which have a tender interest, especially the last one. The son tells us that his father prepared these papers for the press and purposed publishing them under the title which the book bears. That was more than a dozen years ago. We wonder why we have been kept waiting so long. Was it to make us the more grateful for getting it? Was it to give us such a surprise as one experiences when a belated Christmas gift arrives a fortnight after the day, when we had ceased to expect anything more and had put our remembrances together and numbered them, giving to each its proper due of affectionate appreciation? To Gilbert Haven love and life, sorrow and all relationships human or divine, were great and deep and holy things. Living, he was a minister of consolation to many; departing, he desired to leave this book to comfort others with the same comfort wherewith he himself had been comforted. The two Greek books compared in relation as to the life beyond are the *Odyssey* of Homer and the New Testament of Jesus Christ; the comparison amply setting forth how true it is that in the latter we have a more sure word of prophecy whereunto all men would do well to give heed, since it alone equips our life-voyage with an anchor of hope for the soul. Gilbert Haven was a poet and a seer in that he had the poetic temperament and the prophetic instinct. In this volume there is not a little quoted poetry, noticeably in the chapter on the death of little children. It will be observed that the poetic selections come mostly from Emerson and Browning. The quality of Haven's nature, his intellectual judgment, and his literary taste were such as to enable him to know and choose the best. We pause reluctantly for want of space. This is a book to buy and keep.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Philanthropy and Social Progress. Seven Essays read in the Plymouth School of Applied Ethics, in 1892. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

The seven essays in this volume may not inaptly be styled counsels of perfection respecting the social and industrial condition of the country. The Plymouth School of Applied Ethics is one of several attempts to infuse a higher morality into American society, partly by moral suasion and partly by creating legal conditions favorable to a more philanthropic method of managing business. The essays are all instructive; they add to the knowledge of most readers, and they breathe a good spirit. Perhaps it must be that people who give themselves to meditation upon evils shall exaggerate those evils. These essayists have probably not

escaped this defect of their virtue; but they are singularly free from the scorching rhetoric which some groups of reformers wave in our faces. Our life has become so complex that we may well doubt the possibility of a real and equal social intercourse between rich and poor, learned and unlearned; but such a society is presented here as one of the necessary conditions of the salvation of the American people. Much attention is called to the relatively few whose life is a strangerhood—the tramps, in fact or in character—and we recall President Eliot's "forgotten millions," who, in their several groups, not Old World classes, are socially as happy as could be expected. If the world is to be saved by mixing people up without reference to their wishes or fitnesses, or if one wish and one fitness is essential, then we are lost, and there is no help for us. But a long way short of this impossible ideal there may be a great improvement in the relations of people separated by mutual inclination and varying pursuits. It must be of small political consequence how the few rich behave socially toward the few poor so long as sixty millions who are neither rich nor poor practically meet and live together. The society man and the society woman are of no national importance; the poor are of importance, but we incline to the belief that we need no special instruction in applied ethics to enable us—the sixty millions—to do our duty toward them. Our Christian Churches are not neglecting to care for the bodies and for the souls of wrecked people. There is a quiet assumption in these essays—it cannot be meant—that the sixty millions need a great ethical uplifting, and that nobody is doing the uplifting; whereas, in point of fact, a good deal is done every Sunday in each year of our Lord. It is the first condition of a sound theory that the facts shall be known and recognized. Father Huntington, in the fourth essay, seems to us to grasp only a part of the facts; for he almost ignores the distinctions between God's poor, man's poor, and the devil's poor. All three need, too, not a benefactor or two, but the holy religion with which John Wesley lifted up the poor of England, multitudes of them, into comfort through their personal industry. This essayist indulges freely in incidents, but in most cases they concern exceptional lives. Whatever can be done to put a better spirit into our society and into our business should be attempted. Books like this will, doubtless, help the pastors and elect women of the land to wage war on selfishness, oppression, and poverty; but many will be repelled by the one-sidedness and the theorizing of these essays from putting much faith in any new gospel or in patented applications of the dear old Gospel of Jesus. The question confronting us beneath the surface of this book is not solved by our trying to be better Christians in spirit and conduct. To satisfy the demand of these applications of ethics we must do some new things, vote for some new laws, organize something better than soul-saving Churches. It is certain that the sixty millions can learn something from these essays, but it is not so certain that the right new things to do, the right new laws to vote for, or the right new organizations are suggested in the book. To our mind the three hundred thousand conversions in Methodist churches

during this twelvemonth will do more for all the good ends reached out after in this book than the entire body of theoretical reformers can accomplish in a century. Ethical redemption must still depend upon divine redemption. The oppressive silence of these essays about the active and effective philanthropy of evangelical Christianity is a sign, not of the times, but of a singular blindness in some men of these times. Nor is this our last word. Will ethical redemption redeem? Has not history answered this in the negative? The last of these essays, by Dr. Bernard Bosanquet, of London, is a contrast to the other six. It is a very valuable account by an expert of the unifying and intensifying of charitable work in London. American theorizing stands out in bold unlikeness to this British practical philanthropy. The problem the latter are setting for solution is how to set poor people on their feet, not by wholesale, but man by man, family by family.

Tools and the Man. Property and Industry under the Christian Law. By WASHINGTON GLADDEN, D.D. 16mo. New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, $1.25.

Dr. Gladden has in this volume attempted to guide the Christian spirit in its effort to enforce in industrial life "the broad equities and the obligations" of our religion. He discusses "Economics and Christian Ethics," "Property in Land," and other questions much debated in our day, with a considerable breadth of knowledge and a good deal of reasonableness. Possibly the "collapse of competition" is not as serious as he believes; but that Christianity, if it is to endure, must leaven competition all good men clearly see. He finds in our religion, not merely an ideal, but "the only workable theory of industrial and social order." This is of course broadly true, the golden rule being the only rule capable of producing a perfect society; and every social expedient, theory, or system which is not leavened with the spirit of that rule must, sooner or later, fail. In some parts of this book Dr. Gladden makes one feel that he lacks vigorous grasp on the individualistic method of Christianity. It refuses to divide the estate, but warns the litigants to beware of coveteousness. The application of a Christian principle by society's enforcing a just division—by arbitration, for example—is a matter over which many sincere Christians hesitate. To those who have no hesitation Dr. Gladden will be very comforting; and those who hesitate will hope that moral coercion—the love of Christ which constrains—will so pervade the enforcement of love that the divisor will really and justly divide. We altogether agree with Dr. Gladden, that Christianity alone can solve social problems; we are not sure, as he seems to be, that he has found the practical lines of that solution. We found out some fifty years back that our religion does not contain a detailed science of geology; it may be our lot to find out in the next generation that it does not contain a detailed system of social science, and especially of organized industries. The principles of a sound sociology are in Christianity. And now that the Christian world is manifestly anxious to incorporate these vital principles in social and industrial

life we may hope to make progress, if not in the precise ways of Dr. Gladden's book, at least in Christianized ways of industrial order and distribution. Our author has persuaded himself that a Christian socialism requires us to manage the telegraph as a national enterprise, though he gives no analysis of the question. Now, applied Christianity might make a mistake in this matter; and men as pious and as enlightened as Dr. Gladden very seriously doubt that a government telegraph would be a whit more Christian than those we now use with clear conscience. Our author falters over government management of railways. "It is a great and difficult problem." But many good Christians think the same might be said of the telegraph; while other good Christians are confident that the government ought to run railroads, mills, mines, and farms. We hope we are not entering upon a period in which socialistic opinions will be used to test the soundness of the faith of believers.

Socialism and the American Spirit. By NICHOLAS PAINE GILMAN. Crown 8vo. New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, $1.50.

It was a happy thought of the above author to test socialistic theories by the American spirit. The result is a book worth careful reading and likely to arrest the attention and restrain the enthusiasm of the more rational portion of the idealistic reformers. The book is necessarily more or less a brief for one side of the case; but the eloquent pleader urges others to study economic facts, and in his own study of profit-sharing shows us how practical study may help a good theory to obtain a respectable standing. The American spirit is, Mr. Gilman believes, too optimistic to surrender to socialistic reform by wholesale and too practical to go far on unexplored roads. The great body of people in this country who are neither rich nor poor have philanthropic sympathy and purpose, but if they are asked to adopt any scheme of reform they desire first of all to be made acquainted with the means to the desired end. They accept the principle of a more evenly distributed enjoyment of material good, but they will not act until the way to act effectively is made clear to them. The American spirit is too cheery for thoroughgoing socialism. We are too hopeful that we shall come out all right to take very seriously to heart the warning that the individualistic and competitive order is carrying us down to ruin. This spirit accepts the individual and his virtues of industry, courage, and honesty as a prime cause of all prosperity. It distrusts the outcome of an order depending on something else. But, on the other hand, this spirit has a strong tendency to restrain and kill any and every rebellion of the individual against the well-being of other men or of society at large. In fact, our American way is to make the individual and society keep house together, not so much by compromise methods as by shedding light on the place and duties of each and drawing lines of law and public opinion as fast as the light shows where to draw them. American philanthropy is not concerned about men as "the masses," but as persons having stomachs and souls but having also duties and obligations. We see clearly enough that good reform is for the relief

of flesh-and-blood individuals. A valuable explanation of the enthusiasm which greets ideal schemes and utopias is that the American is as fond of hearing some new thing as the Athenians were; but he is still very slow to act on new lines. The American spirit is human and practical in its benevolence, preferring the Good Samaritan to the theorist or sentimentalist. Our author is conservative in the best sense, and in the same sense progressive. He would keep, for example, the wages system, but he would modify and improve it by profit-sharing and other devices. He sees no prospect of a capital-owning and labor-employing State. That is not the way in which the American spirit seeks to make a man and a society fitted to the man and producing men. Mr. Gilman finds a proper satisfaction in the social discontent and unrest which keeps company with American optimism. The unrest is a result of our prosperity, of the relative ease in which many live, having leisure to bewail the woes of the less fortunate and the evils of human life—not always seeing that some of these evils cannot be remedied, but optimistically hoping to cure us of all our diseases. The author occasionally falls into the error of unscientific judgment, as when, to cite a single example, he assumes that our agriculture is now carried on under special difficulties and proceeds to account for it. The fact and the explanation may be challenged. Whenever the farmer adds to the old-fashioned virtues of industry and thrift the higher intelligence required by much use of machinery on the modern farm, he will be found in a condition of ideal prosperity. The tariffs of the last quarter century may as reasonably be invoked to explain this kind of prosperity as to account for the failures of the indolent, unthrifty, and unintelligent farmer. Probably the tariffs have no special bearing on the good or bad results in this branch of industry. A careful observer will not miss the large fact that the low price of farms is the alleged proof of the hardships of the farmer, nor will he fail to notice that these low prices are low compared with those of the inflation period of 1862–69, when farm values and all others were doubled by the use of a depreciated currency. Good farms are not cheap relatively to any other standard.

A Ramble Among Surnames. By Rev. J. W. DANIEL, A.M. 12mo, pp. 208. Nashville, Tenn.: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Barbee & Smith, Agents. Price, cloth, 80 cents.

This readable and interesting volume makes use of the latest and fullest fruits of research in the line of historic study of which it treats. It has for every reader a piquant personal interest, from the probability that in perusing its pages he may catch a glimpse of his own family record. Most of us can find our own names here. Bits of history from far-off centuries and vanished tribes are folded up and buried in words, wherein the records wait for whoever will take the trouble to exhume and unswathe the mummied meaning. Sandstone confesses the ancient waves which washed it in the ripple record on its face. The oak keeps under its bark in concentric circles the register of all its summers. So family names tell tales of origins and occupations. Mr. Daniel's excel-

lent book blends amusement with instruction, spicy incident and sprightly fancy with etymology, philology, and history. The chapter headings indicate the range and classification: "English Surnames that Make Us Laugh;" "Patronymic Inheritances from Remote Fatherlands;" "Surnames Derived from the Signs of Shopkeepers;" "Surnames Derived from the Occupations;" "Surnames Derived from Places of Residence;" "The Smiths, Browns, Blacks, and Railroads;" "Surnames which Embody the Anglo-Saxon Idea of Home;" "Islands, Fords, and Lakes," as origins of names; "Surnames from Civil and Religious Offices;" "Gaelic Surnames." Strange phases of human nature appear in names. A foundling picked out of an ash heap was named Job Cinere Extractus. The stern asceticism of the Puritans appears in the severe names, such as Dust-and-Ashes, which they inflicted on their innocent newborn offspring. Some optimistic, sunny soul, whose beaming face lit the gloom of a day of darkness now far gone, is immortalized in the family name of Lovejoy. Swinburne means "hog-branch." Haygood is "good hedge." Sterling is "easterling," immigrant from the East. Chapman is Norse, and means "merchant" or "peddler," equivalent to the German *Kaufmann*. Osborne means "the bear of the gods." Parker was "the keeper of the park" or woods. Palmer bore about a palm leaf in token that he had been to the Holy Land. Coward was a "cow-warden," who looked after the kine. Warren was "the keeper of the warren," an inclosed place, a preserve for herds, flocks, and birds. Bancroft means "a wood infested with outlaws." Garfield is "spear field." Hurst is Anglo-Saxon—"a thick woods." The Clevelands were originally "the cliff-dwellers." Ridpath was "a man who lived by the road," and not on a byway. Washington was a man who built his hut on low ground subject to inundation by the overflow of some neighboring water or by freshets. John means "the Lord's grace." William means "the helmet of resolution." Billing is the son and Billings the grandson of Will. We have sufficiently indicated the character and contents of this diverting and beguiling book.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Personal Recollections of Nathaniel Hawthorne. By HORATIO BRIDGE, Paymaster-General, United States Navy. 16mo, pp. 200. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.25.

Hawthorne, called by some the greatest of American romance writers, is known through a variety of biographies: *Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife*, by his son Julian; *A Study of Hawthorne*, by his son-in-law Lathrop; sketches by Fields, Curtis, Stoddard, and others; a literary study of his works by Henry James; and a *Life*, by Moncure D. Conway. The present volume has sufficient distinctive character and fresh material to justify its publication; indeed, some of those mentioned could be better spared than these personal reminiscences of Hawthorne's "oldest and truest friend." Conway fails to comprehend Hawthorne and is unjust to him.

This volume shows us the man in a familiar, old-friendly sort of way. When he looks to losing his Liverpool consulate he writes: "Doubtless it will all turn out for the best. All through my life I have had occasion to observe that what seemed to be misfortunes have proved in the end to be the best things that could possibly happen to me; and so it will be in this, even though the mode in which it benefits me should never be made clear to my apprehension." Perhaps he was remembering the loss of his surveyorship in the Salem custom house, which compelled him to return to his pen for bread and gave to the world the *Scarlet Letter*, and to him more money and fame than he had ever had. That a man does nothing well unless he likes his work seems disproved by frequent declarations of Hawthorne that the sight of a pen makes him sick and that he detests writing; his wife answering his friend's letter for him because, she says, "he has an utter detestation of pen, ink, and paper." In all the twenty years of James Russell Lowell's professorship his duties never became easy to him. A letter dated 1867 says: "I begin my annual dissatisfaction of lecturing next Wednesday. I cannot get used to it. All my nightmares are of lecturing." A poor girl who had to sell roses every day for a living, being asked if she loved flowers, answered, "I hate them!" Hawthorne was a war Democrat. An accurate foresight appears in the following, written in 1861 to the author of this book: "I don't quite understand what we are fighting for, or what definite result can be expected. If we are fighting for the annihilation of slavery, to be sure, it may be a wise object and offers a tangible result, and the only one which is consistent with a future reunion between North and South. A continuance of the war would soon make this plain to us, and we should see the expediency of preparing our black brethren for future citizenship by allowing them to fight for their own liberties and educating them through heroic influences."

Short History of the Christian Church. With Maps. By JOHN FLETCHER HURST, D.D., LL.D. 8vo, pp. 672. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $3.

If any evidence were needed of the superlative worth of church history it is made plain in such a treatise as this of Bishop Hurst's. Among the various purposes of historical theology the supervision of Providence over his earthly interests is clearly taught. "In the history of the Church," states the author, "the divine superintendence has been far more prominent. While in secular history the spiritual forces lay largely in the background, in the life of the Church they have come out boldly into the clear foreground. . . . The office of the historian of the Church is not to untie a tangled skein, but to follow the golden thread of the divine presence in all Christian ages." For the interpretation of ecclesiastical history on such a basis Bishop Hurst has long since shown his special gift. In the present instance he has rearranged, and in places rewritten, his five Short Histories already published. The parts into which the entire field is divided by this new grouping are five: The Early Church (A. D. 30–750), The Mediæval Church (A. D. 750–1517), The Reformation

(A. D. 1517–1545), The Modern Church in Europe (A. D. 1558–1892), The Church in the United States (A. D. 1492–1892). It is difficult to see how a compendium covering these long periods could discriminate more wisely between the important and the nonessential and present the former only, or how it were possible to gain greater lucidity within so small a compass. Of particular value seems the treatment of the European Church in the Modern Period and the Church in the United States, and to these the student will often turn for enlightenment. The summary of literature at the commencement of each chapter is also a new and valuable feature. The bishop, in a word, has done all that he might to make the record of the Christian Church a clear and fascinating story.

Methodism in Buffalo. From its Origin to the Close of 1892. By SANDFORD HUNT, D.D. 12mo, pp. 256. Buffalo: H. H. Otis & Sons. Price, cloth, $1.50.

This book, prepared at the urgent suggestion of that most useful, most generous, and most honored of Buffalo laymen, Francis H. Root, whose recent death Methodism so greatly mourns, is a valuable contribution to the archives of local history. Probably no man now alive is better qualified by long and general acquaintance and by active participation to write the history of Buffalo Methodism than is Dr. Hunt, our senior book agent at New York, who has found time, amid his multiplicity of duties and responsibilities, to gather the scattered materials from the fields of the past and arrange them in their true chronological and evolutional order. For many years Dr. Hunt has been largely identified with Methodist affairs in Buffalo, having been pastor of a number of churches in the city, as well as Presiding Elder of Buffalo District; nor has he, in the years since he was removed from that neighborhood to the book agency, lost interest in or sympathetic touch with the Methodism of his former home. The Methodist preachers, from Glezen Fillmore down to the pastors of to-day, are named and to some extent described, as also the presiding elders, from Gideon Draper to the present; and the entire list is tabulated to be read at a glance at the end of the book. The church edifices are described and most of them presented in picture, from the first building erected on Franklin Street, just below Niagara Street, twenty-five by thirty-five feet, in 1818, down to the more than twenty Methodist Episcopal churches which now grace that goodly city, including the massive and substantial Delaware Avenue cathedral, and looking to even greater things in the proposed pile suggested for Richmond Avenue. The contents of this volume will become more valuable with years. It should be followed by like volumes in all parts of our country, one for each of our important cities, gathering up, setting in order, and saving for all the future the histories of each locality. It is only just to the fathers, to ourselves, and to posterity to multiply historical societies, museums, cabinets, and such books as Dr. Hunt's, to the end that a great Church may be possessed of its own history and able to answer when interrogated concerning facts which belong to its development and life. This volume would have been more satisfactory to us and to many if it had contained in its portrait

gallery the faces of its author and of that faithful and useful servant of the Church, Mr. H. H. Otis, manager of our Book Depository at Buffalo. The book closes with an interesting chapter on the session of the General Conference in Buffalo in 1860, with glimpses of Peter Cartwright, William H. Milburn, J. B. Wakeley, Father Taylor, and many others.

Pagan and Christian Rome. Profusely Illustrated. By RODOLFO LANCIANI, Author of *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries.* 8vo, pp. 374. New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, ornamented cloth, $6.

That Rome was first pagan is alike the voice of history and of archæology. That it was later Christian is also the historic showing and the archæological testimony. But to point out the *nexus* between these two periods and the extent of the transformation is an undertaking that is not altogether easy. In fact, the change seems to have been a gradual process. "We must not believe," remarks Lanciani, "that the transformation of Rome from a pagan into a Christian city was a sudden and unexpected event, which took the world by surprise. It was the natural result of the work of three centuries, brought to maturity under Constantine by an inevitable reaction against the violence of Diocletian's rule. It was not a revolution or a conversion in the true sense of these words; it was the official recognition of a state of things which had long ceased to be a secret. . . . The revolution was an exceedingly mild one, the transformation almost imperceptible. . . . Many institutions and customs still flourishing in our days are of classical origin, and were adopted or tolerated because they were not in opposition to Christian principles." So pacific, in fact, was Christianity toward the earlier paganism that it permitted the continuance of various heathen institutions side by side with its own. To show this fact seems particularly the purpose of the present elaborate volume. According to the ancient guide-books of Rome, issued in the middle of the fourth century, there were 424 pagan temples, 304 shrines, 80 statues of gods of precious metal, 64 of ivory, and 3,785 miscellaneous bronze statues—among them being the *Ara Maxima Herculis*, the *Roma Quadrata*, and the *Sacellum Sanci*. But of Christian churches, among them being private oratories, *scholæ*, oratories and churches built over the tombs of martyrs and confessors, and pagan monuments converted into churches, there were also a large number—the "great catalogue" of Cardinal Mai enrolling over a thousand places of worship. Imperial tombs of pagan emperors there also were, as the mausoleum of Augustus, the tomb of Nero, or that of the Flavian emperors. But there were also the mausoleums of Christian emperors, and later of popes, adorned with manifold inscriptions, carvings, and statues. Pagan cemeteries, besides, were in existence, and afterward Christian cemeteries, whose diverse inscriptions and adornments indicated the divergence of the two faiths. In such a line of parallelism does the author proceed in his present volume. As one who enjoys unusual facilities for accurate observation and who seems thoroughly conversant with the Roman history whereof he writes, he has contributed an unu-

sual volume to the library of archæology. In addition to which considerations its charming letterpress and exquisite engravings make the work a treasure to be much desired.

A Tour Around New York, and *My Summer Acre*. Being the Recreations of Mr. Felix Oldboy. Illustrated by JOHN FLAVEL MINES, LL.D. 12mo, pp. 518. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $3.

Every great metropolis has had its evolution. Whoever thinks of it only as a crowded market place where all else is subordinated to trade forgets that the law of growth has in all such instances had its illustration. Nor is the great metropolis of the western continent an exception to the rule. There was an old New York. It was unlike the New York of the present, and perhaps was its superior in some respects. The warehouses had not crowded out the comfortable residences in its lower sections, and the greedy, soulless trafficker had not displaced the sentimentalist upon its streets. If entertaining the dream of coming preeminence among the cities of the world as a port of trade, it had not yet dedicated all its powers to mammon nor forgotten to keep alive the tenderer emotions of the soul. What the older New York was we learn in the present volume. The writer was himself "to the manner born." Many things which he saw in his boyhood days, as well as other things that were described to him by older lips, are woven into his graceful story. The most pathetic retrospect, the happiest sentiment, the most refined humor—as delicate as an angel's speech—blend on his pages. Sometimes he recalls important events in earlier metropolitan history about which an air of legend has already gathered; sometimes he tells of the architecture of other days; sometimes he draws the pictures of leading personages in the former city life. He does not say too much. There is nothing inserted that the reader would wish to omit. For all who belong to New York, by birth or by adoption, no volume more charming has of late appeared than this grouping of anecdotes, personal memories, and traditions so gracefully made by Mr. Felix Oldboy.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Our Brother in Yellow. A Sermon Delivered in the First Methodist Episcopal Church, Boston, Sunday Morning, May 21, 1893. By Rev. LOUIS ALBERT BANKS, D.D., Author of *The People's Christ; White Slaves, or The Oppression of the Worthy Poor; The Revival Quiver;* and *Common Folks' Religion.* Pp. 29. Boston: Lee & Shepard. Price, paper, 15 cents.

Another indictment and another plea against the attitude and action of the United States and for the persecuted Chinamen. A sermon well worth printing in itself, and needed as an aid in educating public sentiment. Its spirit is indicated by the quoted words of Joseph Mazzini, the great Italian: "Foremost and grandest amid the teachings of Christ were these two inseparable truths—*There is but one God; all men are the sons of God.* The promulgation of these two truths changed the face of the world and enlarged the moral circle to the confines of the inhabited globe. To

the duties of men toward the family and country were added duties toward humanity. Man then learned that wheresoever there existed a human being there existed a brother; a brother with a soul immortal as his own, destined like himself to ascend toward the Creator, and on whom he was bound to bestow love, a knowledge of the faith, and help and counsel when needed."

Twice Tried. By ANNIE S. SWAN, Author of *Gates of Eden*, etc. 12mo, pp. 256. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

The Young Pilgrim. A Story Illustrative of the Pilgrim's Progress. Four Illustrations. By A. L. O. E. 16mo, pp. 354. Price, cloth, 50 cents.

Christmas Times in the Crocus Family. Three Illustrations. By ROBIN RANGER. 16mo, pp. 262. Price, cloth, 45 cents.

The Little Chicken Thieves. By W. A. ROBINSON, D.D., Pastor of Union M. E. Church, Covington, Ky. 12mo, pp. 145. Price, cloth, 50 cents.

Bright Nook; or, Aunt Maggie's Corner. Two Illustrations. By GLANCE GAYLORD. 16mo, pp. 138. Price, cloth, 40 cents.

How Marjorie Watched, and *Little Foxes.* Five Illustrations. By the Author of *Helena's Cloud*, etc. 12mo, pp. 336. Price, cloth, 80 cents.

Joy the Deaconess. By ELIZABETH E. HOLDING. 12mo, pp. 213. Price, cloth, 90 cents.

Helena's Cloud With the Silver Lining, and *What the Angels Saw on Christmas Eve.* By the Author of *How Marjorie Watched*, etc. 12mo, pp. 316. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

The above are late Sunday school books issued by Hunt & Eaton, at New York, and Cranston & Curts, at Cincinnati. Wholesome in teaching and attractive in print, they deserve a place in all Sabbath school libraries.

The London Daily Press. With Illustrations and Portraits. By H. W. MASSINGHAM. 12mo, pp. 192. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co. Price, cloth, $1.

Of the power of the daily press for good or ill, for ruin or reform, no denial may be attempted. Of the power particularly of the press of London, as one of the great centers of human activity, a new conception will be gained from the scrutiny of Mr. Massingham's book. Such dailies as the *Times*, *Standard*, *News*, *Telegraph*, and *Chronicle*, as well the many evening papers of London, receive for the purpose a sufficient mention. The portraits of many of the great journalists of London add to the interest of the book. Whoever reads will be impressed anew with the marvelous activity of the human mind in its application to editorial service.

Must the Chinese Go? An Examination of the Chinese Question. By Mrs. S. L. BALDWIN, Eighteen Years a Missionary in China. Third edition. Pamphlet, pp. 29. New York: Press of H. B. Elkins, 15 Vandewater Street.

Few persons living know more about the Chinese question than Mrs. Baldwin. The wrongs of the injured have seldom had a more impressive setting forth. This pamphlet is a reiterated cry for justice, a solemn arraignment of legislative cruelty, and a righteous warning to this nation from the grieved and angered soul of a noble Christian woman filled with enthusiasm for humanity, a passion for righteousness, and love for God.

METHODIST REVIEW.

SEPTEMBER, 1893.

ART. I.—EVOLUTION AND EVOLUTION.

THE utterances about evolution have become a veritable confusion of tongues. Evolution itself is variously conceived as a process and as a mysterious cause with something like divine attributes; and the doctrine ranks all the way from a harmless scientific theory to one of the most portentous of the unfruitful works of darkness. Judging by what one reads, the doctrine is not always overclearly conceived by scientific men themselves; and to make matters worse it has fallen a prey to magazine scientists and ecclesiastical rhetoricians. Scarcely an anti-religious firework is let off nowadays without a reference to evolution, while as a ground of rhetorical shudders on the part of the clergy it has come to outrank even "science, falsely so called." We have been often, and somewhat truculently, informed that evolution has put a new face on all the perennial problems of thought and life and has permanently vacated most of our traditional ideas. Accordingly we have the new science, the new psychology, the new philosophy, the new ethics, and many other alleged novelties, of which no one may speak lightly, under penalty of perishing miserably in his gainsayings. Thus evolution has made all things new.

Yet even the kindliest critic must admit that most of the utterances upon this subject, friendly and hostile alike, show more polemical bustle and rancor than clear and critical thought. Many handy phrases, some of them notable contributions to the dictionary, are kept a-going; and these often enable voluble persons of the slenderest gifts to assume an air of

wisdom which would, if it were possible, deceive the very elect. Homogeneities and heterogeneities, differentiation and integration, correspondence and environment—what a part they have played! And how verbal and barren the process is—verbal identifications and deductions, distinguishing nothing, leading to nothing, and commonly meaning nothing! For in all the popular din about evolution what is most noticeable is neither truth nor error, but confusion, that prolific mother of nonsense. Our first work must be to unravel.

Official definitions of evolution do not tend to edification. They are commonly imposing and sonorous formulas, but are empty of valuable substance. We shall do better, therefore, to work our way into the subject without a formal definition. And first we note that the doctrine may have two distinct meanings. It may be a description of the genesis and history of the facts to which it is applied, or it may be such description, plus a theory of their causes. In other words, evolution may be a description of the order of phenomenal development, or it may be a metaphysical theory of the causes which underlie that order. These two conceptions are seldom distinguished, and it is their confusion or conglomeration which makes evolution such a bugbear on the one hand and so immensely significant on the other. For the sake of clearness and progress we must keep these conceptions distinct.

Evolution as a description of the order of genesis and development would run somewhat as follows: The simplest and lowest forms of existence were first and were succeeded by higher and more complex forms. Nothing begins ready-made. The present has grown out of the past, the complex out of the simple, the high out of the low, the heterogeneous out of the homogeneous. In the inorganic world it claims that if we should trace its history backward we should find simpler and simpler physical conditions, until we came to some simple state of dispersed matter—say a nebulous cloud. In the organic world it holds that if we should trace present living forms backward along genealogical lines we should find these lines converging toward a common starting-point. The forms of life would grow simpler, until in some very simple form or forms we should find the starting-point from which the complex forms of to-day have been developed. By continuous differen-

tiation and slight advances the original low and simple forms have been unfolded into an indefinite variety of higher and more complex forms. Again, in the evolution of mind, whether in the individual or in the world, we find the beginnings in mere animal sentiency; and out of this the higher forms of mentality emerge by a progressive and continuous development. Finally, the same is true for society. The first stages are the simplest and crudest; and from these advance is made to the complexity of our present civilization.

Now, evolution in this sense is simply a description of an order, a statement of what, granting the theory, an observer might have seen if he had been able to inspect the cosmic movement from its simplest stages until now. It is a statement of method and is silent about causation, and the method itself is compatible with any kind of causation. This conception of the phenomenal history of the world and life, as showing such a continuous progress from the simple to the complex, from the low to the high, we may call the doctrine of evolution in its scientific sense. It lies within the field of science and is open to scientific proof or disproof. Whenever the doctrine transcends this field and claims to give a theory of the causes at work it then becomes metaphysics, and must be handed over to philosophical criticism for adjudication.

Evolution, then, in the scientific sense, is neither a controlling law nor a producing cause, but simply a description of a phenomenal order. Concerning it we may ask two questions: 1. Is it true? 2. If it be true, what of it? The first question we pass over with the remark that experience plainly shows it to have a large measure of truth, and that philosophical criticism commonly makes one increasingly suspicious of all inductive formulas which lay claim to absolute truth. The second question has often called out in reply not a little bad logic and some pernicious blundering. In popular thought and hearsay science many things pass for evolution which are no part of the scientific doctrine, and which often are little more than a mirage of misunderstood words. The answer to the second question will turn out to be that all fundamental problems remain what they were before. The fancy that the doctrine has a profound philosophical significance is one of the popular mistakes due to a superficial philosophy.

Let us begin with cosmic evolution, as this is a favorite field with the popular speculator. Suppose, then, an order of phenomenal progress and continuity such as evolution in the scientific sense affirms. It is plain that it tells us nothing concerning the agent or agents which found and maintain the order, and nothing concerning their relation to the order. Are the real causes material or spiritual? Are they within the movement, or are they its ground, separate and apart? Is the causation internal to the process, or is the process only the successive manifestation of a causality beyond itself? All of these questions remain open. The crude fancy that we are gazing directly upon the causes of the natural order and their causality has long been an anachronism. The cause, whatever it may be, is never to be sought among the phenomena. Its nature can be learned, if at all, only by speculative inference from the phenomena. The facts themselves contain no theory of causation. This is so much the case that one might hold to the phenomenal order and yet contend, with Hume and Mill, that causation means only invariable sequence, so that no one of these facts is the source or ground of any other. Or one might hold, with many other philosophers, that matter has no real efficiency, and that efficiency is to be found only in mind. In that case physical changes take place according to rule; but the true cause or agent is mind outside of the physical series. One might even hold that the entire cosmic system is but the form under which a divine activity proceeds, and has no substantiality in itself. Finally, one might adopt an agnostic or positivistic view and, disclaiming any knowledge of causes, limit the mind to a knowledge of phenomena only. Any one of these views is as compatible with the facts as is the common notion which refers them to material and mechanical causes.

It is plain, then, that there might be entire unanimity concerning evolution in the scientific sense along with complete disharmony in its metaphysical interpretation. In such cases we have at bottom, not a scientific difference, but a battle of philosophies. The theorists agree on the facts, but interpret them by different schemes of metaphysics. This is the reason why some thinkers find in evolution a veritable aid to faith, while others are unable to see in it anything but atheism. And the latter class are not entirely without excuse, owing

to the failure to keep the scientific and the metaphysical questions apart. By consequence most discussions of evolution have openly or tacitly assumed a philosophy of nature which readily lends itself to atheism. Certain crude metaphysical notions spring up naturally in minds which live only or mainly in the senses. Matter is made real and causal and easily passes as self-sufficient. What the senses do not report does not exist. The causality of the system is material and mechanical as a matter of course. Nature is erected into a self-contained and self-sufficient system, and natural laws are viewed as self-executing necessities. Not a little of our cosmic speculation is built upon these crude and naïve notions. Under their influence evolution is declared to maintain natural causation against supernatural causation, and continuity and uniformity against break and irruption. This antithesis has become a standing part of the popular discussion.

It is worth noting, also, that much of the current argument ill comports with the underlying philosophy. It is somehow supposed that natural causation secures phenomenal continuity and progress, and, conversely, that such continuity is especially favorable to the belief in natural causation. But there is absolutely no necessary connection between natural causation, in the sense of material or physical or necessary causation, and the law of evolution, in the sense of gradual progress from simple to complex. Natural causation, in the sense mentioned, contains no provision whatever for uniformity or progress. For all we can say such causation might have a purely kaleidoscopic effect and might perpetually cancel its own products. The continuity of physical causes and forces would be compatible with the most chaotic sequences of phenomena, and the system might advance by perpetual explosion and catastrophe. If the actual system does not thus proceed it is not because it is natural, but because it is confined by its laws and the relation of its parts to orderly and progressive movement.

On the other hand, if we assume that nature is a self-inclosed, self-executing mechanical order, what significance for the evolution argument is there in the presence or absence of missing links or in the fact of progress by slow gradation? This conception of nature does, indeed, imply that every product must be the result of its antecedents, but it implies no given

order or measure of likeness. In a system assumed to be self-executing, the present grows out of the past as a matter of course, or rather as a matter of definition. Missing links might modify our conception of the order of procedure, but would not affect our general view of causation. Sometimes the speculators have a suspicion of this fact, and point out that the absence of missing links is no necessary part of the evolution doctrine. The great thing is to maintain the continuity of natural causation, whatever the breaks and faults of the phenomenal order. Evolution, it is said, permits us to recognize any number of phenomenal fractures if only we reject all interference with natural causation. The work must be natural and must be carried on by "resident forces" if it is to be true evolutionary doctrine. But by this time the question is completely changed, and a metaphysical contention is substituted for a scientific one. So little are the popular writers on this subject masters of their own thought that they are seldom clearly conscious of their own aim, and thus oscillate confusedly between the scientific and the metaphysical view without any suspicion that either is not the other or that the two are not one. Thus the confusion of popular thought is increased. Scientific facts and metaphysical interpretations, inductive and speculative problems, are mixed in unsuspected confusion. Manifest facts are ruled out in the name of irrelevant metaphysics, and metaphysical criticism is opposed by facts which have no bearing. A plentiful supply of epithets, ejaculations, and rhetorical shudders meets all remaining demands.

Now, there is no way out of this confusion except by keeping separate things separate and by defining to ourselves our own aim. If we are seeking to discover the phenomenal successions of things and to show that they shade into one another, so that we can pass back and forth without mental jolt, our aim is scientific and we have no need of metaphysics, but only of inductive logic. If we are seeking to exhibit the causes of such an order our aim is metaphysical and should be recognized as such. For the scientific aim the search for missing links is intelligible, since if they abounded they would make the continuous gradation of things impossible. If, on the other hand, our aim is metaphysical and we are seeking to maintain, say, the continuity of natural causation, the question of missing links has no im-

portance, for the notion of natural causation is compatible with any measure of phenomenal disorder and disruption. But it is very important that we decide what natural causation is to mean in antithesis to supernatural, and what continuity is to mean in distinction from mere succession. It is also important that we prove that such causation exists and that nature, as a self-inclosed mechanical system, is anything more than an idol of the dogmatic den.

But in the noisy discussions of the subject we miss all definition of the natural and supernatural, save that the natural is crudely conceived as made up of matter and necessity, while what passes for the supernatural is made up partly of gross and grotesque sense images and partly of echoes of an obsolete deism. Meanwhile the search for missing links has been carried on, less from the scientific desire to exhibit the successive phenomena of the world in a continuous scheme than from a vague fancy in the mind of the speculator that, in a material system, progress would lose its wonder and would need no explanation if we supposed it to take place by imperceptible degrees and to be extended over long periods of time. This fancy, which is shared by friends and foes alike, rests upon the further fancy that in some obscure way time, if it were long enough, might introduce new factors which have not always been an essential implication of the system. This fancy disappears as soon as we master the significance of law.

Evolution, then, in the scientific sense, carries with it no theory of metaphysics; for the question of method is forever distinct from the question of cause. But in popular thought evolution is identified with materialistic and mechanical metaphysics; and this has served to bring it into disrepute. That the two have no necessary connection is plain upon inspection. Natural causation, in the sense of material causation, in no way secures order and progress; and, on the other hand, supernatural causation, in the sense of volitional and intelligent activity, is by no means inconsistent with uniformity of procedure and progress by slow advance. From the bare notion of natural causation we can infer nothing as to the mode of its manifestation; nor, from the bare notion of supernatural causation, can we infer anything as to its method of manifestation. And it is the same confusion of scientific evolution with crude

metaphysics which has led so many to identify evolution with atheism, or at least to hold that it lends great aid and comfort to atheism. But the trouble here is not in the facts, but in the metaphysics by which the facts are interpreted. The belief, however, is so widespread that it seems worth while to show that scientific evolution does not affect the theistic argument at all.

In the popular view of evolution the doctrine is not simply the description of a phenomenal order or a complex result of hidden causation; it is also and more especially a mechanical and materialistic theory of its causes. When, then, evolution is said to be a progress from the simple to the complex, from the indefinite to the definite, from the low to the high, this is assumed to mean that simple and self-sufficient matter, without relation to intelligence and by its own laws, is able to produce all the higher forms of existence; so that they are no longer to be viewed as the outcome of purpose, but only as the product of blind physical law and self-executing necessity. Matter in crude thought is always viewed as the antithesis and negation of intelligence; and anything ascribed to matter is thereby removed from the control of mind. Now, the original simple forms of matter are supposed to have shown no trace of the higher aspects of the universe and to have been essentially indifferent to them. The former, then, are the true reality, while the latter are only passing phases or products of matter, which, in turn, is essentially mechanical and unintelligent. Hence the horror with which evolution has been regarded in religious circles, and the frantic favor with which it has been received by the irreligious. It seemed to be a demonstration of atheism; and the prophecy of Comte seemed to be fulfilled, that science would yet conduct God to the frontier and bow him out with thanks for his provisional services. The reality of material causation was taken for granted; and evolution was supposed to have proved that there is no need to assume intelligence in order to explain all the apparent purpose in the world. We see matter, it was said, under the control of law, producing even the highest forms of existence; and God is demonstrably a needless, if not an inadmissible, hypothesis.

Now, evolution in this sense is simply a piece of bad logic and metaphysics, and in no way a fact of science. It is the traditional atheistic philosophy with a new firm name, but with

no real increase of capital. It is a mistaken inference from a scientific doctrine which arises very naturally in the crude thinking of minds in bondage to the senses and to words; but science itself is in no way responsible for it. Logically it is an attempt to deduce effects without providing for them in their causes, or to deduce conclusions from premises which do not contain them. Evolution, as a description of appearances, may teach that the apparently simple preceded the apparently complex; but evolution, as a theory of causes, can never proceed from the simple to the complex or from the low to the high. In any scheme of necessary causation the antecedents must imply the consequents, and can be adequately defined only in terms of their implications. In short, evolution, as an ultimate causal explanation, is either absurd or empty, and for the following reasons:

All scientific thinking is determined by the notion of law. Like causes must have like effects. Given causes can have only given effects. Conversely, given effects can be traced only to definite causes, which necessitate just those effects to the exclusion of all others. Hence, in reasoning back from effects to causes we have to determine our thought of the causes so as to include the effects. Now, under such a law of thought we can never pass by regressive reasoning from the complex to the simple, nor by progressive reasoning from the simple to the complex, except in appearance. In reality, if we begin with the complex we can never reach the simple; and if we begin with the simple we can never reach the complex. Thus, if the present state of things is to be explained, we refer it to a past state of things. To-day is explained by yesterday. What, then, was yesterday? It was not merely yesterday as it may have appeared, but it was a yesterday with to-day potential in it. Whoever could have understood yesterday as it was would have seen that to-day was necessarily implied in it. Hence, our explanation of to-day by yesterday consists in making to-day potential in yesterday; and we deduce to-day from yesterday simply because we have provided for to-day in yesterday. Yesterday, then, was not unrelated to to-day, and was merely the antecedent stage of to-day; and yesterday in advancing to to-day has not risen above itself, but has only manifested its own potentialities. We may, indeed, make the motions of explain-

ing, and may refer to-day to yesterday in a general way and without thinking of what the explanation implies; but when we take the matter in earnest and pass from the generalities of verbal thinking to the exactness of concrete thinking we see that yesterday explains to-day only as it potentially contains it even to its minutest detail.

But what is true of yesterday is true of all previous days. Hence, in reasoning backward from the present, if our thought is complete and does not lose itself in the unreal simplifications of verbal thinking, we must always carry the present with us; and however far back we may go we must always find the present potentially there. Wherever in the past we make a cross section of the cosmic flow we find an order which implies the present and the future and which can be fully defined only in terms of its implications. If we come to a nebula it is not any and every sort of nebula, but one in which life and history and civilization are latent. If we come to atoms and molecules, these too already have such laws and relations that they are restricted to the actual order to the exclusion of any other. They are confined to given combinations and to given masses and distances and movements. They are also under the necessity of running into actual organic forms and exclude all others. Now, plainly, we never reach any original simplicity and indefiniteness along this road. We never get clear of the necessity of making the present facts potential in their antecedents; and the only development possible is not from nothing to something, but from potentiality to actuality. In such a system there is no rising above itself, no introduction of something essentially new. The actual has always been potential since the beginning; and if there was no beginning, then everything is, either potentially or actually, from everlasting. In that case our explanation or deduction consists in first potentializing the actual and then actualizing the potential. So far as there is any thought, in distinction from words, it moves in a circle.

From the complex, then, we cannot reach the simple; conversely, from the simple we cannot reach the complex. Simple existence which is purely such contains no ground of movement or direction and refuses to stir at all. Not until we put movement, direction, heterogeneity into it do we succeed in getting them out, and then only in the measure in which we put them in.

Or if we assume a cause with a definite nature, A, we can explain no effects which are not of like nature with A. Elements whose nature is fully expressed in gravity cannot be used to explain anything beyond gravitation. Elements endowed only with moving forces can explain nothing which is not an instance of motion. This is simply a matter of definition. To get more out of the cause we must assume that A does not fully express its nature, and that along with A is another factor, X, which is the true ground of the progress. If we attribute to matter effects which it has been supposed unable to produce, that does not prove that matter, as previously conceived, was adequate to these effects, but rather that we have been thinking too meanly of matter, and that we must enlarge our conception to include the new effects. Thus again it appears that there is no way of deducing effects from causes which do not implicitly contain them, and that our thought of the causes has to be determined so as to include the effects. All the complexity and peculiarity of the effects must be provided for in the causes, if they are to be the causes of those effects. The present, then, grows out of the past only on condition of being in the past. The high grows out of the low only as it is implicit in the low. The homogeneous which is to develop into the heterogeneous must itself be implicitly heterogeneous from the start. The heterogeneity which appears in the development is not something essentially new, but only a manifestation of what has always been implicit. Deny any of these conditions, and thought comes to a standstill.

The notion of potentiality with which we have been operating is itself highly obscure. It is a mental device for escaping the difficulties of a groundless becoming and for providing some foundation for the present in the past. The only clear conception we can form identifies potentiality with freedom; but we are seldom willing to go this length. Sometimes we think it sufficient to say that potentiality means only that under certain conditions certain events happen; but unless we are willing to accept the doctrine of absolute becoming we really mean more than this. We mean that the conditions contain the ground or reason why the event happens and why it must happen. At the same time we are utterly unable to form the least conception of what an ontological potentiality might be, or in what

its being would be distinguished from the being of an actuality. If the potentiality be nothing actual it can have no influence upon the actual; and if it be actual, what happens when it becomes that other actual which we distinguish from the potential? If we fall back upon the law we merely rename the problem or abandon it. If we hold to a groundless becoming, then nothing is because any other thing is or has been, and everything is reduced to an opaque and groundless fact. With this conclusion all science and philosophy vanish, the theory of evolution among the rest.

We return from this rather bootless excursion into the obscurities of metaphysics to point out once more that the only antithesis in a system of necessary causation is that of implicit and explicit, and the only evolution possible is a passage from the implicit implication to the explicit manifestation. The potential plus the actual remains a constant quantity; and so far as final explanation is concerned our thought only oscillates between the two without any real progress. The notion of a primal meaningless simplicity, which was once nothing to speak of and yet the sufficient source of all things, is a pure fiction which can be neither reached nor used without bad logic. And, on the other hand, an evolution which gets effects out of causes only by making them potential in their causes does not seem very progressive. Plainly, we must choose between causes unrelated to their effects or causes which imply them. In the former case the explanation is absurd; in the latter we do not solve the problem, but only relocate it. Any final explanation must either move in a circle or appeal to intelligence as the only true explanation of anything.

The cause of this oversight is not far to seek. There is, first, a failure to master the notion and significance of law; and hence arises the fancy that a material and mechanical system might in a long time, by happy chances and runs of luck, hit upon results which would be mere accidents and yet look like the work of intelligence. In the next place, simplicity for the senses is mistaken for simplicity for the reason. When, then, we trace the present order of manifestation to an apparently simpler state, we forget that the simplicity is only in appearance, and that reason is compelled to find implicit in the underlying reality all the complexity which is yet to become explicit.

A specification of the same error is the fancy that a thing can be completely and exhaustively defined by its sense phenomena at any stage, and especially in its earliest stages, and without any reference to its law of development. What first appeared was the true and complete thing; what appeared later on was somehow evolved and adventitious, and in no way belonged to the proper nature of the thing. This is an illusion of minds which live in the senses. The potentialities and the law of a thing, however, belong to a proper notion of it. Two germs might look alike and yet be very different because of different laws of growth. Indeed, we are often told with an air, as if it were immensely significant, that the embryos of different animals are often indistinguishable, in complete unconsciousness of the fact (1) that all the more we must affirm an essential law of development, different in each, to explain the different product, and (2) that this law is the very gist of the matter.

Finally, there is a tendency in all uncritical thinking to mistake words for things, and especially to mistake the unity, simplicity, and identity of the word for the unity, simplicity, and identity of the things which the word denotes. In dealing with a plurality of things the mind is forced to use class terms, and thus one word comes to stand for many objects. In discussions like the present we use many terms of the highest abstraction, as matter, force, motion, etc. These, like all class terms, are only logical symbols, but they are promptly mistaken for things; and as all the definite determinations of concrete existence have disappeared from them we fancy that we have come upon the original, simple, homogeneous existence from which concrete realities have been derived. Among the class terms themselves we have the antithesis of simple and complex, indefinite and definite; and these logical relations are taken without suspicion as a copy of the true order of reality. The symbolic character of our general terms is overlooked, and their simplicity is allowed to hide the complexity of concrete existence. If we are asked what truly is, we think it sufficient to reply, say, matter, thus replacing reality by a logical abstraction and ignoring the complexity and multiplicity of the physical elements with their various laws and multitudinous relations. Thus the problem receives an unreal simplification, and the conditions of logical illusion are provided. This mistaking

of general terms and logical relations for real things and relations, which may be called the fallacy of the universal, is structural to the human mind until it has been purified by critical reflection.

This does not imply that verbal thinking and its simplifications have no practical value; on the contrary, they have a most important logical function and are of the utmost convenience in reducing knowledge to a compact and portable form. Very often we need to consider some single aspect of a body of facts; and a term which abstracts that aspect and unites the facts does thought a great service. Of course it no longer fully expresses the facts, but only a partial aspect of them. Yet its logical convenience may be great. Thus it is a useful generalization, from some points of view, to say that all the problems of physical science are problems of the distribution and redistribution of matter and motion. It simplifies our ideas and gives them a high degree of generality. But when it comes to the concrete facts we find them as complex and multiform as ever. There is no simple thing, matter, and no simple fact, motion, to be redistributed, but rather an indefinite number of moving things of various quality and quantity and in the most complex and mysterious dynamic relations, and moving, too, apparently, in the service of a system of ideas. When we pass to the concrete fact we see the difference between the logical symbol and the concrete reality; and we see also that logical simplification does not affect the reality at all. The former retains its value of logical convenience, but it is as little to be mistaken for the reality as man in general is to be mistaken for my next-door neighbor. Verbal thinking is convenient, but it is always abstract. Concrete thinking alone grasps reality, and it is compelled to carry all the complexity of the real into the conception, if it is to be adequate.

As an illustration of the way in which verbal thinking produces showy speculation nothing better can be found than Mr. Spencer's definitions of evolution. According to one definition, "Evolution is a change from an indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to a definite, coherent heterogeneity, through continuous differentiations and integrations." It is plain that this "homogeneity" is simply the last term of logical abstraction which has been mistaken for the first term of concrete existence.

We have already seen that, considered as a reality, it can be neither reached nor used. There is no motion or progress in it. We seem to get and use it, but it is only by verbal thinking. As we go backward in our abstraction we drop one after another of the concrete determinations of reality, and suppose that reality has dropped them also. Thus we reach the bare notion of undifferentiated homogeneity and mistake the notion for the fact. Then we turn around, and on our way back we pick up all we dropped before. Thus we deduce the heterogeneous from the homogeneous. Both processes are purely verbal.

Mr. Spencer has given a second definition of evolution for the sake, apparently, of bringing it into line with physical science. In this edition the definition runs: "Evolution is an integration of matter and concomitant dissipation of motion, during which the matter passes from an indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to a definite, coherent heterogeneity, and during which the retained motion undergoes a parallel transformation." We pass over the scientific scruples concerning this definition and point out that it is largely verbal and logical rather than concrete and real. Matter, a logical abstraction, takes the place of the physical elements, the realities in the case. But these elements are neither indefinite nor incoherent nor homogeneous. Each has its own definite qualities and is definitely related in a definite system of definite law. There is no incoherency in the real system and no progress toward greater coherency, except with reference to standards which we impose upon the system. If we take the solar system as a standard we may call the nebulous period incoherent. If we take a solid body as a standard we may call a gas incoherent. If we take the mature organism as a standard we may call the embryo incoherent. But in all these cases the incoherence is relative to an assumed standard, and is nonexistent for the underlying nature of things and the system of law. The homogeneity and heterogeneity, the coherence and incoherence, are relative to the speculator and his point of view. In reality they are but shadows of himself.

This long excursion into the domain of logic was undertaken to show the fictitious nature of popular evolutionary deductions, and also to lay bare the source of the illusion. The conclusion is that evolution, as a causal explanation, is a sorry affair, and that atheistic fumbling with evolution is all astray. Evolution

as scientific doctrine, without admixture of bad logic and bad metaphysics, leaves the argument for mind in nature just where it was before. If evolution is really a process from the simple to the complex it necessarily implies a causality beyond itself, and thus it becomes the successive manifestation of a power beyond the process. If, on the other hand, we insist on working the process by mechanical causes or "resident forces," there is no escape from making the original potentialities of the system include all later actualities, and thus there is no essential progress. In either case the teleological aspect of things remains untouched. The fancy that teleology is concerned rests upon an obsolete philosophy and upon the psychological limitation of the average mind, which make it hard to see purpose where it is slowly realized, and which, therefore, lead to the notion that in some obscure way time might do the work of intelligence; hence, as we have said before, the desire to limit progress to infinitesimal increments, the underlying fancy being that matter might well be equal to small improvements on its own account, and that these, when integrated by time, might amount to any desired sum. When the notion of law is mastered these whimseys disappear. If the rate of realization is to affect the argument an ephemeron might deny purpose in any human activity because it is so slowly realized.

There is, then, evolution and evolution. There is not the slightest occasion for taking offense at evolution in the scientific sense. No theist, no Christian even, can have any interest in maintaining any one conception of the creative method rather than any other. His interest is exhausted in maintaining that, whatever the method, God is the ultimate cause and source of all things. What we think of evolution as a philosophy is already sufficiently manifest.

The present paper has dealt only with the general idea of evolution. A second paper will treat of evolution in the organic and mental world; for in that realm especially popular thought has confused itself by failing to distinguish between the facts and mistaken interpretations.

Borden P. Bowne.

Art. II.—TURANIAN BLOOD IN THE ANGLO-SAXON RACE.

The people of Europe and America are greatly mixed in blood. There are no pure races among them. More and more does scientific research find that varied strains of blood are in each of the great races, the Celtic, Teutonic, Anglo-Saxon, and the like. The assumption of pure blood, whether on Beacon Hill, among the Pennsylvania Quakers, or by the titled aristocracy of the Old World, is a figment of fancy. The terrible leveling of the French Revolution had its basis partly in blood, as well as in the loudly proclaimed rights of man. No one among the Western nations, no matter how pure he may think his Aryan blood is, can at all be certain but that he has an infusion of Turanian blood. If the human family is divided into the three commonly acknowledged races, the descendants of Ham, Japheth, and Shem, these three great divisions can by no means be claimed to have remained distinct in all the world's course, but have become more or less mixed. Each of them may represent some grouping of peculiarities in physical, mental, social, linguistic, or spiritual characteristics, but nothing more. Man is one species. The Semites have always been more exclusive than the other races; but the former two, from their wider distribution, greater populousness, interconquest, as well as characteristic tendencies, have at times and places been greatly amalgamated.

Among ethnologists and antiquarians it is generally conceded that the peoples inhabiting most parts of western and southern Europe before the incoming of the Celts and Teutons were those called Turanians. They were of small stature, their bones dug from the tumuli averaging five feet four and a half inches for the man, with much less stature for the woman. The tallest man thus found was five feet six inches. Historians, the most ancient, in describing them speak of their dark complexion. Even before historic times, when in various parts of Europe they lived in caves and buried their dead in long tumuli, they varied so much as to represent two classes of skulls, the round heads and the long heads. Ethnologists measure *crania* by making a proportion between the length

from the forehead backward and their greatest width. Heads with the width more than eighty to the length rated as one hundred are called broad heads, and less than eighty, long heads. Some European writers apply the names Iberian, Ligurian, and various other terms to these people. Their exhumed skeletons show them to have had a muscular development much too large for their slender bones, indicating a life of hardship and struggles. There is a marked disproportion between the size of the man and woman, showing that the latter, being the weaker, was overworked and starvingly fed. They seem not to have known the art of weaving cloth, but attired themselves in skins. If they had any domesticated animals these were few and of little importance.

These people, of whom we are getting more and more knowledge, though fragmentary at the best, were not exterminated by the conquering Celts, the first Aryan wave to overrun Europe, any more than the Celts were exterminated by the later wave of dominating Teutons. But this weak race was reduced to a servile condition, later becoming the peasants and toilers for the stronger and richer conquerors. If not submitting to such conditions they retained only a semblance of autonomy by retreating among the protecting hills and mountains, to the deep forests and out-of-the-way nooks and corners of the land. At the dawn of written history such is their varied condition. As civilization in western Europe advanced the condition of these downtrodden people became somewhat improved. As always happens under similar circumstances, the sharp prejudices of race gradually abated; marriages must have taken place between them and their conquerors, as well as other intermixture, and so the servile race was the gainer in condition and standing.

It is again conceded by scholars that the Aryans of Europe were tall, large men, with light complexion. In general this applies to the Celt, Teuton, and Slav. When the Romans came into contact with the Celts they were astounded at their size. Cæsar speaks of their huge, muscular bodies. Some young men of an old British tribe, on going to Rome, were found to be six inches taller than any one in that city. They had red or yellow hair, with blue or blue-gray eyes. Strabo says the Germans resembled the Gauls, but were taller, more savage, and of

more sandy complexion. But in Great Britain and on the Continent there have always been very many dark-complexioned people, and this type now exists in localities. In certain parts of France, as Brittany, in southern Scandinavia and south Germany, in Switzerland, the Walloon districts, and as far south as Bologna, and in other continental regions this is clearly seen; and this dark complexion and short stature are attributed by ethnologists to an infusion of Turanian blood. In Great Britain the same is true. Villages, districts, and restricted neighborhoods have a predominance of dark-complexioned people plainly not of Celtic or Teutonic blood.

There, as on the Continent, the peculiar, dark, swarthy complexion most commonly goes with low stature. There is but one inference possible, and that is that these people are the descendants of the old race found in those countries when the Celts and Teutons came there. In spite of conquest and their unfortunate debasement they have persisted to our own time, some in practically pure blood, and others in every grade of intermixture with their Aryan conquerors. They are found most nearly pure-blooded in Lancashire, in part of Wales, as in Denbighshire, and in Ireland in the counties of Down and Antrim, as well as along the banks of the Shannon. The poet Spenser, when a government officer in Ireland, wrote that the old races of the country had transmitted to the people of his time old customs of marrying, burying, dancing, singing, feasting, and cursing. They are found quite pure-blooded in some of the Scotch clans of Highlanders, as the Frazers, in Kintyre and Lorn, and on the Western Isles. When in Edinburgh we noticed a large number of small, dark-eyed people; and, having a notion that everybody in Scotland was Scotch—tall and light-eyed—we were at a loss to account for so many of an opposite description. On asking one living in the city we were told that all whom we saw were indeed Scotch, but that the two types were common, the tall, light-complexioned people and the small, dark ones. That terrible fighter, Rob Roy, is said to have been a short, dark man.

The earliest notices of Great Britain by historians yield indication of their presence. Tacitus, in his *Agricola*, speaks of the dark complexion and curly hair of the Silures, and, as Spain was the country opposite their location, makes the mistake of

thinking them immigrants from that country. Herodotus, long before that time, doubtless referred to them, calling them Kynetes, who, he says, lived to the west of the Celts, the most westerly people save these. He does not describe them. When the Romans occupied Britain they found these people, under various names, to be most resolute antagonists and assailants. With all the reputed fighting quality of the Gauls and Britons the Romans found the Silures of such greater warlike capacity that they attempted in vain to extinguish their very name. The Silures sometimes compelled the Roman generals to treat with them; if defeated they returned to the attack with unbroken spirit. The loss of leaders did not cause them to despair. Giraldus Cambrensis, a writer of the twelfth century, in describing the people of Monmouthshire says they were more accustomed to war, more famous for valor, and more expert in archery than those of the other parts of England. One of their tribes, under the name of Atticotti, as well as the Picts, were those from whom the Roman empire in the west was wont to recruit some of its choicest legions; two regiments of the former were enrolled among the Honoraries, the most distinguished troops of the imperial armies. When Rome withdrew from Britain the Picts and Scots were the successful assailants of the more civilized Britons, and the stout Jutes of Hengist and Horsa were hired to fight them.

As the native historians began chronicling passing events this race appears before us. Bede tells of them in his *History*. To the Picts of northern Scotland Columba went as a missionary; and their king, Brude, on being converted became a stanch supporter of the new faith. Their own chronicles tell of their acceptance of Christianity as taught by the Irish missionaries. Their language seems to have died out by the eleventh or twelfth century, though many Scotch words are doubtless borrowed from them. In 685 an army of them met Ecgfrith, King of Northumbria, at a place north of Edinburgh, and, terrific fighters as they always were, beat him and annihilated his army. For a hundred years in the north of Scotland they played an important part in national matters, holding many of the petty kings in subjection, fighting, now among themselves, now against the Scots and Angles. The considerable kingdom of Scone was theirs, and the famous stone of Scone

owes its fabled powers to their superstitions. Finally, the Norsemen, coming into Britain, broke the power of the Picts, and the latter were crowded back northward until the section of Moray was their only stronghold.

They had customs which were non-Aryan. One of these was the descent of the crown or other hereditary claim on the side of the woman instead of that of the man. This is a Turanian custom, and comes from their low marital habits, so that there was greater certainty of the descent being known on the mother's side. Certain strange and disgusting customs existed among them to historical times. To pledge each other they drank each other's blood, as African tribes now do. Giraldus mentions certain ecstatic actions among the Silures. The cursing of wells was known among them in Denbighshire. Names non-Aryan have survived in their localities. The sin-eater, who continued till our own time in Wales, has a duplicate among the Turkestan Turanians. Ancestral worship, the giving of the ancestral home to the youngest son and daughter, passing the drinking cup to the newborn babe through the fire, and other strange customs prevailing among the peasants of Great Britain are all non-Aryan.

In the traditions among the inhabitants of various sections of Great Britain these Turanian folk have largely figured. The Firbolgs of Irish legends, about whom strange things were asserted by historians not very remote, were doubtless these people. It is probable that these small, dark men, driven out of the pale of the Celts, hiding in the woods and caves, were often the originals of the numberless legends that have been preserved to modern times about the brownies, nixes, fairies, trolls, and dwarfs. As adepts in metallurgy they were represented in the legend of the Nibelungen Hoard by the brown-faced, small-statured Mimer. Addicted to magic, they became the terror of old wives, nursery maids, and naughty children. Stories like the following can be traced to them: In a certain place, if a horse, having lost a shoe, was left with a present, in due time it would be found at the same spot, safe and well shod; at another spot food left would be missing and money found instead; in Belgium if a broken metal vessel was put at a certain spot, with cakes, of which these men seemed very fond, the cakes would be gone but the vessel nicely mended.

Down to modern times these people have retained characteristics and peculiarities of their own. An Irish writer, two hundred years ago, speaking of them in his country, describes them as "the black-haired, mischievous, tale-bearing, unhospitable churls, disturbers of assemblies, who love not music or entertainment." The lordly Celts in that country retained the right of increasing at their pleasure the rent of these men, who were easily distinguished from the Milesians by their jet-black hair and small stature. In Scotland and the Western Isles these same people were represented but shortly ago as having "a strange foreign look"—"dark-skinned, dark-haired, dark-eyed, and small stature." From their dark complexion they were called children of the night. At Barra, Scotland, the features of one girl reminded a certain writer of the Nineveh sculptures. Before us as we write lies a photograph of a group of Shetland Island women. They are of the working class, the peasants. In their build they are short and stocky, with heavy black hair, large dark eyes, wide across the cheeks, with low foreheads and round heads. They are plainly a group of Turanians.

In his *Origins of English History* Mr. Charles Elton says:

> Our principal ancestors no doubt came late from the shores and flats between the Rhine and the Gulf of Bothnia. But the English nation is compounded of the blood of many different races; and we might claim a personal interest not only in the Gaelic and Belgic tribes who struggled with the Roman legions, but even in the first cave-men who sought their prey by the slowly receding ice fields, and the many forgotten people whose relics are explored in sites of lake villages, or seaside refuse heaps, or in the funeral mounds, or whose memory is barely preserved in the names of mountains and rivers. For it is hardly possible that a race should ever be quite exterminated or extinguished. The blood of conquerors must in time become mixed with that of the conquered. The preservation of men for slaves and the women for wives will always insure the continued existence of the inferior race, however much it may lose of its original appearance, manners, or language.

Archæologists now argue that physical characteristics are the most persistent marks of a race. Language is unreliable for that purpose, since it is well known that totally different races have spoken the same tongue. If language could be fully depended upon ethnologists in the distant future might class the Negroes of the South and the New England Yankees in the

same race, since both write and speak the same language. After physical characteristics, as facilitating racial identification, come habits and customs, which are usually very persistent; then also myths and traditions. While the Turanians of western Europe have wholly lost their languages, unless that of the Basques is an aboriginal fragment, their physical characteristics, mental traits, myths, and customs still distinguish them. They seem originally to have been highly vivacious, brave, persistent, and not easily cowed. As their surroundings improved they became skillful workers in metals, and likewise dealt in the black art. Holding superstitious and credulous notions themselves, they were able to impress in some degree upon their Aryan neighbors notions of the same kind.

Their influence upon people with whom they have mixed cannot be fully known; but some salient points may be distinguished. It is the opinion of Professor Rhys that the lively humor and ready wit of the Irish may have their source in the vivacious temperament of this people, since a large element of Irish blood is Turanian. Similar traits in the Welsh may be traced to the same source. It is probable that their blood has entered more abundantly into the French than into any other western nation. How much the characteristics of temperament, literary taste, fighting qualities, habits, and customs that mark the French people are traceable to Turanian blood cannot be definitely determined, but doubtless it is important. The pure Celts, who were the original stock of Gauls, were too much of the same race with the heavy, stolid Teutons to be very vivacious. But the old mixture with those earlier peoples doubtless accounts for many of the characteristics, both physical and mental, usually considered peculiarly French. Napoleon's strange career may have been made possible only by the Turanian blood in the French nation.

In America it is said that blondes are dying out. But blondes show Celtic and Teutonic blood. The northern nations of Europe, as the Danes, Scandinavians, and Germans, are predominantly of this type. One going from France to Sweden or Germany is conscious of going to people that are of lighter complexion and larger form. Immigrants to the United States from those countries are noticeable by their tendency toward the blonde type. They are less marked with the dark blood of

the Turanians than the British, the French, Italians, or peoples from eastern Europe. The great migration setting so remarkably toward our country brings from Europe the extremes of blonde and swarthy people.

Ethnology and history combine in showing that the best peoples in the world's progress have been those of mixed races. Back as far as old Egypt and Assyria this is noticeable. Even the Chinese are made up of different races, and the same is true of the Japanese. India's teeming millions are compounded of the three great divisions of the human family, Hamitic, Japhetic, and Semitic, and these are more or less mixed, in spite of their rigid caste and religious prejudices. In the English people there is, as we have shown, quite a current of Turanian blood; then Celtic, Belgic, Anglo-Saxon, Norseman, and Norman-French elements are all component parts of the mighty British nation. In our country the purpose of Providence may be to produce a magnificent American race that shall embody such a wise adjustment of diverse characteristics that for the purposes of present and future national development it will prove the best the world has ever yet seen. Here, too, for the first time in more than two thousand years in the western world, the Turanian finds opportunities for even chances with other races. Not in the servile condition of slave, serf, peasant, or retainer does he stand, but as a man, with the field freely and widely open before him.

From two sources the Turanian race has entered the United States and has become an important element in our national structure: first, from the British and other peoples of western Europe among whom they have persisted and mixed; and, second, from the Canadian French. It has been shown in this study how the Turanians are represented among our parental ancestors, the English, Scotch, Irish, and Welsh people. If in those countries they were generally the peasants, operatives, crofters, kerns, they have had in this country an even chance, and are proving that the elements of success are not an inheritance of the Aryans only. It is said that Livingstone was a small, dark man from a Pictish locality in Scotland. Those who have looked upon Henry M. Stanley and seen his short, stocky build, beetling shoulders, and terrible eye, by which he swayed the wild soldiers and carriers of central Africa, and

then remember that he was from an obscure family in the very Denbighshire, Wales, where the remnants of this race are so distinctly observable, will be led to the conclusion that he, too, was of the brave, fiery, and restless Turanian race. The blood of Rob Roy, of Livingstone, of Stanley, and their compeers is not of inferior quality. In aristocratic Great Britain these people were not allowed full opportunities of development; in America, where rank and tradition stand for nothing, the swarthy-complexioned man has the same opportunities as the blonde. The vast deal of intermixture in Great Britain during the two thousand years of Celtic and Teutonic dominancy has been fully transmitted to America. Professor Huxley says of himself in this connection: "The combination of swarthiness with stature above the average and a long skull confers upon me the serene impartiality of a mongrel." These "mongrels" are found widely distributed both in Great Britain and the United States. Here, as there, this intermixture is ceasing to be rare or to attract notice.

The second source of Turanian blood in the United States is from the Canadian-French immigration. The characteristically small, dark, vivacious Frenchman unmistakably proves his Turanian blood. The notion prevalent years ago that this swarthiness was owing to intermixture with the redskins is now known to have little basis. Very few show the distinct features and traits of the American Indian. But the peasantry of Brittany and other French provinces where ancient Turanian elements survive were largely drawn upon to furnish Canada with settlers. They came, as Francis Parkman shows, not so spontaneously as the British settlers came to the thirteen colonies, but partly by forcible methods on the part of the king and lordly barons of the home country. Transplanted to the rich farming lands of the lower St. Lawrence, they developed, indeed, but more slowly than the colonists this side the line. Our better material prosperity and other considerations are attracting multitudes of them to eastern and northern United States. Here their vivacity, their hardihood, and prolific tendencies promise to make them an important factor in American life and structure. Possibly they come to introduce several elements lacking in the life of the Eastern States, which, among the descendants of the Puritans, threatens to become unproductive, chilling, and strait-laced.

We must recognize that Turanian traits still inhere in these Canadian immigrants. Their old tendency to magic and superstition inclines them to accept and persistently retain the rather spectacular services of the Roman Catholic faith, while their long subserviency in Europe permits them to accept in unquestioning faith its authoritative oracles. The lightness of their spirit, in pleasing contrast to the rather heavy tendencies of our Puritanic and Teutonic traditions, can be deemed as introducing into American life a valuable element. They are slowly but surely amalgamating with the English race in the States. In process of time they will doubtless become an integral part of the American people.

In attending the closing exercises of two different schools last season, the one a fashionable boarding school for young ladies, the other a successful high-school in a manufacturing New England city in which there is a large French-Canadian population, we could not help noticing the marked contrast exhibited by the blonde and the dark-complexioned girls. In the fashionable school, to which had been sent, most presumably, girls from the old, wealthy families of New England, there was a preponderance of blondes, with light hair, light complexion, and rather tall, slim forms. In the high-school, of the hundred or more girls present, there was a much greater per cent of those having darker characteristics of hair, eyes, and complexion and with shorter and more sturdy forms.

M. V. B. Knox.

Art. III.—PRAYER.

Prayer is unquestionably a theme of no little complexity, as well as of paramount importance. While there is much that is clear about it there is also much that is obscure. That prayer is both a duty and a privilege, having to do with all people, places, times, and topics; that the spirit of prayer is an essential part of the spirit of a Christian; that prayer, though a power, is not dictation or demand, and was never intended to give us mortals independent control of the universe, is generally acknowledged and perhaps sufficiently understood. But the best use of prayer as a means of personal growth, its practical efficacy in securing desired results, its essential limitations, specific conditions, and wide-reaching ramifications in everyday experience—these are matters on which there is much diversity of opinion and pressing need of profound reflection. For lack of such reflection the wildest notions have too often gained currency.

Prayer has always been a specially fertile field for superstition on the one hand and for skepticism on the other. Like the doctrine of providence which underlies it, the doctrine of prayer so involves the close interaction of God and man, so necessitates a careful discrimination between the respective provinces of the divine and the human, that confused or erroneous views are both very plentiful and very harmful. The doctrine of prayer touches our creed, and the practice of prayer our character, at a hundred points. How prolific, then, of evil every misapprehension in this matter! How productive of good everything which aids to put the subject on a firm foundation of intelligent thought! To pray well it is not necessary to study little, nor is ignorance the mother of devotion. True religion will be helped, not hindered, by such a statement of its underlying principles as shall conform to the most rigorous requirements of theological and philosophical investigation. As one of the essential preliminaries for the construction of such a statement—premising that in this whole discussion we omit, for lack of space, all treatment of prayer in its wide sense of worship or communion with God and restrict ourselves to prayer as petition—we proceed to inquire, What is the office or purpose of prayer?

The purpose of prayer is not to inform the Omniscient; for he perfectly knows both what things we really need and what things we foolishly desire without our uttering a word. It is not to soften into tenderness, by pitiful pleading, an austere master; for he is the God of boundless love, from whose infinite mercy ceaseless blessings flow, and who is far more willing to give than we are to ask. It is not to induce the wise Ruler of the universe to change his beneficent, eternal plans, unsettling the established course of nature and disturbing the constancy of law to gratify our childish whims. It is not to indulge our laziness by the substitution of begging for working and idle petitioning for the painstaking use of the appointed means of gain. Nor yet is it any part of the purpose of prayer to make us careless about strict compliance with God's precepts by encouraging the idea that the wisely ordered, indispensable penalties for disobedience will be readily set aside in response to our request.

These points are almost self-evident. They do not need elaborate amplification or vindication. Few, if any, would attempt to maintain their contrary. Nevertheless, in their practical application they are constantly forgotten, and from that forgetfulness no little harm arises. The false views of God which are often inculcated or implied in the prayers do much to neutralize the more correct teachings of the sermons. It is extremely easy and extremely evil to give the impression, when we pray, that God is very ignorant, or very hard-hearted, or very fickle, and that one set of his enactments contradicts another. Many forget that he reveals his will in nature and by providence quite as decidedly as in Scripture and by his Spirit; and our prayers should no more run counter to the former than to the latter. The due observance of his laws and the faithful employment of the common sense provided for our guidance he certainly expects from all his creatures. Willful or careless neglect in either of these directions, under the mistaken idea that we are more fully honoring him by relying solely on prayer and faith, is a delusion never to be fostered, but always to be rebuked.

Many other delusions will be removed and many obscurities in this theme cleared up by keeping steadily in mind the precise purpose or object of prayer. We have seen what it is not. We

now ask what it is. Dr. James Buchanan, of Edinburgh, in his *Modern Atheism*, page 289, says:

> The object of prayer is to acknowledge God's dominion and our dependence, and to obtain from him in the way of his own appointment the blessings of which we stand in need.

This is well expressed. It will tend, however, to greater clearness of thought if we distinguish more definitely between the immediate and the ultimate object of prayer. Manifestly there are two ends effected by it. It not only procures many specific things, and so satisfies our immediate need, but it also has a most important influence on the moral and religious development of our character. This latter must be regarded, we think, as the predominant purpose in the institution of prayer, the former being kept strictly subordinate. In other words, special petitions for things which would retard religious growth are not encouraged or granted; and the qualities which are most of all essential to religious growth, such as reverence, sincerity, simplicity, humility, benevolence, obedience, perseverance, gratitude, and faith, are precisely those which condition and control effectual prayer.

It is very instructive to note in this connection the close analogy, as regards purpose or design, between prayer and all other forms of human effort. The cultivation of the earth, for instance, has for its immediate object the production of crops for the satisfaction of our physical wants. But the necessary food supply, it is evident, might have been procured by easier methods, as it was in the garden of Eden, were it not that the severe toil now requisite has the further and more important design of aiding us to subdue the flesh and become fit for heaven. The ultimate object, moral discipline, is the governing one in agriculture as well as in prayer. And it must be so in every department, since the whole of life is a training school for the hereafter. So, too, we can see that prayer has precisely the same efficiency for procuring its immediate object as every other means which God has seen fit to connect with the attainment of specific ends. Look, again, at the cultivation of the earth. If we did not plow and sow and reap we would have no wheat. Yet it is none other than God who gives us our daily bread, and our labor in procuring it does not

change his purpose at all or make him any kinder toward us. Nevertheless, it remains true that if we work we get food, and if we do not work we do not get it. Our volitions in the matter furnish God the occasion to put forth the action which he would not otherwise have done, which action results in our having the food we wished. It is exactly the same with prayer. Things come to us because we pray. They would not come if we did not pray. Yet it is God who gives them as he sees fit. They are the fruit of his ever-watchful love, and their bestowment involves not the slightest alteration in the eternal counsels of his will.

There is no more difficulty in the adjustment of prayer to the scheme of providence than in the adjustment of any other form of human volition or endeavor. In other words, there is no difficulty at all, if God's immanence in nature be properly grasped and we discard from our conception of him the limitations as to time and power which pertain only to finite beings. Nature is not a machine, having an existence apart from God though subject to his control. God does not stand outside of the world as an engineer stands outside his engine, manipulating, adjusting, and repairing. He is the indwelling Spirit, vitalizing all and energizing all from within them. There are no forces in the external universe external to God, which he originally set in motion and now has to modify or arrange, as we from time to time interpose our wishes and wills. Nature, rightly viewed, is but another name for one of the manifestations of God, and the laws of nature are but the constant action of his all-pervading, all-sustaining will. To say, therefore, that our prayers require no changes in nature is the same as to say they require no changes in God. As Bushnell has put it:

> God can never once make a new purpose in time, because he can never meet a new case which had not already come into knowledge and had its merits discovered and its allotments determined.

His purposes were made from eternity, made with full knowledge of all the prayers that would be offered and with special adaptation to them. These prayers were as present to God in the beginning as they are at the moment when they find utterance on human lips, and they prevailed with him then,

so that his purposes were made with express reference to answering them.

To think or say that this makes prayer any the less effective, or tends in any way to belittle the power of prayer, is simply to betray weakness of understanding and confusion of thought. For the foreknowledge of God has no causative effect on free human actions, nor can it detract in the least from the preciousness of the gift; rather does it add, that it was so long beforehand prepared for us.

There is no lack of high authorities who consider this theory of prearranged harmony between prayer and its answer as by far the most satisfactory of any yet proposed. To mention only a few out of very many, Dr. McCosh, in his *Method of Divine Government*, says:

God does not require to interfere with his own arrangements in order to answer prayer, for there is an answer provided in the arrangements which he had made from all eternity. The answer to prayer proceeds on the foreseen circumstance that the prayer will be offered, and if a man refuses to pray he will assuredly find it fixed that no answer is given.

Dr. Buchanan, after emphatically indorsing this theory of prayer, adds that

It is a solution which has obtained the sanction of some of the highest names in science and theology.

The distinguished German mathematician, Euler, writes:

When God established the course of the universe and arranged all the events that must come to pass in it he paid attention to all the circumstances which should accompany each event, and particularly to the dispositions, desires, and prayers of every intelligent being; and the arrangement of all events was disposed in perfect harmony with all these circumstances. When, therefore, a man addresses to God a prayer worthy to be heard, that prayer was already heard from all eternity; and the Father of mercies arranged the world expressly in favor of that prayer, so that the accomplishment should be a consequence of the natural course of events. It is thus that God answers the prayers of men without working a miracle.

So says Dr. William W. Patton in his *Prayer and its Remarkable Answers*. And so say most of those best qualified to lead theological thought.

Can any valid or important objection be brought against this theory? We know of none. It certainly does not detract

in the least from the thorough objective efficiency of prayer. It gives plenty of play for utmost freedom in supplication, while at the same time protecting God's unincumbered reign. Our petitions do really affect him and prevail with him as genuinely as when we pray to men. Nor does it make him a whit the less tender and fatherly because he foresees our wants and provides that when we present them to him their supply will be ready. The fact that he fills all time and has always been as present with what we call *now* as at the given moment when we reach it, even as one from a sufficient elevation sees the whole course of a river, should not be so very difficult to grasp, and when grasped puts the whole subject on an intelligible basis. It enables us to see how—although God is immutable, "The Father of lights, with whom can be no variation, neither shadow that is cast by turning," never taken by surprise, or needing to modify any of his arrangements—the prayer that we freely offer has, all the same, a genuine influence in shaping the course of events. Two well-known lines of a standard Christian hymn,

> Prayer is appointed to convey
> The blessings God designs to give,

express with great accuracy the fundamental truth in the philosophy of this subject. Strictly speaking, "There is no power but of God;" and prayer is not a power in itself, but only a means of putting us in connection with the power, a channel for its conveyance to certain ends. The power does not inhere in us, nor can we convey it or use it as we please. Our part is to ascertain what God's will is, and then to offer our petitions in exact accord therewith.

It is in view of this fact that we are able to say that no true prayers are ever unanswered or unsuccessful. For by a true prayer must be meant one offered in accordance with the laws governing this department of God's kingdom, that is, one offered for things "according to his will," since only in that case does he hear us (1 John v, 14). There is a vast amount of praying breath spent in vain, if by praying be meant the going through the form of prayer; but if real praying be intended, then there is nothing vain about it. Whole hours or days of merely formal prayer are worse than worthless, while a single moment of real prayer accomplishes wonders. If we ask and

receive not it is surely because we ask amiss, in defiance or disdain of the specified conditions. When prayer is actually without answer it is simply because the person only seems to pray, although a prayer may seem to be without answer when a person actually prays. If it be said that the specific things requested do not always come, the reply is that no genuine child of God makes a request in a case where he has no positive knowledge of the divine will, without explicitly or implicitly asking God to withhold if he does not see best to grant. Submissiveness is an essential part of all true prayer; and the success of the prayer is assured when it accomplishes the ultimate object of the exercise, that is, the development of religious character, even though the immediate object be not reached.

It should be noted also that answers to prayer are just as real when they come in the common course of providence, with nothing striking or extraordinary about them, nothing that makes the connection so direct and unmistakable as to defy denial. The answers in such a case may be just as precious to the believer, although without definite apologetic value to repel the doubts of the skeptic. Should not the Christian's whole life be accounted a succession of answers to his prayers? Our prayers, "uttered or unexpressed," cover all our needs, and whatsoever comes in the ordinary course of nature to supply those needs comes from Him of whose unchanging will nature is but the expression. The difference in results to him who prays and to him who does not pray is often found in the inward rather than the outward realm. God gives certain external material things to those by whom no prayer is offered; he sends his rain "on the just and on the unjust;" but the most valuable gifts, those which satisfy the heart, come only in response to sincere petitions.

It is sometimes said that we should ask God for everything we want. But this depends both on what we want and how we ask. Our wants should be duly scrutinized and kept in proper bounds, and we must ask in different ways for different classes of things. There are things for which no one should ever ask. Where God has in any way declared his will to be positively adverse to our desires on a particular point it would be an impertinence or a disobedience to present or to cherish those desires. Where we are sure that a certain thing will come to pass without our

praying, that it is not conditioned at all on our asking, that God's will is fixed in the matter independently of anything we can say or do, we should not pray for it. Those phenomena of nature which we can absolutely predict, like an eclipse of the sun or the length of the day at different seasons, we feel have been taken out of the realm of prayer. Hence, just in proportion as people come to believe and feel that to-day's rain and sunshine have as fixed and far-reaching connections with the whole universe of matter from all eternity as do the movements of the heavenly bodies, they will cease to pray that the weather may be specially manipulated to suit their petty ephemeral projects of selfish pleasure or gain. Some things, then, cannot be made, intelligently and with any proper expectation of objective result, the subjects of petition. If we pray about them at all the prayer must be that we may have wisdom and strength to put ourselves in perfect harmony at that point with the unalterable will of the sovereign Ruler of heaven and earth. Such a prayer is a prayer simply for submission, and the alteration effected by it is wholly within ourselves. Many prayers are plainly of this sort. But those are undoubtedly much astray who claim that all prayer is merely subjective in its effects.

There are some things which everybody may ask for with absolute certainty of obtaining the swift accomplishment of his desires. We refer to those spiritual blessings which are distinctly promised to all who seek. The very seeking, if it be in the right spirit, is the only condition of the bestowment of the desired things. The condition being fulfilled, the result requested follows as the immediate, regular sequence. The change in the attitude of God toward us which we crave is strictly dependent on the prescribed change in our attitude toward him, and when we have done our part he does his without failure. Things of this sort, such as strength against temptation, counsel in difficulty, deliverance from evil, are fully covered by plain promises of unlimited application. God's will concerning them is fully known, and the power of him who truly prays to obtain these things is absolute. They will not come unless he prays; they will certainly come if he does pray. The connection between the prayer and the acquisition is direct and complete, as much so as that between sowing the crop and reaping the harvest.

There is another large class of subjects that can be asked for with absolute certainty of reception only by certain people at certain times. It includes all physical or temporal mercies, and such spiritual gifts as are not intended for universal and impartial distribution conditioned simply on the asking. Through the lack of a definite, unmistakable promise we are left in doubt, when a specific case of this sort arises, as to what the divine will concerning it may be. As a rule, the person asking for things of this class cannot be sure that his request will be granted. For example, a dear friend is ill. Now, it is plainly not God's will to heal all people, or even all good people under all circumstances, and there is manifestly no Bible promise which says that if we pray at this particular time for this particular person he shall be straightway healed. Relief from physical destitution or financial embarrassment comes under the same head. So, too, does extraordinary conviction for sin, whether sent upon a person and resulting in his individual conversion or sent upon a community and resulting in a general reformation. Such powerful special impressions by the Holy Spirit cannot, in the nature of the case, be constant or universal; and there is no promise that transfers from God to men the critical decision as to when and where this peculiar influence can most effectually be exerted. Being then in doubt, not as to the divine power or benevolence (which doubt would be a sin), but as to the divine will in this matter, it is clear that, however much we desire the thing in question, prayer has no absolute power to procure it, and we can ask for it with no assurance that it will come. We are not certain that the prayer is the sole condition of its coming. There may be a great many strong reasons why it cannot come which are wholly hidden from our sight. We may pray for it, since it is not a thing as yet denied or forbidden. We should pray for it, since prayer may be the one condition of its coming, and, if we fail to pray for it, we cannot be sure but that our failure to pray was the cause of our failure to receive; hence prayer is essential to that peace of mind which results from the feeling that we have done all we can. But the prayer must be with entire submission; must contain the proviso, "Not as I will, but as thou wilt;" must make full acknowledgment that God's beneficent, sovereign will in the

case, whether it meets our personal wishes or not, will be exactly best and right.

Such must be the position of most Christians always, and of all Christians most of the time. But, as already intimated, certain people can sometimes ask for even this class of things with absolute certainty of receiving just what they ask for. How is this done? By whom? When? By those who are delivered from all doubts as to the divine will. In other words, by those to whom God has given a direct, unmistakable intimation of his willingness to bestow, in response to petition, the special thing desired. This supplies that essential basis for their faith which otherwise they could not have. And it is clear that the gift which God bestows upon them is not, strictly speaking, the gift of faith, as it is commonly called, but the gift of knowledge of God's purpose, such as can be made a basis for the intelligent exercise of their faith. It has a close connection with the gift of prophecy, for it is really an announcement in advance by the Almighty of what he intends to do, a special revelation of the course he is about to pursue; the chief difference between this and ancient prophecies being that this is of private interpretation, being intended for the use and comfort of the individual only and having no special application to public or national affairs. The faith which these persons have is precisely the same as that possessed by others, namely, a belief that God will do as he says and will be true to his word. The difference in their case is that God has revealed something to them which he has not revealed to others. They have a special word, covering the particular matter in hand, directly conveyed to them by the Holy Spirit as the requisite evidence for their belief. Having received this word, it would be a sin in them not to believe it, just as it would be presumption in others to attempt to believe without the divinely given evidence.

Much is sometimes said as to the wonderful power of those prayers which are followed by exceptional or extraordinary answers. But we perceive, on reflection, that they are not different in this respect from other prayers whose answers contain nothing striking. Things come about because of the prayers which would not come about if the prayers were not offered; but the power is wholly of God in all cases. He never dele-

gates his rule to any. He, and he only, decides as to the thing which he will do. He chooses according to his sovereign will some person through whose obedient faith the thing shall be brought to pass. The person is only a channel or an instrument for the efficiency of God. Why he chooses this one and not that for these special distinctions none can tell. There is no discernible principle on which these honors, if such they should be called, are distributed. Their recipients do not always excel others in piety or faithfulness, in fullness of love or of consecration; nor does the possession or exercise of these gifts imply a remarkable degree of grace in any direction. It may sometimes indicate extraordinary need; but as a rule we can only say that it is divinely or inexplicably bestowed, like other merely temporal distinctions, such as comeliness of person or pleasantness of surroundings in life. Its bestowal, it may be added, is none of our concern, provided we are conscious of diligently using whatever gifts we have and fully responding to all the grace offered us.

It may reasonably be doubted if it is well to covet earnestly this gift. Truly we little know what is best for us. It is evident that many make great mistakes in the matter, supposing they have the gift when they have not, or supposing they have it constantly when it is only an occasional thing. We see this frequently illustrated in each of the two chief forms of this extraordinary prophetical faith, namely, in the medical treatment of disease and in revivals—the healing of the body and the healing of the soul. Incontrovertible testimony in great abundance seems to show that healings of the body have taken place throughout the Christian ages, and do still take place, in connection with the exercise of this extraordinary faith. On the other hand, there have been cases where people attempted to exercise this faith, and thought they did so; but the expected results did not follow, and it was manifest that God had not authorized their endeavor. In the same way there have been many cases where both individual conversions and widespread revivals of religion have followed the exercise of this peculiar faith; while, on the other hand, there have been, perhaps, even more cases where the special prayer was offered and the conversion or revival was expected and even predicted with the utmost possible confidence; but it utterly failed to

come, showing that God had not spoken, and the over-eager prophet had run before he was sent. In view of these unquestionable facts we see the great need of caution on this point. Fanaticism and presumption lie very near to this faith. Since the only evidence for belief is a mysterious inward impression or feeling, extremely difficult to judge impartially and necessarily removed from the connecting influence of other people's judgments, it is easy to be mistaken about it; and persons of emotional or excitable temperaments, whose feelings are never under much control and who have little or no intellectual discipline, are very apt to run away with the notion that they have this special calling or gift. It is frequently a matter of mere fancy or ambition or self-will. We must try the spirits very thoroughly. There is little harm from overcaution and humility in this direction. There is great harm from rashness and overconfidence and from the disappointment that is certain to result. It would, perhaps, be a good rule for one not to attempt to exercise this faith if he could help it, that is, unless so exceedingly convinced of its necessity as to feel that he was committing sin by refusing to do so. The gift must be exceptional. It cannot be designed to replace other means, either in medical treatment or in revivals, but only to supplement them. God certainly intends us, as a rule, to observe the laws of health if we wish to keep well, and to use the natural remedies he has provided if we wish to get well. He intends religious effects to proceed generally from easily traceable natural causes. He will not do for us what we can do for ourselves. He will not encourage idleness nor put any sign of displeasure or inferiority on the use of the regular instrumentalities which he has ordained.

In the light of this discussion as to the purpose and philosophy of prayer it will be seen, we trust, that our prayers need very careful examination, and that certain expressions and practices often connected with them are open to grave objection. The mental and physical struggles sometimes occurring under the name of "agonizing prayer" or "wrestling with God," in which violent contortions of body and tempests of sound predominate, as though heaven were a fortress to be carried by storm, are scarcely defensible as prayer to the Almighty, though possibly having their place as a means of

affecting human hearers or ourselves. If intended to influence God they betray a very low conception of him, one wholly unworthy of the close of the nineteenth Christian century. The demand for importunity in prayer must be wholly from ourselves, and can only be of use in arousing us to a vigorous employment of the means prescribed for the attainment of our object, and in causing us to comply more strictly with the conditions of the promise.

Much that is not really prayer goes by that name. We hear elaborate descriptions, beautiful illustrations, learned arguments, eloquent rhapsodies, stirring exhortations, theological essays, embodying much information and even disputation, very convincing and effective for their purpose; but that purpose is surely not supplication, nor yet communion with God. Nor should our approaches to the All-Father and gracious Helper of mankind be overmuch taken up with worship, with liturgical rotundities and doxologies, as though we had everything to give and nothing to ask. "This *te deumizing* of God is like to be a tedium to him." It is more fitting that we come as little children, mainly with petitions for what we want.

Among other dangers to be guarded against in prayer may be concisely mentioned the following: Egotism and selfishness; consultation of our own personal interests and those of our immediate friends, without regard for the good of others and the general welfare; self-confidence and trust in our own judgment rather than in God's, leading to imperative and dictatorial requests for things in regard to which God has not made known his will; the mistaking of strong hope or intense desire for faith, thus reasoning ourselves into the conviction that a thing must needs be God's will because it is so much our own will; the confounding of disciplinary delays with positive denials, so that we become easily discouraged when God has simply postponed his answer for the sake of trying our faith and patience and humility; the formal or random use of words without reflection as to their meaning, thus making prayer a matter of routine rather than of religion; and the filling up of the time with cant phrases repeated parrotlike, instead of using newly coined expressions fresh from the heart and reverentially uttered. If these faults were corrected there would be less saying of prayers and more true praying.

The number of really unanswered prayers—that is, of so-called prayers, prayers that accomplish nothing either with God or with ourselves and are little better than a mockery, a delusion, a waste of time, and a loss of opportunity—we believe to be enormous. It is a shame and a sin. We should ask always in such a way that we may receive. The directions are explicit and not beyond comprehension or power of observance. They are embodied in five brief "whatsoever" verses which read as follows: "All things, whatsoever ye shall ask in prayer, believing, ye shall receive" (Matt. xxi, 22); "Whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, that will I do" (John xiv, 13); "If ye abide in me, and my words abide in you, ask whatsoever ye will, and it shall be done unto you" (John xv, 7); "Whatsoever we ask, we receive of him, because we keep his commandments, and do the things that are pleasing in his sight" (1 John iii, 22); "If we ask anything according to his will, he heareth us: and if we know that he heareth us whatsoever we ask, we know that we have the petitions which we have asked of him" (1 John v, 14, 15). The meaning of these directions is, in brief, that we can secure the objects of our desires by completely uniting our will with the will of God. For then we shall have no trouble about believing God's word. We shall ask only for such things as Christ would ask in our place. Christ will abide in us and we in him, and like Jesus we shall be able truthfully to say, "I do always the things that are pleasing to him," and "I knew that thou hearest me always."

Art. IV. — NOVALIS.*

At Weissenfels, on the Saale, a score of miles from classic Weimar, in the midst of factories and tanneries, there was dedicated in 1872 a monument to the "ardent and holy Novalis"—Friedrich von Hardenberg—philosopher and poet, of whom, though more than ninety years have passed since he sank into that "calm sleep" from which no human voice can wake him, too little is known, especially in the United States and among those who desire insight into the mental and spiritual life of a pure-souled man of genius, who aspired to unite philosophy and religion and succeeded in developing a symmetrical character, combining simplicity of trust and depth of thought.

Thomas Carlyle, feverishly delving into German literature, discovered there two small volumes by "Novalis"—*Novalis Schriften herausgegeben von Fr. Schlegel und Ludwig Tieck* —and, painfully translating from them into English, wrote a famous essay, first announcing to English readers, half a century ago, that "few books known to us are more worthy of their attention," and describing them as "an unfathomed mine of philosophical ideas, where the keenest intellect may have occupation enough;" and it was for writing these two little books that the Germans erected the monument on the banks of the Saale. They do not constitute a very colossal or astonishing achievement, one may say, if only the quantity of literary product be considered, namely, a novel, fifteen spiritual songs, six miscellaneous poems, an unfinished romance, six "Hymns to the Night," and one hundred and eighty pages of "Fragments," or "Texts of Thought," on "Philosophy and Physics," "Æsthetics and Literature," and "Ethics." But even the quantity is remarkable when it is remembered that our author had been out of school only seven years when, in the early spring days of 1801, he died at Weissenfels, and that for the last five years of his short life (he was less than twenty-nine years old at the time of his death) he was engaged in active business pursuits, as auditor and assessor of the electoral salt mines in Thuringia. We cannot, therefore, judge him and his

* "Novalis is a figure of such importance in German literature that no student can pass him by without attention."—*Carlyle.*

works as we judge the great Goethe and his works; but we may accept that literary autocrat's opinion and, with him, believe that Novalis needed only time to make him a recognized leader of modern thought. "It is our loss," said Goethe, in 1808, "that he died so young, especially as he did his time the favor of becoming Catholic."

Novalis himself, unconscious that his career was so soon to terminate, did not regard his unpublished writings as the finished product of his pen, to be measured according to accepted canons of literary art, but rather as a journal or record of his mental life and an essential means of self-culture—studies, hints, and outlines to be subsequently developed by fuller research and deeper thinking. To some of them he gave the suggestive title of "Pollen"—not flowers, full blown in the sun, but the seed and germ of future bloom, collected, beelike, from great works in philosophy, fiction, theology, and poetry. Not that he was a mere pollen-bearer, transferring fructifying germs from the minds of master thinkers to his own infertile brain. His ministry of thought was richer than that; he produced the genial honey of a profound and suggestive philosophy, eclectic in its sources, but homogeneous in its synthesis. He was a cosmopolite in the domains of reason, a disciple of no master, a member of no sect. Indeed, Tieck says of him:

> With his poetical and philosophic quality of mind, with his mystical tendency, it was possible for him, as a profound believer in Christ, to combine admiration for the poetical or æsthetic aspects of the Catholic Church with veneration for Luther and Calvin, and these with esteem for the Moravians and enthusiasm for Spinoza and the German, as well as for the Neoplatonic, philosophy.

This comprehensive cognition of the true, beautiful, and good, wherever manifested and expressed, was not the product of incertitude or of a mental process which finds its analogue in miscegenation. It was, rather, the attitude of an intellect that had been brought to act upon literature rather than life; for, it seems to me, Novalis was not so much a student of man as of mind. He wrote a romance, it is true, and he wrote poetry; but he lacked those elements of imagination and sympathy which characterize Dickens, Thackeray, Collins, and Hall Caine. Instead of creating or portraying "characters,"

vivid and vivific, he analyzed the abstract "soul" and produced a "system." Will and reason, love and hate—these the great novelist sees in their frenzied interplay in the tragedy of life; but if he calmly and in philosophic mood study their causes and effects he will not, cannot produce a work of fiction that the people will read, and the people do not read *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* and *The Pupils at Sais*. In fact, despite his monument, Novalis is not a popular author. His writings are known only to a small circle of thinkers, who find in them profound thought problems, the solution of which is an education in abstract ratiocination and an inspiration to philosophic faith. He is deficient both in humor and in pathos. His appeal is solely to the cold intellect, and his ideal individual man is one who "conducts an endless and complex drama, in which gallery and pit, actor and spectator, are one, and he himself poet, director, and hero of the piece."

He conceives of the State, too, as a person, whose special and inner organs are the court, the theater, the palace, the Church, the capital, public assemblies, academies, and colleges—that is to say, to use Elisha Mulford's term, as a moral organism. "The State has natural rights and duties, like the individual man," he says. This conception makes him serious. He has no desire to raise a laugh, no wish to bring tears. He sets himself the admirable, if difficult, task of creating moral sentiment, of portraying a high ideal. He will be the dedicated priest of the State's rights and duties. This is the glory of Novalis—this young man of Weissenfels—that in the genial energy of his ambitious efforts to seize upon the very heart of truth he discerned the essential obligation of the individual human life to be the recognition of rights and the performance of duties.

For the Christian theologian the value of his career and writings lies in the fact that, possessing an intellect so subtile and sensitive, so active and acute, he could not repudiate Christianity. I am aware that his faith in Jesus has been pronounced eccentric—the unique assent of a philosopher-poet who saw in the biography of the Man of Nazareth the supreme, unassailable truth of poetry. "The history of Christ," he says, "is even as really a poem as a history—and generally history is only a history which can be fable." He does not discredit the

evangelists' picturesque and popular accounts of the thaumaturgic acts of Jesus; but for himself he has no need of the gospels as a corroboration of the Gospel. "The Holy Spirit," he thinks, "is more than the Bible; he should be our Teacher of Christianity, not the dead, earthly, ambiguous letter." Do we start at this and pronounce it dangerous? Is it any more dangerous than Paul's declaration that "the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life?" Novalis himself was not independent of the letter, although he technically and logically subordinated it to the spirit of truth. His biographers relate that during the closing year of his career "he read very diligently in the Bible, also much of Zinzendorf's and Lavater's writings." Very pathetic to me is this picture of the "ardent" youth—"tall, slender, of noble appearance," with "clear and flashing eyes," resembling Dürer's portraits of the evangelist John, as his friends liked to think—poring over the pages of the German Bible and the writings of the Moravian Zinzendorf and Lavater. He interprets, perhaps, as a mystic and as a student of Spinoza, Fichte, Kant, and Goethe. He thinks that the Bible should "grow;" that every true book, written by a reverent and holy spirit, is a Bible, and even that the history of every man should be a Bible. But he is a mystic, as he himself says, because in essence religion, love, nature, and the State are mystical. He follows the great philosophers and the great poets because he believes them to be organs of supreme truth, whose errors truth will counteract. He recognizes the products of inspiration in current literature and in common life, because he believes that God can still energize the receptive intellect and that in every human existence the elements of good and evil coexist in conflict, thus producing a tragedy the inner truth of which is the same as that of the world's awful history. Such a man, so endowed and so environed, cannot read the sacred Scriptures like the *curé*, whose education was begun in the Sunday school and completed in the seminary. To him it is a greater, deeper, richer book, one of infinitely various suggestion.

History, to him, is, indeed, a "huge anecdote," but it is more—a category of "evolutions." Ninety years ago this cothinker of Pascal, Shelley, and Coleridge uttered the keynote of the historical process—the keynote of modern science:

Evolutions are the material of history. What is not now developed will attain its consummation in a future or repeated experiment. Nothing which history apprehends is transient. Out of innumerable transformations it advances to ever-riper forms.

In the Germany of his day, sympathetic with revolutionary, rationalistic France, he saw "the universal individuality, the new history, and the new humanity" in the bitter fight of antagonistic forces, the fiery outburst of political Protestantism, the vast and violent upheaval of long-suppressed discontents. He saw the marriage of the young Church and the loving God, whose Son was the image of the Father—of clear and infinite vision, of prophetic and miraculous gifts, of consoling grace—

The Saviour, who, like a true genius, born among men, cannot be seen, only believed in, but spiritually visible in countless forms to the believing ones—as the bread and wine of the common meal, as the beloved one in pure embrace, as the air inhaled, as the word and the song apprehended by heart and mind, as death itself—all received under keenest pains of love in the inner life of the quiescent womb.

To him the historic process is an evolution; but it is a birth, and birth means life from life, under permanent laws of mutual rights and duties. He does not attempt a formal exposition of these laws; but, unlike Lessing, who, as he thinks, "saw individual facts too keenly," he seems to have subordinated laws and events to what he terms "the magical effect of the whole environing circumstance," and penetrates to the all-permanent, all-determining, and all-pervasive moral springs of action. And so "history is a gospel"—a message of God to man. He is so dominated by the æsthetic sense that he sees poetry in this gospel, as, indeed, in religion, Christianity, nature, and the sciences. Indeed, his objective point is the reconciliation of the æsthetic and the ethic. It is this program of thought which makes possible two such passages as these:

Revolutions are no proof of real energy in a nature. There is an energy arising from weakness which is often more forcible than true energy, but ends in greater weakness.

The world and its history will be transfigured into holy writings, even as from the holy writings you will learn how simply and clearly the greatest events can be recorded; perhaps not directly by them, but their elevating and animating influence will arouse a higher faculty within you.

In the first he diagnoses a crisis; he projects a system in the second and writes the biography of his mind. In this semi-occult, mystical way the "higher faculty" within himself had been aroused. He beheld the transfiguration of the world and its history into holy writings, and, reading the Scriptures, he apprehended the prophetic secret of recording great events. One desires to know how Novalis read the Kings, the Chronicles, and the Books of Samuel. What a unique commentary he would have written! Seeing human beings as "thoughts precipitated in space"—women as "symbols of goodness and beauty," men as "symbols of truth and righteousness"—he would have produced a philosophy of tragedy, a drama of spiritual truth. Samuel, David, Saul, with other imposing characters, would have moved to and fro on the crowded stage of the ancient Hebrew life as "matured wills;" and this young German mystic, sitting through whole nights and illuminating the fast-changing themes by coruscations of fancy and incisive judgment, would have shown the divine program of world-history in the action and reaction of the volitional force of the individual life. As it is, the student of Novalis opens his Bible with keener sense of the "deep below deep" in human character and conduct. He feels that there is more truth and yet more truth—a holy place and a holy of holy places. The One over all becomes more real, and prophet and apostle seem nearer to the senses of the soul.

Of Novalis himself his friend Just says that he developed an ever-deepening love of Jesus and a profound reverence for the virgin mother, inspired by his æsthetic apprehension of the spiritual beauty of her relation to the Man of Nazareth. The mystery and majesty of their personality alike impressed and inspired him. He recognized in them the coordinate and coacting elements of history. In Jesus he saw the supremely mysterious, supremely majestic Person—the Man whose biography is the key to history and the solution of life's problem. Of this climacteric character—at once of earth and of heaven, of time and of eternity, of man and of God—he seldom utters the name, not even in his hymns; perhaps because he had not yet determined upon a definite principle of classification; perhaps because, despite his early Moravian education, he could not implicitly accept the orthodox *dictum* that Jesus is incarnate God.

He believes, it is true, in a theophany. "God," he says, "must be sought among men. In human events, in human thought and feeling, the Spirit of heaven reveals himself most clearly." But he does not believe in the one incarnation, for, in one of his apothegms, he expresses the opinion that if God can become man he can also become "stone, plant, animal, and element." This would exclude Novalis from the category of Christians, if to be a Christian is to believe in the unique and exclusive divinity of Jesus. Yet he is not a pantheist, for he specifically avers that "God must be separated from nature —God has, really, nothing to do with nature. He is the object or goal of nature—he for whom nature exists, with whom it shall yet harmonize. Nature shall become moral." God has no history, but he is in history, because in him man lives, moves, and has his being. Nature is not God, but God is in nature, because its laws are the mode of his operations. The study of history and of nature, if this be true, is theological as well as anthropological—of course, primarily anthropological, because man first sees man; but the knowledge of God is essential to the knowledge of man, as the knowledge of man is essential to the knowledge of God.

"What is man?" asks Novalis, and answers, "A perfected figure of the spirit." "All men are variations of one complete individual, that is, of one marriage. An accord of variations is a family." "Spirit and person are one." "The spirit galvanizes the soul by means of the gross senses; its self-activity is galvanism." "Soul and body galvanize each other, at least according to an analogous art, but their laws lie in a higher region." "The seat of the soul is where the inner world and the outer world meet. Where they interpenetrate—at the point of interpenetration is it." If this be the place of the soul is it not an "accidental product," as the point of interpenetration of inner and outer world varies? This is the question that Novalis asks: "Is the place of the soul dependent upon will or is it accidental?" Accidental, he concludes. "The place of the soul is now here, now there, now in many places at once; it is mutable, variable. Its place is in the members of the body, as one may learn through the dominant passions." This, so far as it relates to the interaction of body and spirit, agrees with modern psychology. However, one feels in reading these

"thoughts" that the poet-philosopher is, if it may be so said, guessing at truth. He is not a physiologist, neither is he a psychologist; but, discerning vital relations between body (that one "temple of the universe") and soul and spirit, he conceives that spirit galvanizes soul and that body and soul galvanize each other. Yet, whether he advances this as a scientific theory or only as a mystical suggestion based on supposed analogy it would be difficult to determine. Superficially he seems a materialist of the grossest type, as when he says, "Our thought is absolutely only a galvanization." "Soul oxydizes—sensation deoxydizes." On the same page, however, yes, even in the same paragraph, he soars into the realms of the transcendental, as when, having pronounced thought the product of a chemical process, he says it is "a contact of the earthly spirit and the spiritual atmosphere, through a heavenly, supernatural medium—logic, corresponding to meteorology." "The human spirit can approximately imitate external symptoms; it must also have analogies with the elements and forces of nature." "As the body is united with the world, so the soul with the spirit. Both paths lead out from man and terminate in God. Both circumnavigators meet at corresponding points of their course. Both must think toward the center, and, in spite of distance, must remain together and, in union, make both journeys." "Both paths terminate in God"—he accepts this as the interpretation of life's processes, and conjoins faith and philosophy in his theory that nature and spirit are wedded in man, whose body is consonant with spirit.

Being a philosopher of a unique type, Novalis considers man not only as ideally the perfected figure or projection of spirit, but in his contrasted physico-psychical conditions of sleeping and waking—his night-life and his day-life. Viewed from his mystical standpoint, what is sleep—the sleep of this creature of body and soul?

> Sleep is a complex [mixed] condition of body and soul. In sleep body and soul are chemically united; the soul is uniformly distributed through the body. The man is neutralized. Waking is a divided, polarized condition; the soul is brought to a point—localized. Sleep is digestion of the soul; the body digests the soul—a withdrawing of the soul's graces. Waking is an interweaving of the soul's graces—the body utilizes the soul. In sleep the bands of the system are loose; in waking they are tightened.

Is this intelligible? Is it scientific? Let us say, only, that it is as Novalis saw the phenomena and, through them, those obscure laws which the physiologic-psychologists are straining their brains to apprehend and formulate. What is death? "Death is nothing but the interruption of the interchange between the soul and the world." That interchange, that intercommunion, shall be renewed? Yes. How? When? To these questions the New Testament, and the New Testament alone, gives definitive answer in the doctrine of the resurrection of the body—a spirit-body, transformed into the image of Christ's glorious body, adapted to the new heavens and the new earth.

In the meantime, what is the relation between man and nature? The poet-philosopher's answer is given as follows in *The Pupils at Sais:*

We stand in as many and as immeasurably different relations to nature as to man; and as to the child she shows herself child-like and bends benignly down to his infant heart, so to the god she shows herself godlike and attunes herself to his high spirit. We cannot say that there is one nature without saying something excessive, exaggerated; and all attempts to arrive at truth by discussions and conversations about nature do but remove us farther from the natural. Much is already gained, when the effort fully to understand nature ennobles itself into a longing, a tender and humble longing, which even the cold, reserved temper soon learns to delight in if once it feels secure of a more intimate acquaintance with her. There is a secret attraction toward all points, diverging from an infinitely deep center within us. As wondrous nature, sensible and insensible, lies round about us, we think every one of her features an exercise of this attractive power, a manifestation of the sympathy which exists between her and us. But behind those blue, distant mountains one man seeks the home which they veil from his sight. . . . Another thinks that, far on the other side, unknown glories await him; he believes that a future, full of life and beauty, lies hidden there, and he stretches his hands wistfully toward that new world. Some few stand motionless and serene in the midst of the glorious spectacle; they seek to embrace it in its fullness and concatenation, but they forget not in the whole that radiant thread which runs through and enlinks its parts and forms the holy crown of light. Such spirits are blessed in the contemplation of this living and more than midnight depth of all-pervading beauty.

Thus arise manifold ways of viewing nature; and, in some, sensibility to her beauty is a joyous sensation—a banquet. In others we see it transformed into the most reverential religion, giving direction, support, and significancy to the whole of life.

Even in the infancy of nations such deep and earnest spirits have been found, to whom nature wore the countenance of Deity; while other gay and joyous hearts thought of her only as a host, at whose bounteous table they might freely seat themselves. To them the free air was a cordial drink; the stars, lamps to illumine the nightly dance; plants and animals, costly and delicate viands; and thus did nature present herself to their minds, not as a still and awful temple, but as a plenteous kitchen and merry banqueting hall.

In an intermediate class between these two were others, whose view of nature, though differing from the last, had yet reference to the senses alone. These saw in actual nature only a vast but as yet wild and unreclaimed park or pleasure ground, and were busied, day and night, in creating patterns of a more refined and perfect nature. They divided themselves into companies for the accomplishment of the great work. Some sought to awaken mute and forgotten tones in air and wood. Others stamped their conceptions and images of more beautiful forms on brass or stone; built up from the rock more stately piles for dwellings; brought to light hidden treasures from the clefts of the earth; tamed the wayward and lawless stream; peopled the inhospitable sea; carried plants of long-known and excellent virtue into desert zones; checked the wild overspread of forests, and tended the nobler flowers and herbs; opened the earth to the life-giving motions of generative air and enkindling light; taught colors to blend and arrange themselves in beautiful pictures, and wood and meadow, fountain and rock, to unite in one lovely garden; breathed tones into the living members, unfolded their mysterious connection, and taught them to move in livelier and more joyous vibrations; adopted the defenseless animals which were susceptible of some touch of human culture, and cleared the woods of those noxious beasts which seemed like the monstrous births of a distempered fancy.

Soon did nature assume a kindlier aspect; she was softer and more refreshing, and willingly hearkened to all the wishes of man. By degrees her heart began to have a human motion; her fancies were brighter; she became social and freely replied to the friendly inquirer; and so the golden age appeared to be gradually returning, when she was the friend, the comforter, the priestess of men; when she lived among them, and her divine society and intercourse raised them into immortals.

This is apologue—and more: it is a microcosmic definition of the action and reaction of man and his environment, and is the elaboration of that "Fragment" in which Novalis describes the evolution of genius:

If our body itself is nothing but the common center of our senses we have power over them, to incite them to action as we

will, to center them at a common point. It then rests with us only to give ourselves such a body as we will. So, if our senses are nothing but modifications of the organ of thought, the absolute element, shall we, together with mastery over this element, possess power to direct and modify our senses according to our pleasure. The painter has, in a measure, the eye in his power [under his control]; the musician, the ear; the poet, the imagination, the organ of speech and emotion; the philosopher, the absolute organ, and works through it as he will, and through it represents the spirit-world. Genius is nothing but spirit in this effective use of the senses. Hitherto we have had only isolated genius; but the spirit shall become totally genius.

I know of no profounder, more adequate definition of genius: "spirit in effective use of the senses." This differentiates men. The common man is five-sensed; the genius also is five-sensed, but he seems six-sensed, or even seven-sensed—he sees and hears so much more in the world that he shares with the common man. "The poet," as preeminently the man of genius, "understands nature better than the man of science."

Such is Novalis's conception of man as a complex physico-psychical entity, a being in and of the universal order, subject to immutable laws of matter and sense and cognizant of them. But, says he:

Strange that the inner world of man should be so poorly estimated and so spiritlessly treated! So-called psychology belongs among those masks that occupy the places in the sanctuary where the real faces of the gods should appear. What little use yet has physics for the mind or the mind for the outer world? Intelligence, fancy, and reason—these are the poor framework of the universe in us. Of their marvelous interrelations, appearances, and transitions no word [in psychology]. To no one does it fall to seek their new, unnamed forces and their social connections: Who knows what wonderful alliances, what wonderful births, are imminent in the inner world?

In that "inner world," whose ground is our own inner plurality, was his real, dominant life. In it he found an element higher than the physical, higher than the psychical—the spiritual, that which is of the divine and ideally subject to the divine. He found God, and the finding touched his emotions. He worshiped; but he audaciously declared that a moral God is greater than a magical God—a God who is good than a God

who works wonders. He prayed, conceiving that prayer in religion is analogous in process and result to thought in philosophy. He penetrated to the essence or order of the divine life. What did he find? Simply mathematics. God is a being who thinks according to the laws of mathematics; or, perhaps, he who apprehends mathematics thinks as God thinks. This is so vitally true to him that he pronounces pure mathematics religion; so true that he declares that "he who does not take up a mathematical work with reverence and read it as a word of God does not understand it." "He who will seek God once will find him everywhere," he says—an encyclopedic or ecumenic revelation in all truth. For Novalis all paths of thought led to the throne. Did he see God, there in Weissenfels, as Moses saw him on Sinai or as Emerson saw him at Concord? Is God anywhere as he is everywhere? And can he be seen as well by a Sunday school pupil, who recites the catechism formula, as by a man "without vanity, learned haughtiness, affectation, and hypocrisy, genuine, true, the purest, loveliest embodiment of a high, immortal spirit"—such as Novalis appeared to that little circle of kindred "guessers at truth" in which he coruscated during the days and nights of a hundred years ago? Well, it is possible for a child, hearing and heeding the "little voice," to walk in ways that lead to the vision—awed, subdued, inspired by disclosures of eternal law; but to such a thinker as Hardenberg, the mystic, eager to know the whole of life and the whole of law, the vision must be fuller, more awful, more sublime, and, at the same time, nearer. Novalis, like Emerson after him, believed in the immanent—the oversoul—the inner one—and, like him, he seems to have been pure, realized purity, and, therefore, emphasized character, goodness, excellence of motive, symmetry of impulse, obedience to the will of the Holiest.

The moral, properly understood, is the real life element. It is identical with piety. Our own moral will is the will of God. In that we fulfill his will, we gladden and broaden our own being, and it is as if we had willed from our own inner nature. Sin is surely the only evil in the world. All trouble comes from it. Who understands sin understands virtue, Christianity, himself, and the world. Without this understanding one cannot make the merit of Christ his own, one has no part in this second, higher creation.

Such a passage as this, like an echo of a Moravian sermon, differentiates Novalis from other mystics and warrants our placing him in the category of Christian philosophers. A mystic he was whose mysticism was founded in faith, built in hope, and beautified with elements of permanent and corroborated trust in truth as incarnated in Jesus; a mystic whose mysticism found expression in hymns so simple, so near to the "plain people," that they have been sung by the Moravians, spiritual progenitors of the Methodists. Says William F. Stephenson, in his *Biography of Certain Hymns:*

> Novalis, poet and philosopher, wrote some hymns of a wonderful and gracious beauty, intelligible to all, moreover, and singularly distinct from those speculations that ranked him chief of mystic thinkers. His father, a business-like, prosaic workingman, troubled himself little about either poet or philosopher—considered rhyming, indeed, purely mischievous; but, having a theory that boys would be boys, neither interfered with Novalis nor, it is believed, read a line he ever wrote, unless it was in the ledger. Novalis died in his bright youth, and, soon after, his father attended the Moravian church, as his custom was. The congregation sang words that he had never heard before, so thrilling, so full of Christian passion, so mournfully sweet, that he was deeply moved and, on leaving the church, asked a neighbor how they had come by so glorious a hymn and if he knew the author's name. "Why," he replied, starting back, "don't you know? It was your own son!"

Although a mystic Novalis did not believe in the individual annihilation of the will or in the absorption of the human spirit in the divine during ecstasy or contemplation of God; for he distinctly avers that character is the fully matured will. There was no character without action of will, strenuous and persistent. He assented to the verity and validity of that Talmud prayer, "May thy will be done as if it were my will, that my will may be done as if it were thy will;" and in faith he discerned an act of the free will—a choice. "Practical, earthly faith is will, the perception of the realized will."

From the practicalities of ethics, embodying a philosophy of the laws of conduct and character, Novalis passes with the facility of profound and accurate thought to the nonmoral aspects of pure æsthetics and literature. He sees to the core of music, language, poetry. He discusses Goethe, Klopstock, Shakespeare. He analyzes the elements of the great products

of literary genius, and dissects the influences of the world upon mind, especially the receptive, productive mind of the author, the musician, and the painter. His apothegms are a sufficient treatment of the subjects on which he thinks, they are so compact in expression and idea. No need of more words; that is his view. A paragraph is better than a page, a page better than a book, if it embody a whole argument. Novalis's apothegms are arguments. In them lie the germs of essays, pamphlets, sermons, and volumes. If they appear mysterious, so is life in its origin and mode of persistence. They are not the less worthy of study because they are sometimes abstruse. Indeed, we know of no better test of mental culture. One leaves them, but cannot forget them, and returns to their translation, after the lapse of months or years, to gauge his growth. If he apprehend them he may pronounce himself possessed of a more comprehensive culture, a finer insight, a subtler spiritual vision; not the less fitted for "business," that he is placed within the boundaries of that invisible world from which proceed the multiplex activities of the street; not the less fitted for the vocation of preaching, for it is Novalis who says, "Every sermon should be a fragment of the Bible." Indeed, if the orthodox preacher desire one book, a product of the German mind, from which to obtain a stimulus to deep thinking that will possess its own correctives, he need only read the suggestive pages of this ardent, pure youth, who in intellectual trances had visions of truth, and he will find himself richer of fancy, more fertile of illustration, more fervent in his desire to know that which may be known of God and man and the complex world in which God and man coexist and coact in the evolution of world history.

G. M. Hammell.

ART. V.—THE PAULINE EPISTLES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO EXTERNAL EVIDENCE.—PART I.

OF the thirteen Pauline epistles only the first four were received as genuine by Ferdinand Christian Baur and his followers. And although the theory of Baur and the Tübingen school was long ago and repeatedly confuted, yet even to the present day there are those who are in some measure influenced by it. The theory is dead, but its ghost haunts the minds of many. Such men as Hilgenfeld and Pfleiderer, in Germany, and Davidson, in England, still question or deny the genuineness of several of the epistles; and there is more or less of popular impression that perhaps the last nine are not quite as well authenticated as the first four. But it is to be noticed that the arguments against the Pauline authorship of these epistles are drawn wholly from their contents and from the disagreement between them and the doubters' theories of what they ought to be, not at all from an examination of the external evidences for the date and authorship of the letters or from any alleged inadequate attestation of their antiquity and genuineness. Now, however acute may be the analysis and subtle and elaborate the theories which go to show that Paul would not, or could not, have written this or that, they cannot outweigh the fixed fact of positive testimony that he did write it, if once that fact is fully established. Davidson himself says:

> It is not given to the many to judge aright of internal evidence, which may be pushed unduly to the disparagement of the external.*

And Jowett also justly remarks:

> How an author *ought* to have written is a question in which imagination has a wide range. A meager induction gathered from a few short works is not a sufficient criterion of how he must have written everywhere and at all times.†

In the case of Paul's epistles is there even this clew? Can it be said that there are a few epistles so much better authenticated than the others that they can serve as a standard by which the

* Samuel Davidson: *Introduction to the Study of the New Testament*, Preface, p. 7. Second edition, London, 1882.

† Benjamin Jowett: *Commentary on Thessalonians, Galatians, Romans*, p. 19. Second edition, 1859.

others must be judged? On what grounds can any one or more of these letters be pronounced the unquestionably genuine? Why make Galatians, for example, the standard of Pauline style and doctrine rather than Ephesians, unless there is stronger external testimony in its favor?

A comparison of the external attestation of the disputed epistles with that of the four accepted ones may therefore be interesting. Although but little early Christian literature has come down to us, yet we have enough of it to form the basis of a fair comparison; and the paucity of the literature presses with equal severity on both classes of the epistles. A greater difficulty in making such a comparison arises from the loose way of quoting customary among ancient writers. In times when it was necessary to refer to a cumbrous roll in order to verify a passage citing from memory was more frequent than in this age of books. Verbal inaccuracies were consequently frequent. It was the habit to quote freely and to combine passages from various parts of an author or from various authors. Sometimes a long passage is compressed; sometimes a short one is expanded; sometimes a paraphrase is given expressing the sense in the writer's own words. The same passage is variously quoted at different times. Sometimes only verbal coincidences, the use of a catchword, special collocations of words, indicate the reference to an author. Often mere allusions are made to passages with which it is assumed that both the readers and the writer are familiar. The words given are an echo, rather than a quotation. Thus it is impossible to draw out and compare the external testimony by any exact collection of lists and figures. The quotations themselves cannot be enumerated or even classified with precision. Yet the very freeness and inaccuracy of the quotations often imply more than mere literal exactness would, just because there is taken for granted a familiarity with Paul's epistles which is of itself evidence of their authority and genuineness. But while it is impossible to count up the distinct quotations from this or that epistle the authors who use the one or the other can be counted, the relative age and trustworthiness of their productions compared, and at least something determined respecting the frequency and unmistakableness of their quotations. And these quotations, though they do not, in most cases, directly prove Paul to be the author

of the writings ascribed to him, since his name is generally not mentioned, do still, in so far as they attest the very early origin of the epistles, practically establish their Pauline authorship.

I. One of the earliest and best attested works which have come down to us from the subapostolic age is the Letter of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians. Critics are agreed that it was probably written A. D. 93–97,* that is, only some thirty years after the death of Paul, which is supposed to have occurred not earlier than A. D. 64. Two Greek manuscripts and a Syriac manuscript of this letter are extant and have received the careful study of some of the ablest scholars. Clement not only speaks of Paul, but, as Bishop Lightfoot remarks, "shows that he is imbued with the Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, and Ephesians, not to mention several minor letters of St. Paul." † The following extract from Clement plainly refers to the passage in Paul's letter given in the parallel column:

Clem., § 47. "Take up the epistle of the blessed Paul, the apostle. What wrote he first unto you in the beginning of the Gospel? Of a truth he charged you in the Spirit concerning himself and Cephas and Apollos, because that even then ye had made parties."	1 Cor. i, 10, 12. "Now I beseech you, brethren, through the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you; but that ye be perfected together in the same mind and in the same judgment. . . . Now this I mean, that each one of you saith, I am of Paul; and I of Apollos; and I of Cephas; and I of Christ."

But in its express mention of an epistle written by Paul this extract is exceptional. In general Clement introduces his quotations without saying that he is quoting. He affords an

* How great the consensus of opinion on this date is may be seen from the following somewhat sonorous sentence: "Itaque Junius, Cotelerius, Tillemontius, Lumperus, Neanderus, Gieselerus, Rothius, Bleekius, Tholuckius, Bunsenus, Schliemannus, Koestlinus, Ritschelius, Thierschius, Lechlerus, Reussius, Angerus, Hilgenfeldius, Gundertus, Ekkerus, Lipsius, Ewaldius, Uhlhornius, Laurentius, Tischendorfius, Lightfootius, Pfleiderer[us?], Renanius, Hofmannus, Zahnius, Donaldsonius, Bryennius, alii recte indicaverunt, epistulam Domitiani tempore intra ann. 93–97 esse scriptam." Gebhardt and Harnack: *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera: Clem. Rom.*, Prol., pp. lix, lx. Leipzig, 1876.

† J. B. Lightfoot: *The Apostolic Fathers: Clement of Rome*, vol. i, p. 397. London, 1890. Lightfoot's translation of Clement and Polycarp has for the most part been followed here. In general his work has been of great service in the preparation of this essay. Credit is also due to Charteris, Funk, Gebhardt, Harnack, Lardner, Schaff, Westcott, Zahn, *et al.*

excellent illustration of what has been just now said about the method of making citations which was customary in his day. His extracts from the New Testament are incorporated with the very texture of his letter, and, though clearly discernible, are yet inseparable from it. They are inwoven like a damask pattern, not superadded like an embroidery. A few characteristic specimens will here be given of his use of Paul's epistles:

Clem., § 32. "For of Jacob are all the priests and Levites who minister unto the altar of God; of him is the Lord Jesus as concerning the flesh."

Rom. ix, 4, 5. "Who are Israelites; whose is the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service of God, and the promises; whose are the fathers, and of whom is Christ as concerning the flesh."

Clem., § 35. "Casting off from us all unrighteousness and iniquity, covetousness, strifes, malignities, and deceits, whisperings and backbitings, hatred of God, pride and arrogance, vainglory and inhospitality. For they that do these things are hateful to God; and not only they that do them, but they also that consent unto them."

Rom. i, 29–32. "Being filled with all unrighteousness, wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness; full of envy, murder, strife, deceit, malignity; whisperers, backbiters, hateful to God, insolent, haughty, boastful, . . . who, knowing the ordinance of God, that they which practice such things are worthy of death, not only do the same, but also consent with them that practice them."

Clem., § 36. "Through Him our foolish and darkened mind springeth up unto light." And again:

Rom. i, 21. "Their foolish heart was darkened." And also:

Clem., § 51. . . . "perished . . . because their foolish hearts were hardened."

Eph. iv, 17, 18. "As the Gentiles also walk in the vanity of their mind, being darkened in their understanding."

Clem., § 46. "Wherefore do we tear and rend asunder the members of Christ and stir up factions against our own body and . . . forget that we are members one of another?"

Rom. xii, 5. "So we, who are many, are one body in Christ, and severally members one of another." Also:

Eph. iv, 25. "We are members one of another."

In § 47, after saying that "it is shameful, . . . yes, utterly shameful, . . . that it should be reported that the very steadfast and ancient Church of the Corinthians . . . maketh sedition," Clement continues, "And this report hath reached not only us, but them also which differ from us;" and, the thought of this suggesting to him Paul's strong expression (Rom. ii, 24), "The name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles because of you," Clement immediately adds, "so that ye even heap blasphemies on the name of the Lord by reason of your folly." In §§ 37, 38 is the following passage, manifestly suggested by Paul's simile, 1 Cor. xii, 12, *ff.*: "Let us take our

body as an example. The head without the feet is nothing; so likewise the feet without the head are nothing. Even the smallest limbs of our body are necessary and useful for the whole body; but all the members conspire and unite in subjection, that the whole body may be saved. So in our case let the whole body be saved in Christ Jesus, and let each man be subject unto his neighbor." So Clem., § 49, is an epitome, as it were, of 1 Cor. xiii, having the words of Peter (1 Pet. iv, 8),* "Love covereth a multitude of sins," incorporated into it, and concluding with an echo of Paul's words in Eph. v, 2, or, perhaps, Gal. ii, 20. In § 34 Clement quotes a passage which Paul (1 Cor. ii, 9) had paraphrased from the Hebrew of Isa. lxiv, 4; but Clement slightly alters the paraphrase by substituting an expression from the passage as it stands in the Septuagint, yet in the main adheres to Paul, thus: "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which he hath prepared for them that wait for him." A similar agreement with Paul's quotation rather than with the original is found in § 13, where, in quoting from Jer. ix, 23, 24, or 1 Sam. ii, 10, Clement's quotation, "But he that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord" (see 1 Cor. i, 31, and 2 Cor. x, 17), is like Paul's in its variation from the Septuagint.

These are specimen passages of Clement's use of the Epistles to the Romans and to the Corinthians, with which epistles it is conceded that he was familiar, and to which, since he lived in Rome and was writing to Corinth, we might presume that his references would be the most explicit and frequent. We can now compare his use of these epistles with his use of the other Pauline epistles. There are several passages besides the doubtful one already noticed which may be reminiscences of the Epistle to the Galatians, but they need not be dwelt on. The Epistle to the Ephesians Clement makes frequent use of. Two or three instances have already been noticed; a few more will be given here:

Clem., § 32. "And so we, having been called through his will in Christ Jesus, are not justified through ourselves or through our own wisdom, or understanding, or piety, or works which	Eph. ii, 8–10. "For by grace have ye been saved through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God; not of works, that no man should glory. For we are his workmanship, created in

* This passage in Peter's epistle may be borrowed from Prov. x, 12.

we wrought in holiness of heart, but through faith, whereby the Almighty God justified all men that have been from the beginning."

Clem., § 38. "Let each man be subject unto his neighbor."

Clem., § 46. "Wherefore are there strifes . . . and divisions and war among you? Have we not one God and one Christ and one Spirit of grace that was shed upon us? And is there not one calling in Christ?"

Clem., § 64. "God. . . . who chose the Lord Jesus Christ, and us through him for a peculiar people."

Christ Jesus for good works, which God afore prepared that we should walk in them."

Eph. v, 21. "Subjecting yourselves one to another in the fear of Christ."

Eph. iv, 3–6. "Giving diligence to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. There is one body, and one Spirit, even as also ye were called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all."

Eph. i, 4. "He chose us in him before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and without blemish before him in love."

Clement's use of Philippians is not very obvious; but there are expressions and verbal coincidences which, though each in itself is slight, yet, all combined, indicate acquaintance with the epistle. One instance occurs in

Clem., § 16. "The scepter of God, even our Lord Jesus Christ, came not in the pomp of arrogance or of pride, though he might have done so, but in lowliness of mind. . . . If the Lord was thus lowly of mind, what should we do?"

Phil. ii, 5, *ff.* "Have this mind in you which was also in Christ Jesus: who, being in the form of God, counted it not a prize to be on an equality with God, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant," etc.

The passage already cited from Clem., § 47, contains in the phrase, "in the beginning of the gospel," a verbal coincidence with Phil. iv, 15; and other examples might be given. Of Paul's Epistle to the Colossians a few echoes and verbal resemblances are to be found. For example, Clem., § 21, "If we walk not worthily of him and do those things which are good and well-pleasing in his sight," calls to mind Paul's prayer that the Colossians might "walk worthily of the Lord unto all pleasing" (Col. i, 10). And again, when Clement (§§ 49, 50) says, "Who can declare the bond of the love of God? . . . there is no declaring its perfection," he seems to have in mind Paul's exhortation (Col. iii, 14), "Put on love, which is the bond of perfectness." Allusions to the Epistles to the Thessalonians are not very marked. Yet Clement's expression (§ 38), "Let the whole body be saved in Christ Jesus," recalls 1 Thess. v, 23, "May your spirit and soul and body be preserved entire,

without blame at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ." Also, Clement's "We ought in all things to give thanks to him" resembles Paul's "In everything give thanks" (verse 18). The First Epistle to Timothy is repeatedly used by Clement. A few instances are the following:

Clem., § 7. "Let us see what is good and what is pleasant and what is acceptable in the sight of him that made us."	1 Tim. ii, 3. "This is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour." Also: 1 Tim. v, 4. "This is acceptable in the sight of God."
Clem., § 21. "Not in factious preferences, but without partiality."	1 Tim. v, 21. "Without prejudice, doing nothing by partiality."
Clem., § 29. "Let us therefore approach him in holiness of soul, lifting up pure and undefiled hands unto him."	1 Tim. ii, 8. "I desire therefore that the men pray in every place, lifting up holy hands."
Clem., § 61. "Thou, . . . King of the ages."	1 Tim. i, 17. "Now unto the King of the ages." (So in the Greek.)

There are several expressions which may be reminiscences of phrases in the Second Epistle to Timothy, but they are not very marked. In § 2 Clement uses the words "ready unto every good work," found in Titus iii, 1; and a few other expressions may echo certain of Paul's in the same epistle. To Philemon there is no reference.

The foregoing examination shows that Ephesians is as decidedly attested by Clement as Romans; and more decidedly than 2 Corinthians and Galatians. Yet this very Epistle to the Ephesians is one whose early origin and Pauline authorship have been especially disputed. Again, it is to be noticed that the passages in Clement's letter taken from 1 Timothy and Philippians and (though in less degree) Colossians and Titus are more marked than those from 2 Corinthians and Galatians. Also, 1 Timothy is better authenticated by Clement than 2 Timothy; yet it is called less Pauline by the skeptical critics. Should it be said that Clement's loose method of quotation leaves us in doubt whether these resemblances prove anything more than a mode of thinking and arguing common both to him and to Paul, or a common drawing from another source, or even whether the epistles attributed to Paul may not have been later than Clement's letter and the expressions borrowed from the latter, it may be answered that we know that Clement did have the First Epistle to the Corinthians in his hands, and we find that he has used

it in precisely the same free way as he has used the other epistles. In quoting from the Old Testament also Clement is often equally free. Professor Charteris says: "Out of fifty-seven quotations from the Old Testament only seventeen are exact; and some of the others are so widely variant as to make it doubtful whether even a treacherous memory could be the cause of the divergence."* It has already been intimated that the testimony of Clement is especially valuable, not only because his letter is itself remarkably well attested, but also because, when he wrote, persons were still alive who had known the apostles and had listened to their teachings.

II. A second most important witness is Polycarp, the disciple of the apostle John and the teacher of Irenæus. A well authenticated letter written by him to the Philippians has come down to us. Its date cannot be precisely fixed, but it was probably written a few months after the death of Ignatius, † which took place in the reign of Trajan, that is, between A. D. 98 and 117.‡ Polycarp was Bishop of Smyrna, lived to a great age, and suffered martyrdom most probably in A. D. 155. § Polycarp, like Clement, carries us back to the days of the apostolic teaching; and, through his connection with Irenæus, he forms a link between those days and the unbroken chain of the later church history. It may be worth while to recall here a few sentences of the account of him given by Irenæus in a letter to Florinus:

> I distinctly remember the incidents of that time better than the events of recent occurrence, . . . so that I can tell the very place in which the blessed Polycarp used to sit when he discoursed, and his goings out and his comings in, and his manner of life, and his personal appearance, and the discourses which he held before the people, and how he would describe his intercourse with John and with the rest of those who had seen the Lord, and how he would relate their words. And whatsoever things he had heard from them about the Lord and about his miracles and about his teaching Polycarp, as having received them from eyewitnesses of the

* A. H. Charteris: *Canonicity*, p. xiii. Edinburgh and London, 1880.

† Theodor Zahn: *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera: Ignatii et Polycarpi Epistulæ*, p. xlvi. Leipzig, 1876. Also Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers: Ignatius and Polycarp*, vol. i, p. 583. Second edition, 1889.

‡ Lardner places the martyrdom of Ignatius as early as A. D. 108. (Lardner's *Works*, vol. ii, p. 98. London, 1838.) Lightfoot says it "may with a high degree of probability be placed within a few years of A. D. 110, before or after." (J. B. Lightfoot: *Ignatius and Polycarp*, vol. i, p. 30. Second edition, 1889.)

§ See a thorough discussion of the date, Lightfoot, *ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 646–722

life of the Word, would relate altogether in accordance with the Scriptures.*

Irenæus expressly mentions the "Epistle of Polycarp written to the Philippians;" and Jerome also says, "To this day [it] is read in the assembly of Asia."† Polycarp's letter, though short, is remarkably full of quotations and reminiscences of our New Testament. Funk counts twenty-two from the epistles alone;‡ but it is difficult to enumerate them exactly, since their resemblance to the epistles is a matter of degree and, as was said before, it is hard to determine always just what degree of resemblance constitutes a quotation.

As Clement, when writing to the Corinthians, referred to Paul's letter to them, so Polycarp, when writing to the Church at Philippi, likewise mentions Paul's having written to the Philippians. In § 3 he says: "For neither am I, nor is any other like unto me, able to follow the wisdom of the blessed and glorious Paul, who, when he came among you, taught face to face with the men of that day the word; . . . who also, when he was absent, wrote a letter ["letters," in the Greek] unto you, into the which if ye look diligently ye shall be able to be builded up unto the faith," etc. And in §§ 9, 11 he speaks of Paul and his labors among them. Twice Polycarp quotes from Paul's epistles formally: in § 11, "Know we not that the saints shall judge the world, as Paul teacheth?" (see 1 Cor. vi, 2;) and in § 12, "For I am persuaded that ye are well trained in the sacred writings. . . . It is said in these Scriptures, 'Be ye angry and sin not,' and, 'Let not the sun go down upon your wrath.'" The first injunction here quoted, "Be ye angry," etc., is found in the Septuagint, Psalm iv, 4; Paul quoted it in Eph. iv, 26, and added the second injunction. Polycarp quotes both, and styles both "scriptures"—"sacred writings." Usually, however, Polycarp, like Clement and others in his day, weaves his citations into his discourse without indicating formally that he is quoting. In a few instances he uses the words *εἰδότες ὅτι*, "knowing that," as a formula of quotation. In § 1 he introduces thus a reference to Eph. ii,

* Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesia*, v. 20. Translated by Lightfoot, *Ignatius and Polycarp*, vol. i, p. 445.

† See Lardner's *Works* (1838), vol. ii, p. 97.

‡ F. X. Funk: *Die Echtheit der Ignatianischen Briefe*, p. 34. Tübingen, 1883.

8, 9; in § 4, to 1 Tim. vi, 7; in § 5, to Gal. vi, 7.* Of his allusions to Paul's epistles the following may be noticed:

Polyc., § 3. ". . . Love toward God and Christ and toward our neighbor. For if any man be occupied with these, he hath fulfilled the commandment of righteousness; for he that hath love is far from all sin."	Rom. xiii, 9, 10. "If there be any other commandment, it is summed up in this word, namely, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. Love worketh no ill to his neighbor; love therefore is the fulfillment of the law."
Polyc., § 6. "We must all stand at the judgment seat of Christ, and each man must give an account of himself." Polycarp here combines the two passages given in the opposite column.	Rom. xiv, 10, 12. "We shall all stand before the judgment seat of God. . . . So then each one of us shall give account of himself to God." And 2 Cor. v, 10. "For we must all be made manifest before the judgment seat of Christ."
Polyc., § 5. "Neither fornicators, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with men shall inherit the kingdom of God."	1 Cor. vi, 9, 10. "Neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with men . . . shall inherit the kingdom of God."
Polyc., § 2. "Now he who raised up him from the dead will raise us up also."	2 Cor. iv, 14. "He which raised up the Lord Jesus shall raise up us also."
Polyc., § 6. "Taking thought always for what is honorable in the sight of God and men.	2 Cor. viii, 21. "We take thought for things honorable, not only in the sight of the Lord, but also in the sight of men." Also Rom. xii, 17. "Take thought r things honorable in the sight of all men."
Polyc., § 3. "Edified in the faith given to you, which is the mother of us all."	Gal. iv, 26. "Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all."
Polyc., § 5. "Knowing, then, that God is not mocked."	Gal. vi, 7. "Be not deceived; God is not mocked."
Polyc., § 12. "Who shall believe on our Lord and God Jesus Christ, and his Father, who raised him from the dead."	Gal. i, 1. "Through Jesus Christ, and God the Father, who raised him from the dead." See also Col. ii, 12.
Polyc., § 1. "Ye know that it is by grace ye are saved; not of works, but by the will of God, through Jesus Christ."	Eph. ii, 8, 9. "For by grace have ye been saved through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God; not of works."
Polyc., § 4. "Let us arm ourselves with the armor of righteousness."	Eph. vi, 13, 14. "Take up the whole armor of God, . . . having put on the breastplate of righteousness." See also 2 Cor. vi, 7.
Polyc., § 10. "Be ye all subject one to another."	Eph. v, 21. "Subjecting yourselves one to another."
Polyc., § 1. "The steadfast root of your faith, which was famed from primitive	Phil. i, 4, 5. "Making my supplication with joy, for your fellowship in

* See Lightfoot's *Ignatius and Polycarp*, vol. iii, pp. 325, 326.

times, abideth until now." This recalls Paul's commendation of the Philippians as found in the parallel column.	furtherance of the gospel from the first day until now."
Polyc., § 9. "All these ran not in vain." Polycarp says this of "Paul himself and the rest of the apostles."	Phil. ii, 16. "That I may have whereof to glory in the day of Christ, that I did not run in vain." See Gal. ii, 2.
Polyc., § 12. "Pray . . . for the enemies of the cross."	Phil. iii, 18. "I . . . tell you even weeping, that they are the enemies of the cross of Christ."
Polyc., § 5. "If we conduct ourselves worthily of him."	Phil. i, 27. "Let your manner of life be worthy of the gospel of Christ." And Col. i, 10. "Walk worthily of the Lord."
Polyc., § 10. "Stand fast, . . . being steadfast in the faith and unmovable."	Col. i, 23. "Continue in the faith, grounded and steadfast." See 1 Cor. xv, 58.
Polyc., § 11. "If a man refrain not from covetousness he shall be defiled by idolatry."	Col. iii, 5. "Covetousness, the which is idolatry." Also Eph. v, 5. "Covetous man, who is an idolater."
Polyc., § 4. "Praying without ceasing for all."	1 Thess. v, 17. "Pray without ceasing."
Polyc., § 11. "Count not such as enemies, but restore them as frail and erring members."	2 Thess. iii, 15. "Count him not as an enemy, but admonish him as a brother."

Polyc., § 11: "But I have not found any such thing in you, neither have heard thereof, among whom the blessed Paul labored, who were his letters [see 2 Cor. iii, 2] in the beginning. For he glorieth concerning you in all those churches which alone, at that time, knew the Lord." Lardner connects this passage with 2 Thess. i, 4: "We ourselves glory in you in the churches of God," and thinks that, as Thessalonica and Philippi were both in the province of Macedonia, Polycarp, in § 3, where he speaks of Paul's letters (using the plural, as above noticed), may refer to the Epistles to the Thessalonians, as well as to that to the Philippians.*

Polyc., § 4. "But the love of money is the beginning of all troubles. Knowing, therefore, that we brought nothing into the world, neither can we carry anything out," etc.	1 Tim. vi, 7, 10. "For we brought nothing into the world, for neither can we carry anything out. . . . For the love of money is a root of all kinds of evil."
Polyc., § 5. "In like manner deacons should be blameless, . . . not double-	1 Tim. iii, 8, 10. "Deacons in like manner must be grave, not double-

* Lardner's *Works* (1838), vol. ii, pp. 100, 101.

tongued, not lovers of money, temperate in all things."	tongued, not given to much wine, not greedy of filthy lucre. . . . Let them serve as deacons, if they be blameless."
Polyc., § 5. "He promised us to raise us from the dead, and that, if we conduct ourselves worthily of him, we shall also reign with him."	2 Tim. ii, 12. "If we endure, we shall also reign with him."
Polyc., § 9. "For they loved not the present world."	2 Tim. iv, 10. "Demas forsook me, having loved this present world."

These references vary, of course, in distinctness and importance, some being much more pointed than others. There seems to be in Polycarp's brief letter allusion to almost every one of Paul's epistles except those to Titus and to Philemon. The use of 1 Thessalonians is, perhaps, doubtful, and that of Colossians is less marked than that of the other epistles. There is formal quotation from, or express mention of, 1 Corinthians, Ephesians, and Philippians; possibly also, if Lardner's view be correct, of the letters to the Thessalonians. The references to both epistles to Timothy are especially clear.

Polycarp's testimony is of peculiar importance because of his chronological position; for if it should be said that, though Paul did write letters to the Ephesians and to the Philippians, yet they are not identified as those which we have now, the objection is refuted by the consideration that Polycarp's life, as above remarked, spanned the period from the apostles' time to the time of Irenæus. This is the dark, uncertain period when the pseudonymous letters are supposed to have been written in the name of Paul. But it is next to impossible that in Polycarp's lifetime Paul's letters could have been already lost and new letters written purporting to be the apostle's, and yet Polycarp be ignorant of it. The passages which he alludes to and quotes are found in our present Epistles to the Ephesians and to the Philippians; and it is practically certain, therefore, that we have the ones which he knew and which the Church since the days of Irenæus, his disciple, has recognized as the genuine letters of the apostle Paul.

C. T. Mead.

Art. VI.—DOWN WITH THE OLD—UP WITH THE NEW: "A RELIGION FOR ALL TIME."

In the *Arena* for March, 1893, is an article entitled "A Religion for All Time." It is written by Louis R. Ehrich. He claims for his new religion that it will have universal adaptability, and also that it will be unchangeable in its nature, because it will be founded on immutable, fundamental truth. Before the new instauration is planted, however, the grounds on which it is to be set up are to be cleared off for the proposed erection. All existing religions and theologies, true or false, good, bad, or indifferent, are to be swept away and utterly overthrown. Even the old moral law which was issued amid the lightnings and thunders of "the mount which burned with fire" is fatally defective. It must be swept aside. The commandment, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," is unorthodox. It has been weighed in the balances of this new discoverer and projector and found wanting. The command which precedes this in the Bible, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind," can be allowed a place in the new religion only as it is interpreted by the newer and better commandment, which displaces both the law of supreme love to God and of love to our fellow-man equal to that we bear to ourselves. We are to be taught how to love the Lord our God by adequately loving our neighbor. Both these commandments are to be taught and construed and accepted only in a new form of the commandment of neighbor-loving, namely, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor more than thyself." This destructive treatment of the old law and the old religion admits of no halfway work. It must go right down to the bed rock and sweep the ground clean. No vestiges of the old must be suffered to remain. Even the respect due to the Son of God and the Son of man and so justly claimed by him is denied by blasphemous suggestions and insinuations, as will be seen before the conclusion of this paper. His miraculous origin and supernatural being are not admitted for a moment. This discloses the animus of the new departure.

This newest of all religions, or rather of all irreligious theories, would seem to make necessary a revision of the ancient

wise man's proverb, "There is no new thing under the sun." If this is not new the word has lost its meaning. If the writer had left some trace of the old Bible system to those who in their earthly lives of sorrow and of trial have found in Jesus a solace and a healing balm, he would better have illustrated the value and beauty of the spirit of the new law which he advocates, and which requires that he shall love his neighbor more than he loves himself. His new religion would have been better enforced by his example if he had borne himself with kindlier temper toward those who had been weak enough or credulous enough to believe in Jesus Christ as he whom God has sent. It is not kindness to a blind man to take away the staff by which he makes his way in his midday darkness. Surely such conduct is not loving the blind neighbor more than this new prophet loves himself. It is not loving a man more than one loves himself to rob him of that which had been his shelter in the time of storm, and which in danger and doubt and fear had been defense, covering, stay, and comfort. It is not the way for one to show kindness to his fellow-man to rob him of hope and deliverance. Only an enemy could have done or attempted this.

The discoverer and promulger of the new evangel, who starts out by smiting down and discrediting what has brought to sick and dying men in this world of sin and sorrow all the comfort and hope they have ever found, furnishes but a sorry sample of what his discovery of a new religion can do to help men. Outside of Christian civilization there are no blessings so valuable and enriching as those which Christianity confers. Neither paganism, nor barbarism, nor infidelity bestows enriching gifts, or erects hospitals or asylums, or founds libraries, or builds universities or higher institutions of learning, or supports charitable homes, or systematically administers kindness and help to the souls and bodies of those who need them. What harm have these eleemosynary and humanitarian institutions done that they should be yielded up for a mere novelty at the command of an unknown, unauthorized teacher? But all such lovely flowers of Christ's religion bestrew the paths of historic Christianity with their bloom and beauty and fragrance. How hard-hearted and selfish the man who would sweep them away from the paths of those who have known their enriching value!

Is it the act of a true man and a real friend to destroy all these upspringing humanities in order that some adventurer may lay the basis for a new religion?

Let us examine with closer attention the new system presented. Let us advance with caution and carefully study the enemy's lines and trenches and see with what manner of circumvallation he proposes to invest the strong bulwarks of the religion of the Lord Jesus. If the enemy is clearly bent on taking away our Lord we shall do well to ascertain, if we may, where it is proposed to lay him. If we are summoned to surrender our hold upon the religion we have known and appreciated, let us be sure that we get something better before we yield it up. Let us carefully examine the new system proposed by Mr. Ehrich, which he claims is to be "a religion for all time," of universal adaptability, and unchangeable in its nature, because it will be based upon fundamental truth and because it will be in accordance with human reason and so will satisfy the demands of humanity. He says:

> The old religions are crumbling. Everything eventually crumbles which is not true. Never was there so little theology, never so much true religion, as at the present day. Never have men attended church so little; never have they attended hospital and asylum meetings so assiduously. Christianity is going down; Jesus is rising higher and higher.

Raise the cry, true or false, of mad dog after an unfortunate canine, and you have already inaugurated the movement which will start all the exterminators upon their destructive business. Stoutly declare that the old religions are crumbling, include in this sweeping totality all religions, and you have laid the snare for a successful entrapping of many a thoughtless young man or woman, who only needed a suggestion of doubt or difficulty to become a first-class skeptic or a full-fledged agnostic or theosophist.

A peculiarity of this writer is that he combines, indiscriminately, things good and bad, religions true and false, facts and baseless assumptions, and then with unwarranted confidence in his generalizations closes the argument and calls it conclusive and logical. Take some examples from the above extract: "Old religions are crumbling. Everything eventually crumbles which is not true." Some old religions crumble because they are not

true. Confucianism in China has been deserted by probably a million Chinamen, who have forsaken it for Christianity. But it is a gratuitous assumption that Christianity is also crumbling; for Christianity is true and is not crumbling. Because the sand and seaweed on the shore are changed by the rising and falling tides does it follow that the rocks will be removed? Because false religions crumble is it to be admitted that the true religion will also crumble and pass away? Take another specimen: "The old faiths do not, cannot, longer satisfy." What faiths does he include in this sweeping totality? Does he mean Christian faith? If he does he affirms what is not true and says what is disproved by millions on millions of Christian believers, who are so well content with the satisfaction their religion yields them that threats and bribes, persecutions and insidious flatteries are alike powerless to turn them aside from their faith in God.

In this country, where the support of religion is in the completest sense voluntary, there is one denomination of Christians which has a permanent investment of $113,000,000, in church buildings and parsonages. Besides this they have invested $26,000,000 in educational institutions and in their endowment—a total of $139,000,000. The income of 197 institutions of learning in 1892 was $1,652,000, and the total amount of gifts to these institutions was $1,089,000. In 1892 for building and improving church property and in payment of church indebtedness they expended $6,783,540; for support of ministers, $10,314,798; for current expenses of 23,896 churches, $2,614,208; for church benevolences, $1,980,611. Massing these several amounts, a single Church in this land—the Methodist Episcopal—contributes annually $22,782,316 to support their 23,896 churches and 197 institutions of learning. This showing represents an average permanent investment of nearly $57 per member and an average contribution for the year of about $9.33 per member. This does not look as if Christians were getting dissatisfied with the old faiths. People as a rule will not give at that rate, nor at any rate, to sustain and propagate a faith with which they are dissatisfied or a faith which fails to satisfy them. Take another view: In the Methodist Episcopal Church there are 2,442,627 members—a net increase of 62,940, or, allowing for 34,951 who died

during the year, an increase of 97,891 new members for 1892. The history of this Church is the history of many other Christian Churches. It certainly does not look as though fewer people attend church and more and more attend asylum and hospital meetings.

As a corollary to the statement of Mr. Ehrich that the old faiths fail to satisfy, which, as we have shown in the case of a single Church, is an unwarranted assertion, it is added, "No faith can satisfy when its acceptance is based on the stifling of human reason." The implication here is that Christian faith is based on the stifling of human reason. This is a violent assumption and is easily shown to be utterly untrue. Later in the paragraph it is stated in so many words, "An overwhelming majority of the children born of intelligent parents from this day on will refuse to accept the religious misbeliefs of their grandfathers." The expression, "religious misbeliefs of their grandfathers," is undefined. The meaning is obscured by the writer's usual way of putting his postulates. The inference that all the religious beliefs of the grandfathers of the present generation which do not accord with the reason of the grandchildren are misbeliefs is unjust and farfetched. All this is not only not a fair method of treating a subject, it is an utterly unfair mode of reasoning. In these first two paragraphs the unfairness is seen in their too inclusive and sweeping assumption of things as facts which are not admitted to be facts, but which remain simple and unproved assertions. Take the statement that "the old religions are crumbling." This is affirmed, as though it were undeniable truth, as to all religions. As to some religions it may be true; but it is an assumption unsupported by the facts to affirm, to imply, or to take for granted that Christianity is crumbling. The statement or implication is denied. The writer is challenged to the proof.

Another statement, made as though it were unquestionably true, is this: "Never have men attended church so little." This statement, while it may be partially true of some places and of certain times, taken as a general statement is untrue. The stress placed on it by the writer shows that he uses it in a general sense, and not in a restricted or qualified form. As a general fact church attendance is not falling off; it is, on the contrary, increasing. The last census shows a larger relative

increase in church membership than in the general population. In the last ten years the evangelical Churches of the country increased forty-two per cent, or seventeen per cent more than the whole population during the same time. It also shows greater activity and liberality in Christian propagandism, not at all congruous with the suggestion of decadence in attendance upon church meetings and with the alleged dissatisfaction with Christian faith. Equally fallacious is the statement that "never have men attended hospital and asylum meetings so assiduously," which is affirmed as though it denoted greater interest in them than in Christianity itself. But this is a great fallacy, for the reason that the men and women who assiduously attend hospital and asylum meetings are regular attendants upon church meetings, and almost all are earnest Christians. They are interested in these humanitarian movements because they are Christians; and their assiduity in meeting these calls of humanity's needs is a proof, not of their failing interest in Churches or of less earnest devotion to Christ's religion, but of their growing Christian zeal and faith. It proves their diligent faithfulness in attending Christian assemblies and their earnest and honest devotion to the teachings and example of Christ. Indeed, this activity in humanitarian movements is itself applied Christianity. From Mr. Ehrich's way of putting the case one would be led to suppose that infidels, backslidden Christians, freethinkers, agnostics, and theosophists were the only persons in this age who are engaged in promoting charitable and humane institutions, and that Christians generally, and especially orthodox Christians, were attempting to stay the progress of all charitable effort. The very reverse is the fact. The inspiration to the zeal and liberality displayed in humanitarian enterprises arise from the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

The advent and resurrection anniversaries of the Lord Jesus are from year to year more and more esteemed and observed by all the people of Christian countries, and especially by the people of this country. Why is this so? Because men are more and more in sympathy with, and more and more strongly believe in, the immaculate and miraculous conception and the actual, identical resurrection of the Lord Jesus by the exertion of divine energy. In celebrating Christmas they do not pay their adorations at the shrine of a mere man. The claim of

Christ to divine honors, if Mr. Ehrich's idea is correct, was the greatest of conceivable deceptions. He claimed to be equal with God. He was one with the Father before the worlds existed. He says, "If I had not done among them the works which none other man did, they had not had sin: but now have they both seen and hated both me and my Father." "The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do: for what things soever he doeth, these also doeth the Son likewise." If these claims which Jesus made and insisted on are not just, if he is not divine—and according to Mr. Ehrich he is not—then to render him the honors which Christians lavish upon him is to apotheosize the most gigantic impostor known to human history, whose enormity is unparalleled in God's universe. Those who keep Easter Day do not worship at the shrine of a dead Christ. "The Lord is risen indeed." Christians worship a living Redeemer, "declared to be the Son of God with power, . . . by the resurrection from the dead." "He burst the bars of death and vanquished all our foes." He ascended up on high, leading captivity captive and receiving gifts for men, "that the Lord God might dwell among them." Easter Day means a risen Christ. His followers know him and the power of his resurrection.

This prophet of the "religion for all time" says that "Christianity is going down. Jesus is rising higher and higher." This cannot be true. Jesus is Christianity. He is its source, its life, its essential substance and upholder. If he is rising the Christianity he came to found, to teach, to exemplify, and to which he imparts vitality and inherent force cannot be going down. "And I," said Jesus, "if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me." He has been lifted up. He is drawing men. His attraction is seen and felt in all Christian lands. In heathen lands his power is known, and Moslem and Buddhist and Confucian alike are yielding to his divine drawing. The author says:

> The old faiths do not, cannot, longer satisfy. No faith can satisfy when its acceptance is based on the stifling of human reason. At the close of our century the mind of man is vigorously bestirring itself. The word has gone forth that it is the duty of man—a duty made plain by the gift of reason—to doubt and to examine. Doubt and fearless examination mean approach

to the truth; and the truth cannot consort with the superstitions of the past. An overwhelming majority of the children born of intelligent parents from this day on will refuse to accept the religious misbeliefs of their grandfathers. Huxley and Lyell have not lived in vain.

If Christianity were destined to go down under the wholesale denunciations of those whose "wish is father to the thought" it would long ago have been destroyed by the boastful assertions of Voltaire, Thomas Paine, and their later imitators and followers, Ingersoll and Ehrich. Sweeping generalities are not arguments. They cannot terrify those against whom they are directed. As if Christ had been discarded and rejected by his disciples, and as if the outside world were demanding his replacement through an agency of an easy-going agnostic or theosophist, this author continues:

A cry has been heard for "a restored Christ;" for the lovely, sweetly reasonable, all-loving, faith-inspiring, divine man, in place of the mythical, incomprehensible, doubt-compelling, human God. Simplicity is the character of all discovered natural laws. Simplicity will be the character of God's religion—no redemption mysteries, no vicarious offerings, no trinitarian subtleties.

"A restored Christ" indeed! But he must not be the "man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief" of Isaiah. He must not be the Christ of prophecy, on whom the Lord laid the iniquities of us all, who bare the sins of many, with whose stripes we are healed. None of that! Let us no longer speak of "the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world." "Redemption mysteries" are not admissible here. Take other specimens:

Theoretically we ascribe superlative goodness to the Deity; but practically we do not credit him even with the loving instincts of a noble human soul. What earthly father—more especially if he needed nothing for himself—would desire his neighbor to bring him incense, praise, and sacrifice while one of his children lay neglected in sorrow, need, or distress? . . . I maintain that from the remotest ages to our own times—from the first savage who offered up his enemy to the war-god to the Druid setting fire to great figures of plaited osier filled with human beings; to the Mohammedan slaying thousands with the shout, "Allah or the sword;" to the Aztec priest snatching out the heart of his sacrificial victims; to the Crusaders approaching the holy sepulcher after seventy thousand Moslems had been put to the sword; to the

pope's legate urging on the attack against the Albigenses, killing friend and foe with the cry, "Slay all, God will know his own;" to the holy inquisitor piling up the fagots around the unbeliever; to Charles V in the Netherlands, because of their religious opinions, hanging, beheading, burying alive, and burning over fifty thousand people; to the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day and the driving of over half a million Huguenots from France; to the horrible persecution of the Quakers in Massachusetts less than two hundred and fifty years ago; to the modern son of the Greek Church ruthlessly expelling thousands of Jews from Russia—all religion primarily devoted "to the glory of God" has left one long, hideous trail of suffering, of torture, and of blood. . . . I would turn man's eyes from heaven to earth, from God to man, from the saving of his soul to the simple service of man. . . . Believe if thou must in the Christian scheme of salvation, in an all-loving God who curses thousands of innocent generations because of the sin of Adam; who, repenting or relenting, in the shape of the Holy Ghost cohabits with a virgin and procreates his preexisting Son, whom he then has crucified, resurrected, and reseated on his right hand, to importune and cajole him not to punish or everlastingly burn his own erring children.

From the foregoing extracts it is quite obvious that their author has an intensely bitter and hateful animus against Christianity as taught and illustrated by Jesus. This disqualifies him from sitting as a judge on what he shows he had already hated, despised, and condemned before he assumed the rôle of judge. The one just and sufficient answer to the long list of outrages he cites from history, as to savage, Druid, Mohammedan, Aztec priest, the Crusaders, the holy Inquisition, the persecution of the Albigenses and Netherlanders, of the Quakers and Jews, and the massacre of St. Bartholomew, is that none of them is fairly attributable to Christianity. They were none of them the offspring of God's religion. They were neither inspired nor authorized by its letter or its spirit; and no one is more fully aware of this than the writer who adduced them. It is almost a surprise that he did not include the reign of terror in France, when a prostitute was deified as the goddess of liberty and half a million of lives were offered up in sacrifice to the rankest communism. The writer quotes Jesus as being the "lovegiver," in opposition to Moses, who was the "lawgiver." But Jesus himself sustains Moses and his law. Jesus says: "Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill."

As illustrating still further the bitter, unreasoning animus the author bears toward Christianity look at this quotation:

> I quarrel not with religious beliefs. Believe, if thou wilt, in the God of the Old Testament, who says to Saul, "Now go and smite Amalek, and utterly destroy all that they have, and spare them not; but slay both man and woman, infant and suckling, ox and sheep, camel and ass."

Why did not the author quote the overthrow of Pharaoh's army in the Rea Sea as an instance of God's severity and overlook at the same time the hundreds of years of cruel bondage of the descendants of Abraham? If the writer had recalled the great flood which occurred in China a few years ago, in which two millions of human beings perished, he would have found therein an apparent instance of God's severity which would have fully matched the case of the Amalekites in rigor and far exceeded it in scope. If he had fully known the conditions of Amalek he might have found extenuation for the apparently ruthless command given to Saul which he declares to be so horrible to him. If he had not possessed a bitter animus to gratify he might have found, even in the Old Testament, things to challenge his readers' admiration, as, for example, the purity and faithfulness of Samuel's character; the virtue of Joseph; the temperance and conscientious moral integrity of Daniel and his Hebrew associates; the magnanimity of David even to this same Saul and toward the three brave men who, in peril of their lives, went through the enemy's lines to bring him water from the well of Bethlehem. He might have found something which would represent in better light the God of the Old Testament if he had given the beautiful account of Ruth and described the noble heroism of Esther. When a man so far forgets himself as to pervert the plainest facts of history in his denunciations of Christianity he discounts his impartiality as a critic, his judicial temper as a judge, and his qualifications as the prophet of a new instauration.

His representation of what Christianity teaches as to God's cursing thousands of innocent children for the sin of Adam are as utter perversions of the real teachings of Christianity about Adam's sin as it is possible to imagine. If he had read the Scriptures half as carefully as he has perverted them he would have seen it stated, in Paul's writings, that in Christ Jesus

provision is made for freeing the children from accountability for Adam's sin. If he had read Moses he would have discovered, in Deut. xxiv, 16, a commandment very different from his perverted interpretation of the law of hereditary liability for ancestral sins:

> The fathers shall not be put to death for the children, neither shall the children be put to death for the fathers: every man shall be put to death for his own sin.

This is Paul's version of this subject (Rom. v, 12–19):

> Wherefore, as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned: (for until the law sin was in the world: but sin is not imputed when there is no law. Nevertheless death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over them that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression, who is the figure of him that was to come. But not as the offense, so also is the free gift: for if through the offense of one many be dead, much more the grace of God, and the gift by grace, which is by one man, Jesus Christ, hath abounded unto many. And not as it was by one that sinned, so is the gift: for the judgment was by one to condemnation, but the free gift is of many offenses unto justification. For if by one man's offense death reigned by one; much more they which receive abundance of grace and of the gift of righteousness shall reign in life by one, Jesus Christ.) Therefore, as by the offense of one judgment came upon all men to condemnation; even so by the righteousness of one the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life. For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous.

The blasphemous caricature Mr. Ehrich makes of the Holy Ghost, of the Son, of the Father, and of the importuning and cajoling of God by the Son is more than absurd—it is indecent. After writing this libel upon the Almighty he adds that to him "this is blasphemous." It is indeed! And why, except to gratify a malignant animus, did he utter it? It out-Ingersolls Ingersoll himself. It even exceeds Thomas Paine's ribaldry in his *Age of Reason* in the assault he makes upon the character of the female disciples of the Lord. It will take a stronger hand than Mr. Ehrich's to overturn the old faith of Christianity, now known in the whole world. Until he sets aside the old he will make but a meager showing in inaugurating the "religion for all times." In a word, this gentleman has undertaken a big enterprise.

Besides the unfair spirit of this moral knight-errant his thought is less of soul-saving than of body-helping. The soul is the highest part of man's nature. "The Son of man came to seek and to save that which was lost." Man's soul is lost, depraved, and on its way to the perdition of ungodly men. The most urgent thing is to get this human soul out of the gutter and bring it to the power, the love, and the saving grace of the Lord Jesus Christ. Evidently, Mr. Ehrich does not recognize sin as a great evil, demanding expiation and needing removal by a new, celestial birth. Sin, to say the mildest thing he could, is a misfortune, a sad mistake. Mr. Ehrich says:

I would turn man's eyes from heaven to earth, from the saving of his soul to the simple service of other souls. Here is the contrast between the religion of the past and of the future:

LOVE	
GOD,	MAN,
HEAVEN,	EARTH,
HEREAFTER.	NOW.

This is Mr. Ehrich's own definition of the new religion he seeks to inaugurate. There is no thought of God, of heaven, of the hereafter. Instead we are to love man, earth, and the present. Take another sample:

The religion which will yet prevail among men will hang "all the law and all the prophets" on one single commandment. It will demand that man shall love his neighbor more than himself; and the simple tenet of the all-embracing, world-sufficing religion will be, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind." And "neighbor" will mean, not only the nigh-dweller, but everything that breathes and blossoms in the universe.

After all this flourish of trumpets against the old religion of the prophets and of Christ the picture he draws of the future under the guidance of his new religion is precisely that which is described by Old Testament prophecy and realized in the modern history of Christianity as the effects of Christ's religion. Prophecy says of Christ's kingdom:

They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain: for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea. (Isa. xi, 9.)

Then judgment shall dwell in the wilderness, and righteousness remain in the fruitful field. And the work of righteousness

shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance forever. And my people shall dwell in a peaceable habitation, and in sure dwellings, and in quiet resting places; when it shall hail, coming down on the forest; and the city shall be low in a low place. (Isa. xxxii, 16–19.)

There are several fatal barriers in the way of this latest venture of infidelity which must be overcome before even a footing for it can be found. Let us ask:

I. What is the fault with Christianity? What evil hath it done? What good hath it not projected and performed? Can better principles of action be found than these?

We then that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please ourselves. Let every one of us please his neighbor for his good to edification. (Rom. xv, 1, 2.)

Recompense to no man evil for evil. Provide things honest in the sight of all men. If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men. Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath: for it is written, Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord. Therefore if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink: for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good. (Rom. xii, 17–21.)

Owe no man anything, but to love one another: for he that loveth another hath fulfilled the law. For this, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not bear false witness, Thou shalt not covet; and if there be any other commandment, it is briefly comprehended in this saying, namely, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. Love worketh no ill to his neighbor: therefore love is the fulfilling of the law. (Rom. xiii, 8–10.)

Is there any vice which can claim to find its sanction in Christianity? Is there any virtue which does not find root and support in Christianity? What plea or pretext can any one offer for seeking to supersede Christian faith and Christian living and to set up a newly projected religion, which can find place only by uprooting and overthrowing the system of Christianity which God planted in the earth and which has had such flowering and fruitage of good to man and glory to God?

II. Does this propounder of a new religion hold any authenticating credentials? Where are they? What are they? Can he show us any signs or right by which he claims authority as a prophet to teach a new religion? The prophet of this new unfaith and miscalled religion lacks credentials. Who vouches

for him? Let him show us the authority by which he says and does these things.

III. What power can Mr. Ehrich bring to the enforcement of his new law of loving others more than we love ourselves? If, in all the generations of dreary failure of the old law of loving our neighbor as ourselves, there has been wanting the necessary enforcing motive to induce its better fulfillment and to give humanity the help needed for its uplifting and improvement, what is the outlook for the success of a law which demands far stronger love and far greater helpfulness? The enforcement of the old law is urged by obligations of justice, gratitude, and piety. What motive exists or can exist which shall embrace the wider scope of this proposed new law? Where is the motive? Who can discover it? How can it be applied? A law will not enforce itself. Who then can enforce this?

IV. If these difficulties of lack of motives and lack of power to apply them could be set aside, and if the prospect for the enforcement of the new law were too obvious for denial or doubt, wherein could be shown the superiority of the new law of loving one's neighbors more than one loves himself? How much would it develop of self-reliance and self-help if others cared more for us than they care for themselves, more for us than we care for ourselves. It is said that the honey bees in the tropics will not lay by stores of honey, because no winter there enforces such necessity. This, however, is a mistake, as the writer knows from long observation. But if others provide for us more than for themselves, more than we provide for ourselves, then it would appear that all motive and opportunity for our doing for ourselves would be taken away.

V. Another stubborn difficulty in the way of this new religion for all time is more real than apparent. Socialism seeks to reconstruct society so as to make all men equal in property, position, and influence. Destroy the distinctions between good and evil by overthrowing the law of God, and the path of socialism is unobstructed. This effect may come in either or both of two ways: (1) By overthrowing God's authority, failing to recognize his claims to our reverent obedience to him, and so uprooting conscience; or (2) by destroying the second table of the law, which teaches and maintains the rights of property in

the individual man. The law of God and the religion of Christ are the basis and bulwark of our civil, political, and social institutions. The scheme of anarchy is the utter destruction of all existing institutions and the deification of humanity. Both those dangerous theories, whether so intended or not, are included in Mr. Ehrich's "religion for all times." Adopt his ideas, and we are landed where all infidelity inevitably tends, namely, in the deification of humanity and in the bitterest and most malignant hostility to God. It is the sheerest infidelity, the old cry of the red-handed assassins of the French Revolution, "Liberty, equality, fraternity—or death."

From the tribune of the French Jacobins Robespierre said: "I am ready to die at any moment for France." It will hardly be claimed that Robespierre was a saint; yet as is well known he proposed a new scheme of religion—that of the *Etre Suprême*, "the basis of rational republican religion." When he was arrested he was not so ready to die for France. He resisted the officers, compelling them to shoot him; his jaw was broken, and a bandage under his chin and over his head held his lower jaw in place. A woman stood near as the tumbrils were passing to the place of execution. She had lost several sons by the decree of the bloody triumvirate—Danton, Marat, and Robespierre. As Robespierre passed on his way to the scaffold she exclaimed audibly: "Murderer of all my kindred! your agony fills me with joy. Descend to hell, covered with the curses of every mother in France!" * When he was placed under the guillotine the bandage was removed. His jaw fell; he uttered a shriek. The blade descended. And so perished this founder of a new religion; while now, just a century after his death, the religion he superseded still flourishes as never before in all its long history.

* Alison's *History of Europe from the Commencement of the French Revolution to the Restoration of the Bourbons*, vol. iii, p. 353.

Thomas A. Faure

Art. VII. — PANTHEISM'S DESTRUCTION OF BOUNDARIES. — PART II.

As far as the scope of this article allows us we think we have shown conclusively that the pantheistic tendency of our age and the evolution doctrine, which is its legitimate daughter, have in large measure effaced the boundaries and are bent upon their entire destruction. Facing now the question, What dangers threaten us by this destruction of boundaries? we consider first the lesson which history teaches. For under like influences a state of society has been developed upon a broad scale for centuries together on the banks of the Ganges, and in part, also, in the Celestial Kingdom; and afterward both gnosticism and mysticism have inspired smaller circles with the same spirit. This is to us a beacon at sea, for a wreck is a fair image of what these states and circles show. In India's beautiful domain lives one of the most richly endowed races, profound in spirit, mighty in numbers, in the midst of tropical wealth—a people which in everything competes with our Western nations and may even exceed us. And yet that people is asleep, has long ceased to make history; and, almost without effort, Islam first, then the Mongols, and lastly England have conquered this royal people. However energetically a Keshub Chunder Sen lately organized his propaganda in a most masterly way to arouse his people from their deathly slumbers, he utterly failed. And the human ideal of the *Yogi* Hindoo still consists of a benighted hermit immovably staring into the sun, his loins girded with a serpent's skin, his naked breast covered by coarse hair, wild shrubs growing up about him, and a songless bird building its somber nest upon his holy shoulders.

And what has become of Lao-Tse's beautiful fancies in China? Mr. Balfour, who learned to know Taoism by personal observation, complains in his South Place Institute lecture that Taoism has lapsed into "a low and despicable superstition, into a religion in its worst and lowest sense, a hocus-pocus and an imposition." And when in the province of Kiang-si he called on the *Chang-Fien Shih*, or high priest of this sect, his holiness showed him in his beautiful palace to a room filled with earthen jars, carefully corked and sealed, in which by his magic power

he had confined hundreds of evil spirits. The self-degradation and cruel immorality of the Valentinians and Ophites among the Gnostics needs no new demonstration. The moral destruction which this self-same mystical pantheism wrought among the Beghards and their consorts, and in our country among the Antinomians, is well known from history. It all ended in the "rehabilitation" of the flesh, as Hundeshagen calls it. The common system is, "*quod Deus formaliter est, omne id quod est.*" Thus the boundary between good and evil falls away. "The will of God determines our disposition, and should a man commit even a thousand deadly sins by the force of such predisposition he need not even wish that he had not committed them." The lesson of history is sufficiently alarming. Feuerbach once wrote: "The eternal, supersensual death is God;" and, indeed, everything seems here to pass away in national and moral death. Of course this needs delineation, in broad outline, at least, which we will do in the order of our personal, ecclesiastical, and political life.

A thoughtful student who had suffered himself to drift with the tempting current of this stream prefaces his translation of one of Herbart's works with these significant words: "I allowed myself to drift with it because it promised my soul peace and rest. And what has it brought me? A feeling of powerlessness and of heaviness. Then I turned to Herbart and regained that buoyancy of spirit which was fast failing me." We understand this well; for when the boundary between God and the world falls away, and in the Holy Trinity we can no longer worship, the fullness of the richest personal life, the mainspring of our own personal existence, is broken. He who deals with God as his holy Friend deepens the traits of his own nature; and Herbart expresses it beautifully: "No longer to feel the need of this Friend were devotion to such loneliness as only egoism creates in the midst of society, making the dwelling of man a wilderness." No strong character can be formed when the etcher, who should deeply mark the lines in the metal, has his graver taken from him by the dreamer, who dissolves every line. Character demands strength of conviction coupled with firmness of will, a deep sense of a calling in life, bound up with faith of success in this calling; and these factors of our personality refuse to do service when the stability of lines in our con-

ception of life vanishes away and when there is no more faith in any known truth, nor in law, which governs the will, nor in God, who calls us to a lifework and who makes everything subserve its accomplishment. Underneath your feet the fountains rise higher, and from above the rain pours down to soak the roadbed, which was once well graveled and firm, and turn it into mud, where walking becomes stumbling and sliding. Hence the complaint, which was never more general than in our days, about the dearth of character, of impressive personality, and of men of iron will. In sooth, we need be no "admirers of the past" to stand aggrieved at the dullness of the faces about us, at their weakness of expression and want of manly power, in comparison with those portrayed on Rembrandt's canvases.

No, we do not look down with self-conceit upon agnosticism; and when we hear Tyndall reverently say, "Standing before this power which from the universe forces itself upon me, I dare not do other than speak poetically of a Him, a Spirit, or even a Cause; its mystery overshadows me, but it remains a mystery," then this agnostic reverence touches us more deeply than the Kantian refrain of God, virtue, and immortality. But forget not that the clearness of our human consciousness is here at stake; the clearness of our thinking becomes dimmed. In England science is defined as the statistics of what is measured, weighed, and numbered. "*Bene docet qui distinguit*" ("He teaches well who distinguishes well") is the rule of discipline from which our thinking, if it is to be sound, may not escape; but here the rule is made to read, "*Bene docet qui omnia bene permiscet*" ("He teaches well who mixes all things well"). And, as mentioned above, Hegel had to invent a new logic for this amalgamating process of thought. Before this cloudy manner of thinking the strength of conviction recedes. Everything clothes itself with the garb of modesty, which in reality is naught but hesitation and uncertainty, until in the end the thirst for knowledge turns its "love glance" upon the not-knowing, and Du Bois Reymond proclaims his "*ignorabimus*," which is followed by the agnostic axiom of Spencer. In this way it is not merely philosophy that languishes and the horizon of science itself which becomes narrow, but in practical life skepticism takes possession again of the human heart and draws the clouds ever thicker across the clearness of our vision, until

in the end that spark of holy enthusiasm is extinguished which can glow only in higher latitudes beneath the azure sky.

Sport is excellent, and we felt flattered when recently our batters and bowlers returned from England laden with honors; but it would cause us greater joy if we discovered among our youth enthusiasm for the honor of our history, for patriotism, and for a holy conviction in things lovely, pure, and beautiful. But alas! here, too, the erasure of boundaries stands offensively in our way, especially in the spheres of morality. The word "sin" became too pungent; "holy" was replaced by "brave," "brave" by "decent," and "decent" by "neat," a word descriptive of dress, not of personality. And how can it be otherwise, when the noblest thinkers of our age have reduced good and evil to a difference of degree; when the law for moral life is allowed to be fixed autonomously by the subject himself, by which every moral idea is robbed of its absolute character; when the æsthetic is exalted at the cost of the ethic, and the doctrine is proclaimed from our housetops that the sensual life also must demand satisfaction for its claims? Is the boundary between truth and falsehood still fixed? Is it still known what honor is? What is right if it be not the right of the stronger? Who distinguishes between theft and property? Where, above all, is the boundary which distinguishes guilt from fate, imputability from irresistible inclination? Has not Buckle statistically shown how each year there must take place so many divorce suits, so many accidents, so many murders with the dagger, so many others with the pistol, and so many, again, by strangulation? It is all the one process, which, restlessly turning the wheel of life, hurries it on from that which is real to the ideal. Why, then, be surprised that excise duties of a less honorable sort are ever enlarged; that the dissolute woman presses her claims with ever-increasing shamelessness; and that our sturdy Dutch integrity, which was once proverbial in the market of the world, buries itself in its legends?

Israel once sang, "I love the Lord, because he hath heard my voice and my supplications." Our age raves with altruism, because its heart is too faint for real egoism. And when the *noumena* withdraw themselves in the far distance and, at a still greater distance, disappear behind the ever-changing phenomena, and a *pontifex* is no longer near to bridge this

distance, nor a Curtius to fill this abyss with himself, then a poetry is still spoken of which with its thousand forms will brood upon this infinite void. But they forget that all poetry, to find its symbols, must start from the antithesis which exists between the spiritual and the natural. And therefore look at those who now occupy the seats upon Parnassus, where Vondel once shone, and Bilderdijk won his laurels, and where Da Costa lost himself in worship. Against this mystic poetry Herbart wrote: "The concept of God as the Father of men should be retained in its strength. A purely theoretical concept is worthless; an idea is bare of comfort." However, we do not satirize our age; God has infinitely enriched it, and in many respects it far exceeds the age that went before it. There are many worthy people now, many lovable people, who do not wear the purple, but who constantly remind us of it; but we miss the powerful figures, the great men, the stars of first magnitude. How have the stars, like those in Leyden, been extinguished one after another! Who is Caprivi compared with Von Bismarck? When Gladstone dies who will succeed him? Alas! the dynamic weakening can no longer be denied. *Epigonoi* have taken the places of heroes, and at their feet crowd the multitudes weary of life, whose satiety betrays itself in the dullness of their eyes. See how listlessness stares us in the face; how suicide attracts; how the number of our insane is ever on the increase. And when we think how this century began with placing man on a pedestal, higher than ever before, and how in closing it leaves him behind so weary of life, then does not this century seem like the soap bubble which glittered in the light as the boy blew it out on the air, but which, as he blew too hard, condensed into one unsightly drop?

Europe has twice known such periods of spiritual atrophy, once under Roman rule, and again at the close of the Middle Ages; and both times the Church of Christ caught the paralytic by the hand and lifted him up so that he walked and life once more coursed freely through his veins. Hence the question arises, Will the Church of Christ be able to do this again? And is there no cause for increasing anxiety when, by this blurring and eventual destruction of boundaries, we see the Church of Christ inwardly ebbing away her life and outwardly reduced to an ever-narrower ecclesiasticism? If there is one

who protests against the idea of evolution it is He who came down from the Father of lights in order to reveal himself as God in the flesh. Christ is *the* miracle. It is Bethlehem that opens a branch in the line of human genealogy. "Immanuel's resurrection" breaks through the order of nature. And when the Church of Christ starts out upon her mission in the world her deeply marked characteristic is not to be of the world. Hence the Church of Christ stands *ipso facto* opposed to the unity dream of the pantheistic process, and denies that salvation can ever come by evolution to a world lost in sin. This is her character and her nature. Abandonment of this antithesis is the sacrifice of her character. She must hold up this dualism in the face of the unregenerated world. And as soon as the boundary is blurred which separates her from the natural life she ceases to be the Church of Christ. This, of course, is the very thing opposed by the pantheistic tendency of our age, and no less sharply by the principle of evolution. Pantheism cannot triumph unless the stumbling-block of the cross be taken out of the way; the evolution theory cannot exist if that notion of Golgotha be not removed. Hence the assertion by a German philosopher, that "where culture breaks through there can be no more Church." Hence Hegel's statement that the State, as "the divine will in the present," must make the Church subservient to its end, until finally she be dissolved in the State. Hence Rothe, who was himself a theologian, threw away his honor and committed treason to the Church, by prophesying her rapid declension and disappearance in the State; and from this, no less, comes the cool determination of the leading jurists in Germany to forge the shackles by which to chain the Church. By a circle of almost thirty professors of law, among whom Ihering was one, the doctrine has been published that the Protestant Church "is a purely worldly organization," and, stronger still, "that, rightly considered in the sense of modern ecclesiastical law, the Church is only a part of the world." This shows whither this erasure of boundaries leads us; and we are no longer surprised at the boldness of Professor Lorn in writing that the Church of Christ is nothing more than a *Religions-Verein*, and that the present relation between State and Church "rests on the principle of the sovereignty of the State, to which even the Church

is subjected." This would not signify anything if the watchers at the boundaries were found at their post, or, at least, in the camp of the Church. But it is well known that the opposite is true. They who rise up for its defense are put outside the boundary line. Every boundary of confession is wiped out by the public proclamation of liberty of doctrine. The Church must be as like a worldly society as one drop of water is like another. Even though Christ be denied by all the people it must still be named the people's Church. He who believes in no Father in heaven may proclaim unto the people his philosophy as Gospel. And, when hope is fostered that "believing" theologians will rebel against such repulsive contradictions, the *Vermittelungs-theologen* of every predilection may be seen willfully wiping out the confessional boundary and adding ever more freely their philosophic wine to the pure juice of life, as if bent upon the entire destruction of that deeply marked boundary line of our Christian mysteries which separates God's holy revelation from our darkened reason.

No resistance, therefore, can be looked for from this quarter against what Hermann calls "the spiritual disturbance" of our age. As long as a spiritual *tohu va bohu* remains the lauded ideal among these leaders no invincible principles of morality, no deeply inculcated convictions of soul, nor any fixed, general ideas can come to our people from their ecclesiastical guides. But the restoration of a fixed point of departure, of a religious and moral "place where to stand," in view also of the social storms foretold by our political meteorologists, is the only saving means by which a footing may be regained by our generation. Recover the faith in a last judgment, and as long as we hold this faith we may calmly witness the constant violation of right in the earth, which is practiced not merely by public offenders, but by legislative bodies and by judges. For our sense of right is secure in that of God, which he himself shall one day avenge. Proceed, however, upon the half-truth of the pantheist, that "the world's history is the world's judgment," and we must secularize our sense of right; that is, we may recognize no longer any law except that which amid constant changes the authorities create and maintain. And by this fluctuating notion of right (since the *jus constitutum* is never at rest) we destroy the majesty of law in the minds of those who live under it.

This has been accomplished. Von Stahl confines absolute right within the boundaries of our human economy, and does not see how it has its primordial rise in religion, and how all ethical right is rooted in this religious right of God over his creature. All this is the result of Kant's partially correct endeavor to interpret right as the shield of liberty, or of Fichte's effort to assign its rise to the struggle between the double ego. With Hegel, therefore, it is put down as a morality of a lower order. According to Ihering it is born from an "end-impulse of society." In Darwin fashion it is reconstructed by others as the mechanical product of historic and external factors; while the later Herbartians perceive it as the cruse of oil which the seaman pours upon the seething waves for the salvation of ship and crew. But, endless as these representations of the origin of right may be, the idea is common to them all that it is only by the State, as the instrument of society, that absolute right receives its sanction. It is too bad that, with the exception of Von Stahl, none of these men hold to the immutability of State authority. The scepter of authority is swayed now by one party and again by another—Napoleon is superseded by Bourbon, Bourbon overcome by Orleans; and in this wise is formed the series of those who make themselves master in turn of authority in the State, because for a while they are the stronger. He therefore rules the State who actually gets the power in hand; and in this stronger one who establishes right and law, the right of the stronger triumphs, not merely *de facto*, but likewise in theory. And by this the boundary falls away which separates the authorities, as the powers ordained of God, from the people, who, by the same God, are appointed to be subject unto them. Both are dissolved in the one all-sufficient State. The State takes the place of God. The State becomes the highest power, and the fountain head also of right. The higher powers exist no longer for the sake of sin; but a State is the highest ideal of human society—a State, before whose apotheosis every knee must bow, by whose grace alone we live, and to whose word all must be subject. And when in this wise the boundaries are destroyed between the authorities and the people, between the authorities and Him whose servant they are, and consequently between right as a divine ordinance and right as a magisterial command, nothing remains but the one single State, making

provision for everything, in which all human energy seeks its ideal development.

A great danger lurks in this; for, however eloquently the boundary has been reasoned away between the authorities who rule and the people who must obey, that duality does exist, a duality from which of necessity is born a twofold strife, the strife of the State evermore to increase its power over the people, and the strife on the part of the people to make themselves masters over the State. Absolutism from one side and anarchy from the other stare us in the face; and the question has already been raised whether constitutional public law has not served its time, and whether the parliamentary system has not outlived its usefulness. The next step is to found upon the ruins of our civil liberty the government of Schleiermacher's *virtuosos*, that is, of those who are learned and genial—a repetition of our old regent's-misery, clothed this time in the scientific garb.

But against this, of course, the people rebel. The boundaries have been destroyed; why then longer render homage to him who is high and declare those who are low politically under age? Are not rich and poor an antithesis, which, since all boundaries have been effaced, offensively disturbs your much-lauded harmony? Why render obedience, when authority finds no more support in the conscience and right is no longer founded upon eternal principles? Power has its rise in the State, and we are the people; we, the millions, constitute the State; hence ours is the power, the power also to recreate the right, and we will enact that right in such a form as shall satisfy all our senses. And what can you do, ye mighty ones of earth, ye that extol in song the State-apotheosis, how oppose this wild cry of nihilism? By the conscience? But that you have disjointed. By the moral senses? But these you have set afloat. By the fear of the final judgment? At this you scoff yourselves. By the majesty of law? This you have violated. By the influence of the Church? This you have destroyed. No, nothing, nothing remains to you but your power. Upon actual, positive power your entire building has been raised. And with your power you may still offer resistance for a long time, for your forces are stronger than ever (and fearful havoc they may create); but woe unto you when in the end this poison begins to work among your armies and as a cancer feeds upon their vitals. For

then you are undone. Then these people, armed by you, before the sun has set upon that day of vengeance shall with a single stroke dispel your enchanting power, and, while crushing you to the earth, proclaim it loud and far that boundaries are no more, that all has become evolution, and that they but inaugurate a movement which could not fail in your pantheistic process!

Max Müller once sketched the *nirvana* of the *yoga* in the picture of a lamp which was being extinguished. Toward such a social *nirvana* we shall see the nations of Europe move, unless something be done to stop the weakening of boundaries. When, in the human body, the boundary is disturbed between the tissue of the veins and the flesh of the muscles, then, with an *ἀνάγκη* (necessity) which is irresistible, there follows the decomposition of the corpse.

France was not saved twenty years ago by the injudicious supply of arms to the mob, nor by Gambetta's wild hue and cry that not an inch of ground nor a stone of the stronghold should be surrendered. No escape was possible through the iron network with which Von Moltke had invested France, and in the old imperial town of Frankfort the Gaul capitulated. But this did not finish France; for when, at length, it wisely took copy from Prussia's example after the battle at Jena, and forcibly restrained its chauvinism and exerted its utmost efforts in home discipline and recovery of strength, it soon appeared possessed of so much energy of national life that Germany's emperor already feels uneasy and has called out ninety thousand more men per annum for the better protection of his frontiers. Is there no lesson in this for us, when, having shown the erasure of boundaries and the dangers which it threatens, we face the final question, What resistance may we offer?

In sooth, the present condition of believing Christianity is very like that of France after Sedan and Gravelotte. The assault made upon us has not been successfully beaten off in any single point. Stronghold after stronghold has been abandoned. Treason has been committed, time after time, within our own ranks. Intoxicated with transports of joy, the enemy prophesies the near dawn of the day of our entire defeat. And he is quite correct. With shame we must acknowledge the cowardliness and lamentable want of tact which have characterized our Christian conduct during these last hundred years in

this strife against unbelief. And if any one thing is able to strengthen our faith that One greater than we has battled for our people it is the surprising fact that, in spite of such ill-directed resistance, our strength has not waned, but has grown intensely stronger.

We have nothing to say of the doctrinaire. God be praised! the last echoes have died away of the hollow phrases whereby stupid self-sufficiency deemed itself able to vanquish a Strauss, to disarm a Darwin, and to drive a Kuenen out of the fight. These were the scoffing bulletins of the princeling who gathered bullets at Wissembourg, the boastful call of men utterly ignorant of the enemy, both in his earnestness and in the strength of his weapons. And, as it always happens with the boastful pride of cowards, of the ten who protested then so loudly perhaps eight now appear among the leaders in infidelity. No, when we consider what resistance has been offered we refer not to that ineffectual skirmishing, but rather to the earnest threefold effort put forth to save the threatened position, whereby men gathered under the banner of the apologist, the compromiser, or the amphibian.

Apologetics have first been tried. As often as the outworks were attacked the defenders of Christian truth hastened to the breach to answer each shot from the enemy with a ball from their own cannon. Wherever the enemy showed himself they crept after him in trenches. Though often repulsed with bleeding heads they still held firm, and, with a sturdy patience which compels respect, lance crossed lance, dagger sharpened dagger, and blow followed blow. But, in spite of this defense, they gained nothing; for on the heels of one host of objections, which were upheld for a moment at the most, another army of still heavier critical grievances loomed up at once. Meanwhile they permitted the enemy to prescribe the plan of campaign, fell in consequence into hopeless confusion, and in the end were cut off from their own basis of operation. The lamentable course of that apologetic resistance is well known. A rustic militia measured itself against a Prussian guard. And hence the endless series of concessions, till at length the bravest hero lost the fire of his eye and all courage from his weary heart in the grief of disappointment.

No wonder, therefore, that, in view of this sad spectacle, our

Vermittelungs-theologen felt themselves more attracted by the role of the *Mittelsmann*, as our German neighbors say. All too trustfully our apologists had entered the unequal strife; these with deeper vision, gentler feeling, and riper philosophy correctly saw how unproductive such clumsy striving must be, and, therefore, peace-loving as they were by nature, they rather employed a spiritual polity. So they entered the field preceded by the white flag of truce, and, as the enemy drew near, ordered the trumpeter to blow a *pax vobiscum*, and readily assured the men of modern views of their warm sympathy with their modernity and of their deep dislike for the old school; yes, that they would like nothing better than the honor of marching with these moderns, if only the name of Christ could be embroidered on the banner and the cross ornament the top of their standard. And the success of their polity was naturally brilliant. "Modern-orthodox," a genuine pantheistic compound, was the adopted name of the new auxiliary. And we behold the heroes who were to rescue our faith do service as sappers, charged with the clearing away of "orthodox obstacles."

However (whether under the influence of De Genestet who shall say?), the compromise method soon ceased to enchant; and then, at length, we beheld how men gathered under the shield of the amphibian. Jacobi had been a heretic in his intellect, but a believer at heart. If, then, this dualism in feeling of Jacobi were supported by the philosophic monism of Herbart and by the *Erkenntnistheorie* of Lotze, how safe the position would be, how easy would be their movements, and how freely would they hunt with criticism to their very hearts' content, and still engage in prayer with the pious wife! That was it. Head and heart, the intellect and the will, must be divorced; *Werth-urtheil* was the magic motto which would save from every dilemma. And thus arose that generation of spiritual amphibians who plunged so playfully into the depths of the modern waters, and again would nimbly scale the river-bank to graze in the sweet clover of the hallowed Christian pasture. But there was no defense in this. A dualism of principles gives no system. And, moreover, our Christianity is a revealed, historic religion, which at every point of the way inexorably faces us with ideas which demand analysis and with facts which must find room in our cosmos.

However highly, therefore, we appreciate the intention of these three classes of defenders, and however much we owe to their study of detail, we cannot be incorporate with them—not with the apologetes, because no plea can avail when reason is both defendant and judge; not with the *Mittelsmänner*, because they exhaust their strength in a monstrous marriage, and "hybrids do not propagate;" and not with our spiritual dualists, because logic and ethics have but one consciousness at their command, and all such spiritual divorces must end in hypertrophy of the head coupled with atrophy of the heart.

An altogether different and much safer method was employed wherever resistance proved effectual. God calls Abraham out of Ur, separates Israel from the nations, and thus, in real life, casts up a dam against the flood of paganism. Christ comes and forms in Israel a following of his own, which, by separation from the world, is being trained to vanquish the spirit of the world. In the sixteenth century similar resistance was offered by men who withdrew their forces within self-created bounds to regain strength, in order, by life's reality and deeds, and not by theories and phrases, to strengthen themselves for the strife which awaited them. In the self-same manner Von Stein rallied Prussia after Jena and France has restored her strength. And, as regards our struggle, they who adhere to the Christian faith and appreciate the danger of the destruction of boundaries must begin by drawing a circle about themselves within which to develop a life of their own, of which life, thus constituted, they must give account, and so to increase strength for the strife which is upon us.

This is the only method which, as often as correctly applied, has stood the test of fire, which Rome never abandoned, and which is the only rational one again to pursue. How have pantheism and evolution risen to be so powerful? Certainly not because of Kant or Hegel, Darwin or Haeckel, for no single man can transform the spirit of his time if he be not himself a child of his time. No, the general mood of mind, the temper of soul, the inclination of heart, all of life down to its deepest impulses, had risen up in rebellion at the close of the last century against the boundaries appointed by God; pantheism was in the air; and Hegel and Darwin, as children of their age, only hastened the birth of the monstrosity, which our age had long carried

under its heart. There is no need, therefore, to exhaust our strength in a conflict of words. So powerful a movement of life can be faced with hope of success only by the movement of an antithetic life. In opposition to those who efface the boundaries both in life and consciousness a life must be developed with deeply marked character lines; the floating fogs of pantheism must be confronted with the clear and positive utterances of a truly embraced confession; and in like manner the exaltation of the world's *dictum* must be opposed by the absolute authority of the Scriptures. Thus an independent basis of operation will be regained and a reality will originate which already as such exercises an influence upon our inspiration. Thus only will a fortified line present itself at the front which will render it possible to postpone a giving of battle until quietly and definitely the forces are developed, the weapons sharpened, and the ranks well exercised. Thus also is revived that holy comradeship, that confidence in one's own cause, and that enthusiasm for the colors of the banner which double the strength of every army.

That this system demands great sacrifice is not denied. It compels an entire break with much that is attractive. It cuts off all intercourse with the nobler heathen, however fascinating that may be. A great price must be paid for it; and, worse yet, it will cause the resolute man all manner of family inconvenience, and will render it difficult to find a position in life for the support of oneself and family. But with the Scriptures in hand we declare that this sacrifice must be laid on the altar. "He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me." Christ came not to bring peace in a pantheistic sense, but to make discord among men, that is, to establish a boundary which none can remove between those who touch the hem of his garment and those who reject him. And therefore this system must not be accused of exclusivism. Of this they are guilty who on their own responsibility establish a false boundary that separates things which belong together. But this reproach will never touch the system we commend, for at the very point where the boundary is drawn by our deepest conviction of life the pigeonhole system lies condemned, and broken down is every false wall of separation. This system has as little in common with the recluse who shuns the light of the outside world.

Living in a house of one's own by no means forbids a going abroad in every pathway of life. And, as we said above, behind our line we desire to arm ourselves more completely that we may be the better ready for the strife.

Of one claim, we grant, we can make no surrender; it must be born within us—that we believe. Even as we are stabbed by those who announce themselves as the enlightened and the civilized and label us as the "nonthinking part of the nation," so they must suffer us to wound them as often as we distinguish ourselves as "believers" from the "nonbelieving part of the nation." But this is the very thing in question. It is the protection of that boundary for which we stake our very life. They deny the fall by sin; for us it stands firm and fixed. And therefore they cannot recognize a boundary which is established by the entrance of grace, while for us this transition is one from death unto life.

We are taught by the word of God that sin not merely spoiled the will and corrupted our nature, but that it also darkened the understanding. On the contrary, the palingenesis not merely renews the will and transforms our nature, but also sheds a light of its own into our inner consciousness. He who believes receives not merely another impression of life, but is also differently affected in the world of thought, which difference cannot be better interpreted than by Augustine's celebrated *interrogatorium*. Augustine had himself been a pantheist at first, and had not been able to conceive God otherwise than as hiding in the ὕλη. But when, led by the Spirit of God, he turned away from the *Jesus patibilis* of the Manichæans and fixed his gaze upon the Man of sorrows, then, with the self-same ears with which he had heard the sound of the particles of light in leaf and stem, he now heard this entirely different speech of the creation. Then, as he writes in his *Confessions*,

> I asked the earth, and it answered, "I am not He;" and whatsoever are therein made the same confession. I asked the sea and the deeps and the creeping things that lived, and they replied, "We are not thy God; seek higher than we." I asked the breezy air, and the universal air with its inhabitants answered, "Anaximenes was deceived; we are not thy God." I asked the heavens, the sun, moon, and stars; "Neither," said they, "are we the God whom thou seekest." And I answered unto all things which stand about the door of my flesh, "Ye have told me concerning my God

that ye are not he; tell me something about him." And with a loud voice they exclaimed, "It is He who hath made us!"

In the grandeur of the faith Augustine was now another man, and therefore he heard differently and thought differently. Then also he heard the voice of God addressing him in the Scriptures; and our circle holds this in common with Monica's great son. We also bow ourselves before that Word; and therefore that Word also draws the boundary line between us who camp behind our line and those who live beyond it. We are often told that we cannot hold this opinion in sincerity; the pious housewife may, but not the man of science. And he who throws away his respect exclaims, "Ye are deceivers!" Of course, they who are not stupid must agree with such wisdom or else have their integrity suspected. We are familiar with such ways. But this much must be granted: faith in the Scriptures can never be the result of criticism, for then no one could ever have believed, as criticism is not yet a finished science. Moreover, how could the Scriptures ever excite faith among the humble laity who understand nothing of criticism? If then it is very true that in the Scriptures there arise many difficulties and objections which have by no means been straightened out, this does not delay us, this does not trouble us, since we stand on other ground. In 1794 it was Kant himself who denounced "*die Keckheit der Kraftgenies*," which deemed itself to have outgrown this norm of faith, and added these weighty words:

> If ever the Scriptures which we now have should lose their authority, a similar authority could never more arise, for a miracle like that of the Scripture authority cannot repeat itself, simply because the loss of the faith in the Scriptures which was maintained for so many centuries would render faith impossible in any new authority.

And the deep significance of these words was felt by us years ago when first we read them. In the Scriptures we have a cedar of spiritual authority which for eighteen centuries has been putting forth its roots in the life-soil of our human consciousness; and beneath its shadow the religious and moral life of humanity have increased inconceivably in worth and merit. Now hew this cedar down, and for a little while green leaves will still appear upon its downcast trunk; but who will give another cedar for the children of our people? who guar-

antee a shade like unto this? This is why we have bowed before these Scriptures with the unaffected simplicity of the little child, in simple faith, and not as a result of learning; for this we have zealously defended these Scriptures, and now rejoice in our soul as we render thanks unto God for seeing a new increase of faith in these Holy Scriptures. You know we are not conservative, but this is our conservatism: we seek to save the foliage of this cedar for our people, lest shortly they should be without a covering in a barren, scorching desert. As our Saviour believed in Moses and the prophets, so we desire to believe in the Scriptures. For he who in this matter of the Scriptures accuses Christ of error attacks thereby the mystery itself upon which is founded the whole Church of Christ, denying that he should be our Lord and also our God.

"Isolation is your strength." This is the golden motto Groen van Prinsteren bequeathed to the *issus de Calvin.* What we have said is plea for this significant device. And is anyone afraid lest, under this motto and by this system, poetry be sacrificed to pantheism and the unity of the cosmos to evolution? Then listen how from the tents of the saints throughout the earth there arises one voice, which gathers everything that lives, and breathes, and thinks, and does not think into an entirely different unity, namely, the unity of praise; as the ancient player on the harp sings of a God who "has established an order for his creatures which they cannot transgress," so that, with the sound of cymbals, all, all may sing in unison:

> Praise Him, ye heavens, and ye waters that be above the heavens;
> Praise the Lord, ye earth, ye dragons and all deeps.
> Praise him, ye mountains and all hills, ye beasts and all cattle,
> Ye fruitful trees and all cedars, ye kings of the earth and all people,
> Both young men and maidens, ye old men and children;
> Let all praise the name of the Lord.
> For he hath exalted the horn of his people,
> The praise of all his saints, a people near unto him.

EDITORIAL NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

OPINION.

ONE is sometimes on the verge of saying that the Bible has suffered less from its avowed enemies than at the hands of its professed and doubtless well-meaning friends. Interpretations have been put upon the word of God which have discredited it before the intelligence and moral sense of multitudes of the thoughtful and the earnest. Ministers lacking intelligence have fulminated indiscriminate denunciations of fiction, whose sermons were as truly works of imagination and as far from facts as any novel, and as unworthy of the pulpit as the haggadic legends of the Talmud would be of a place in the sacred canon. Men of fluent tongues, who did not take the trouble to be students of the Scriptures, have taught all manner of strange things from behind the open Bible, and have dressed up the inspired text in such grotesque embellishings, with no warrant save their uninstructed and reckless fancy, that, instead of being preachers of the word, they became nothing better than chartered libertines of the imagination, posturing and prancing in a sort of religious *mardi gras*. In a clerical circle it was remarked concerning a certain crowd-compelling minister, whose expositions of Bible history and doctrine were as wild as his antics, "Well, we must admit that he has obeyed the injunction to stir up the gift that is in him and make the most of it;" and, on the question being asked what the man's gift was, the reply came, "His imagination." It were better for a minister to confine himself to simply didactic and hortatory preaching, enforcing repentance, holiness, and the practical duties of life on the basis of the Decalogue, the Sermon on the Mount, and the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians, than to be conjuring with texts to see what novel notions he can suck out of them or pump into them, a course certain to result in farfetched, forced, and fantastic explanations and many petty puerilities of interpretation.

Perhaps no branch of Bible exposition has been more overstrained than typology, wherein the propensity to ride a hobby has frequently appeared. We recently encountered a volume whose eminent author had typology "on the brain." To a degree the human mind is apt to find what it seeks and to see what it looks for. The optimist who looks for reasons of gladness will, by mere force of his disposition, magnify and multiply the actual reasons. A lover will probably see excellences in his lady which are not really there. A fault-finder on the lookout for flaws in everything is likely to allege some things to be imperfections which are not so. The credulous victim of superstition, expecting ghosts, can see or hear them almost any dark night. A population believing in witches can find enough of them anywhere to keep the gallows and the stake well sup-

plied. The natural and sometimes dangerous proclivity of the medical specialist is to regard the pathologic condition in every case as originating in the particular physical tract covered by his specialty; whether it is there or not he sees what he is in the habit of looking for. Similarly, some Bible teachers, who might properly be called professional typologists, discern parallels, prophecies, and intentional adumbrations everywhere. The mind that sets out to hunt for types and shadows is sure to find strange similitudes containing startling significance. It only needs that two characters or events have some feature in common and one be antecedent to the other for certain expositors to discover subtle resemblances which perforce make the former a type and the latter a fulfillment of the type. In such hands Scripture narratives, which are sufficiently valuable as simple history and were never intended to be treated as anything else, become deep depositories of foreknowledge and preintimation.

This propensity to set forth all personalities and events of the Old Testament as prophetic types of later things has brought prophecy into contempt. A few men make too little of Bible prophecy; but they are less injurious than the larger multitude who have made too much of it, setting up claims for it which no facts substantiate. That typology has been heavily overworked is seen in such examples of it as the following: that Abraham is a type of Christ, because he obeyed the will of God; that his tent is a type of the Church; that Joseph in the pit is a type of the Church in the wilderness, and Joseph reigning in Egypt a type of the Church triumphant; that Joseph is, as well, a type of Christ, inasmuch as he saved his brethren; that Samson is a type of Christ, because he suffered himself to be bound with cords, and also because it was immediately after his marriage that Samson made the first display of his might against Philistia, just as it was at a marriage that the Son of Mary first manifested his miraculous power; that Samson slaying a lion was a prophetic type of Jesus encountering Satan; that even Sisera may be regarded as a type of Christ, and the mother of Sisera awaiting his return as typical of the Christian awaiting Christ's return! It is amazing to find in sermons, Sunday school magazines, and lesson leaves how many Old Testament worthies and unworthies were types of Christ—not only Moses and Joshua and David, but likewise all the judges, because they were saviors of their brethren; and how many even were types of John the Baptist, among whom, we are told, was Elijah, because, as a dignitary of the English Church has actually written, "as the persecution of Elijah by the king drove him, as it were, for refuge to the fiery chariot," so "the persecution of John by Herod ended his sufferings under the sword of the executioner and sent him to his rest." Who would believe, before the fact, that an Anglican bishop could be guilty of such astounding and outrageous exegesis? Is it in the power of the bitterest enemy of Christianity in all England to do as much toward bringing the Bible into contempt? This is typology gone mad through being overworked. Equally justifiable would it be to go type-hunting through ante-biblical ages to the time when the mountains were brought forth, and to point out how

obvious it is that the Mountain of the Holy Cross was set in the Rocky Mountains by the Creator as a prophecy of the crucifixion on Calvary. An American satirist was of opinion that William Shakespeare could not have been a successful Washington correspondent of a New York daily—he lacked the requisite imagination. In the presence of such biblical literature as we are considering one must doubt for the same reason if Shakespeare was qualified to be a typologist. In addition to the wonders of monomaniac typology much information which might be labeled, "Important if true," is furnished us, such as that when Abraham received back Isaac from the altar he foresaw the mystery of Christ's resurrection; that it was Satan who appeared in the person of the dead Samuel; that Melchizedek was no other than the patriarch Shem in disguise!

We are not implying that the Lord hath not more light and truth to break forth from his word. On the contrary, we are sure that the thorough, exact, and comprehensive student of the Bible will become a steward of the manifold mysteries of God, able to bring forth out of his storehouse things new as well as old. We believe in a long, progressive ascertainment of the mind of God, of the deep meanings of divine revelation, and of its universal applicability to human life. We are protesting only against treating the word of God as essentially cabalistic. We object to the sort of commentators and religious teachers who extract from or put into scripture passages meanings not to be discerned there by any ordinary Christian mind; and we like them no better when they justify their transcendental exegesis on the ground that these things are spiritually discerned and are visible only to themselves because of their superior spiritual-mindedness. Our objection and dislike are founded on the fact that many of the meanings they report seem to us at variance with the general tenor of Holy Scripture and foreign to the spirit of Christianity, which is a "spirit of power, and of love, and of a sound mind"—not of any one of these alone, but of all three together. We prefer scripture interpretations which bear evidence of having been obtained by minds in close contact with the record itself, rather than those which seem to have been constructed by some traveler far from home who had forgotten to take his Bible with him. If there be an animal—elephant, giraffe, or whatever else—which we cannot study with our own eyes we choose to take our description of it from the scientific books of natural history, and not to have it evolved for us by a German philosopher out of the depths of his inner consciousness. In like manner we prefer to have Scripture interpreted to us by direct and minute scientific examination of the plain, natural, obvious, original meaning of the text, and not by the pietistic lucubrations of any mystic, however devout, who offers as the teaching of revelation the suggestions, meandering reflections, and vagaries of his own mind. There is not so much to fear from critical scholarship, which makes some mistakes, as from ignorance, which never goes right in matters requiring intelligence except once in a thousand times by accident or "luck." If a dear life were in peril we would sooner put the case into the hands of a competent medical man, many and fatal as the mistakes of physicians

have been, than into those of one who was not a graduate of any medical school. The style of interpretation with which we are finding fault does not stop with being absurd; it amounts often to a gross profanation of the divine book. To take such liberties with Holy Writ is to play such fantastic tricks before high heaven as might make the angels weep. Swedenborg, with amiable intentions, carried the imaginative method to its last possible pitch in his elaborate system of "correspondences" and "applications."

The Bible is not alone in having been subjected to such treatment. Certain men who deemed themselves scholars have applied this style of exposition to the great pyramid, and also to the zodiac and its twelve signs, with the most fearful and wonderful results in the amount and quality of the information obtained, derived apparently from no known records, but magically produced from secret fountains of knowledge hidden in the intricate recesses of their own mysteriously wise and inventive minds. When men holding the position of public teachers publish such stuff we are reminded of the man who was told he would better not know so much than to know so many things that were not so; and we say, if this be scholarship let us rather sit at the feet of some plain man endowed with common sense, sufficiently sane to distinguish between his fancies and reality, and honest enough not to pretend to knowledge where he has no facts. We venture to suggest the question whether even such a book as Guthrie's *The Gospel in Ezekiel*, noble as it is in many ways, evinces in all its parts a wise and warrantable use of the Old Testament. Some have set out to find the Gospel in the stars, and have succeeded in reading into them a good deal that neither astronomers nor inspired sages ever saw there. The myths and legends of ancient mythology are just as susceptible of this sort of treatment in the hands of genius, and have in fact been expounded in recent years on the imaginative plan by men who almost make it appear that in those old mythologies lay hid such treasures of wisdom, earthly and heavenly, that the mission of Christianity would seem superfluous, no further revelation being necessary than those blessed Greeks and fortunate Romans possessed, locked up in their fine Olympian schemes of gods and goddesses. Reading these expositions, we are moved to wonder why the only competent exegetes of these secret gospels should have come along several thousand years too late to be of any help to the nations and generations who invented and believed in all that mythologic lore.

Our much-abused Bible has been made responsible for many things it does not teach; as, for example, when it was represented as fixing the creation of the world six thousand years back, whereas it named no date, but only said, "*In the beginning* God created the heaven and the earth." The inspired truth has also suffered by processes resembling the following: first, a narrow misconception, formed upon some fragment of revelation; then, a searching of the Scriptures for confirmation of that conception and a tearing loose from their connection of passages to be used as proof-texts; then, the erection of the misconception so supported into a dogma;

finally and most lamentably, the making of that dogma, incorrect as it is, and inessential as it would be even if correct, a standard of faith and a test of orthodoxy. So much of this unwisdom has been perpetrated in the past that we do not wonder when, in any religious body, wise men protest upon occasion against the creation of new standards and the further multiplication of tests of orthodoxy.

THE business world is always swinging between excessive confidence and unreasonable distrust, reaching either extreme periodically. Unreasonable distrust has prevailed during this year, and many failures are the inevitable consequence. The causes of distrust have existed, but have been exaggerated in the imaginative temper of our people. One of these causes is that "the people have ordered" a great economic change from protection to free trade. Sensible persons do not expect this change to be made suddenly, if it is really to be made at all; but it is still a check to manufacturing enterprises, and has tended to arrest the expansion of production which had been going on for a decade. That this expansion was itself dangerous may be believed without affecting the fact that the check is one of the conditions of the prevailing distrust.

A more seriously dangerous condition of distrust is the silver legislation of recent years in the face of the fall in the bullion value of that metal. The causes of this fall are two—decreased use of silver as money by the great commercial nations, and increased production of silver, especially in this country. Practical men know that anything must have less value when more of it is produced and at the same time its use is decreased. This touches business at the very heart, because our silver laws have compelled us to ask, How many cents are there in a dollar? The great body of our people never asks this question. It did not ask it in 1864, when a dollar had barely fifty cents in it. But men who borrow and lend money had to ask it in 1864, and have to ask it in 1893. The borrower is least apt to ask it, and therefore the question did not create distrust in 1864 to any such extent as in 1893. For now it is the lender who asks it, and he has the power to secure himself against the danger of getting back fifty dollars for every one hundred he lends. He has been protecting himself by taking gold obligations for several years. But he has come to the point of doubting the effectiveness of this kind of obligation. Indeed, we have reached a point where a loan for ninety days is made with a doubt whether the one dollar will be repaid at the rate of one hundred cents or fifty cents. The gold dollar which has since 1879 been the measure of value may be supplanted by a silver dollar of half its value.

Is it possible that we shall exchange the gold bushel for the silver half bushel? Sane and prudent men hope to keep the existing standard, but they know it must be fought for against a force not to be despised in a republic. That force is the financial ignorance of the majority of the American people as represented in the proclaimed opinions of the fifty-third Congress. Senator Sherman is reported to have said that he knew

in 1890 that the voting majority of the people desired free coinage of silver—that is to say, the silver standard. The Congress elected in 1892 must change its mind and betray pledges to its constituents or adopt the silver standard. It will probably change its mind. The object lesson given in the effects of uncertainty during this summer will, it is hoped, deter Congress from carrying out the will of the majority of the people. But that will remains unchanged because the ignorance upon which it rests remains. Now and then a man gets enlightened respecting the half-bushel question in finance, but the voting majority remains uninstructed.

Expert business men know—the knowledge has been forced upon them—the feeling of the voters, and they may well doubt whether any influences can induce many congressmen to "betray their constituents" in order to save those constituents from ruin. Much of the popular confusion comes of the American tendency to theorize and from the unhappy financial history of the country from 1861 to 1879. Since the latter date there has been a greenback, a fiat dollar, and a silver "craze." But this newspaper word hardly grasps the full fact. Through all this movement—for under several names it is one—the theorizing habits and the ignorance over which it exercises a fatal despotism have prevailed chiefly because the first principles of the science of money are taught in few newspapers and fewer political speeches. The matter is further complicated in the popular mind by the so-called bimetallic theory, that silver and gold can both be standards at the same place and time. Each is a product of labor, and, like coal, each is worth in the market more or less, according to the supply of it and the use of it. Experience proves that it is difficult to fix the relative values of the two on a stable basis. We fix the relation this year, and next year the market value of the two has changed so that one is worth in coin more than the other. Our legislation has disguised this fact, because the government pays a gold dollar for a silver dollar after coinage, though, before coining, it buys the silver one for fifty or sixty cents.

The conditions of distrust have taken effect as though they were real causes. Business is done very largely on a credit system. Manufacturers and traders borrow a large portion of their capital. Distrustful holders of money have declined to lend in the face of uncertainty. Banks have called in loans, declined to make new loans, and held fast their money. Depositors have become alarmed and made "runs" on suspected banks. Traders and producers have found it impossible to borrow to the same extent as last year and have closed their doors. A diminished sale of goods has begun to add to the trouble and to stop mills lacking orders. It is a road we have been over before in this country more than once, and it is rough and dangerous. The limits of reasonable distrust have been passed; but it is not too late for Congress and the common sense of the sensible people to arrest our progress toward general bankruptcy. The visionary theorist is silenced by the cries of distress. The ignorant voter is not quite so sure that he knows more than the economists of the world.

CURRENT DISCUSSIONS.

"IS CHRISTIANITY PROGRESSING?" IS JUDAISM PROGRESSING?

WHETHER Christianity be progressing is the inquiry of liberal Judaism, through one of its cultured representatives, in *The Menorah Monthly* of June, 1893. The question is of sufficient candor and importance to merit careful consideration. Voluntarily or involuntarily all classes, creeds, and conditions of men recognize the supremacy of our Lord Jesus Christ, that "all power is given unto" him "in heaven and in earth," that the Father has "given all things into his hands," and that he "hath committed all judgment unto the Son." The Mediator reigns. His decisions are of sovereign authority. To him all nations must bow.

"Is Christianity progressing?" Absolutely and relatively it is. Numerically it bears larger proportion to the mass of humanity than in any previous era, both in nominally Christian and non-Christian lands. But, while this is conceded, the question is urged whether Christianity, as an organized, incorporated religion, is progressing "in the direction of the higher conception of the religious ideal, the nearer approach to the higher purposes of life, the elevation of the human race?" Is it in these particulars justifying its claims to superiority over all other religious systems, its evangelistic activities, and its demands upon universal faith and obedience? "Has it established its superiority to the mother, the Jewish religion, from the loins of which it sprang?" It does not help the answer, in the estimation of modern Jewish writers, to refer to New Testament teachings, and "to the elevated ethical character of the Sermon on the Mount, because the sublime moral truths enunciated there were taught, previous to the advent of Jesus, by the sacred books of the Jews, as well as by the teachers of Israel." This is true in part. The two great commandments, on which hang all the law and the prophets, were issued and taught for many centuries "before the birth of the Founder of Christianity;" but he imparted to them a fullness and richness of meaning of which neither patriarch nor prophet had any just conception. Hillel's golden saying, "What is hateful to yourself do not unto others," is of negative character. Christ embodied it in the far more comprehensive and positive injunction, "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets." Hillel guards life against injury; Christ not only protects, but floods it with blessing. Graetz,* whose opinions express the ideas and feelings of liberal Judaism, classes Jesus of Nazareth with Hillel the Babylonian and Philo the Alexandrian as one of the great moralists of the first century. The latter, he says, was superior "in beauty of style and in depth of thought, whilst he was animated with equally fervent convictions"—

* *History of the Jews*, vol. ii, p. 214. Jewish Publication Society of America. Philadelphia, 1893.

a conclusion with which it is impossible for the profoundly critical Christian student to agree.

"Israel's mission is peace"—peace to be wrought out through moral tuition of the nations. But "Judaism," Graetz declares, "could gain admission into the hearts of the heathens only by taking another name and assuming new forms, for with its old designation and distinctive features it was not popular." This admission is worthy of italics and should never be absent from memory. It confesses the weakness of Judaism and its unfitness to become the world-religion. Jesus of Nazareth, although not proficient in the legal knowledge taught by the contemporary schools of Hillel and Shammai, was the efficient agent in winning acceptance for all that is divine in Judaism from the Gentiles. "High-minded earnestness and spotless moral purity were his undeniable attributes. . . . His whole being was permeated by that deeper religiousness which consecrates to God not only the hour of prayer, a day of penitence, and longer or shorter periods of devotional exercise, but every step in the journey of life; which turns every aspiration of the soul toward him, subjects everything to his will, and with childlike trust commits everything to his keeping. He was filled with tender brotherly love," and "doubtless possessed warm sympathies and a winning manner, which caused his words to produce a deep and lasting effect." "He, by word and example, raised the sinner and the publican and filled the hearts of those poor, neglected, thoughtless beings with the love of God, transforming them into dutiful children of their heavenly Father. He animated them with his own piety and fervor, and improved their conduct by the hope he gave them of being able to enter into the kingdom of heaven. That was the greatest miracle that Jesus performed. . . . He had many faithful disciples, both men and women, who followed him everywhere and obeyed him in all things. They renounced their former immoral and irreligious life. . . . The devout took offense at his going about eating and drinking with sinners, publicans, and women of a degraded class,"* even when it was manifest to all that the object of association was attained by the influence of his spirit and teaching in the uplifting and purification of his companions.

All these statements constitute deserved Jewish tribute to the character of our Lord, but are not commensurate with the unique grandeur of his nature and achievements. This is most apparent in the light of his own sayings: "That the world may know that I love the Father; and as the Father gave me commandment, even so I do." "He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me." "As the Father hath loved me, so have I loved you." "A new commandment I give unto you, That ye love one another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another. By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one toward another." Only as love, implicitly observant of the Master's mandates and burning with judicious enthusiasm for the good of humanity, and especially of those who are partakers of "a like pre-

* Graetz's *History of the Jews*, vol. ii, p. 154.

cious faith," distinguishes the professed disciples of Christ do they demonstrate the soundness of their claim to Christianity. In Jesus Christ the divine ideal of manhood was manifest in the flesh. De Quincey remarked that all our thoughts have not words corresponding to them. They lie in our imperfect natures like the silent melodies in a great musician's heart, never to roll forth on harp or organ. But Jesus Christ is the Word of God, he in whom the Father's thought has found full and perfect utterance. Just as men enter into possession of his loving, considerate spirit, into his habit of self-sacrifice and helpfulness, into his catholicity of charity, into his faith in the religious and moral possibilities of the race, do they advance in civilization and social welfare.

"Christianity," it is conceded by liberal Judaism, "has accomplished a high mission" in leading humanity to faith in the cardinal article of the Israelitish creed—"The Lord our God is one, and his name one"—and to "the Father in heaven, as the fountain of love, mercy, and life, bodily and spiritual." It has accomplished far more than that. It has revealed the wonder, the impartiality, the riches of his love to all mankind—not to the Jew only, but also to the Gentile—and in so doing has presented in most vivid and forceful fashion the two great facts of God's fatherhood and man's brotherhood. Simultaneously it proclaims and enforces a mutual love among men that cannot but be the solvent of all social problems and the best preparative for celestial bliss. Judaism is to Christianity what the beloved and well-trained boy is to the perfect man. Its seers beheld, its prophets predicted, its sibyls sang the glorious blessings of Messiah's kingdom. Philo and the scholarly thinkers of Alexandria strove to express revealed truths in terms of Greek and other philosophies. History, science, philosophy, poetry, literature, and art ceaselessly present Christianity in sweeter, stronger, sunnier lights.

Christianity is not identical with its avowed exponents any more than the soul is identical with the body, although the body may indicate more or less clearly the qualities of the spirit. Christianity is not churchianity, as scriptural Judaism is not one with modern rabbinism. They have much in common, but are not the same. Christianity's norm is exhibited with more or less of error, imperfection, and foreign admixture by all its differing sects, even when they are actuated by fervent zeal to exemplify their highest conceptions of it. Like comment on Judaism is not less just and timely. "Is Christianity progressing?" Is Judaism progressing? Both questions postulate the truth that neither is practically perfect, that both ought to be perfect, and that the goal of strenuous effort is perfection, wholeness of nature, and complete adaptedness to environment.

Christianity must not be confounded with Greek Catholicism. The mediæval paganism, inhumanity, atrocious cruelty, and unspeakable tyranny of the Russian autocrat and his lay inquisitor Pobiedonostseff toward dissentient Christians and determined Jews have nothing in common with the religion of Christ. In no country is the caricature of true Christianity more disgraceful than in Russia. Yet even there the theory of the Orthodox Russian Church, according to Pierre Botkine, secretary

of the Russian legation at Washington, is that "the amplest freedom of faith and practice" should be everywhere allowed, and that the saying of our Lord, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them," should receive the fullest practical deference. Theory is belied by practice; but the spirit voiced in the theory is permanent in portions of the Russian people and will in the future be ascendant in governmental administration. Tolstoi is only one of several prophets. Revolution will be the remedy for unnumbered wrongs.

Christianity certainly does not exhibit its noblest embodiments in the population and churches of France. Yet the country itself is a paradise for the Jews, and that because the impartial spirit of its creed survived the *dragonnades* of Louis XIV and the emigration of the Huguenots. The seeds of divine truth sown by the latter and harrowed into the heart of the commonalty by the infamous Inquisition possessed vitality enough to spring up into a harvest of equal rights for all classes—rights since then repeatedly lost and regained, because the people had not sufficient Christian light to guide political action. As it now is they are not blind to the malignity of antisemitic agitation. Christianity, in the person of M. Anatole Leroy Beaulieu, avows its belief that "intolerance is repugnant to Christianity." "Nothing appears" to that gentleman "to be more repugnant to the Gospel than the hatred of races." Judæophobia is wholly irreconcilable with its genius and aim.

The *Judenhetze* of Germany is without excuse from the teachings of Christ and his apostles. It is largely of the earthly, sensual, and devilish type, and is in discord with genuine Lutheran catholicity. Notwithstanding the retrogressive effect of antisemitism on German civilization and the declaration of Professor Mommsen that it is chiefly of the *canaille*, it is demonstrable that it emanates mainly from the ruling classes, who attempt to utilize it as a political instrument for manipulating the masses and for warding off invasion of their own privileges. Notwithstanding and because of its virulence, powerful preachers and writers diligently and doughtily employ voice and pen in defense of universal brotherhood. Nor do they forget that the Israelidæ are the "descendants of those who gave to the world the Gospel of Christ." "*Der Jude wird verbrannt*" is no motto of real Christianity. Only three members of the new Reichstag represent unreasoning antipathy to the Jews. Ahlwardt, now serving a three months' incarceration for libeling Von Loewe, the Hebrew gunmaker, and the German officials, is shorn of power for much mischief, and Stoecker seems to be discredited. Dr. K. Kohler is eloquent in eulogy of Nahida Remy, the Christian German woman who, with clear brain, trenchant pen, and "deep, sympathetic, tender heart," feels doubly stimulated to undo the wrong inflicted by her countrymen upon the Jews.

In the United States the contagion of antisemitic feeling has taken the form of social proscription rather than that of religious intolerance. Hotels and boarding houses have been closed against Jews as Jews. Business discriminations and refusal of election to membership in clubs have been

justified on the same ground. If objection rest on offensive personal peculiarities it leaves no room for just complaint; but if it be to Jews as Jews it is an unwarrantable insult to the most ancient, gifted, and influential division of Adam's descendants. As such the Christian American is ashamed of it, and the press, sacred and secular, denounces it. "The preachers, too, in the past and present, have been outspoken in their condemnation of acts of intolerance and race prejudice."* "But the Churches as organized bodies," it is complained, "have preserved an ominous silence" on this question. There is somewhat of truth in this. "What has the Church done as an organized body," it is asked, "to counteract the spread of sentiment opposed to the very first principle professed by Christianity—that of the brotherhood of man? And in face of such culpable negligence can the Church still claim to have progressed and to be entitled to the recognition of living up to the divine command, 'Love thy neighbor as thyself?'"

In reply to these questions quotation of what the querist has just said of American preachers is decidedly apposite. So is his statement in *The Menorah Monthly*, page 71, of August, 1892, that leading men of all the German Churches denounce antisemitism, and that "societies for the suppression of antisemitism have been established at Berlin and Vienna, composed of the most representative men in the best and highest circles." So are his citations of Christian testimony to the tenacity of the Jewish racial character, its power of resistance to degrading forces, its family attachments and domestic virtues, its economy and sobriety, its thirst for knowledge, and its large-hearted charity. As an "organized body" the Church of Christ has not protested against Russian intolerance, for as a formally organized body it has no visible existence. But it has protested and does protest, and that forcibly, through many of its members. Joseph Jacobs† speaks of the "remonstrant appeals" and "the indignant protests of her [Russia's] Christian neighbors," and also of that deeply interested and protesting meeting at the Mansion House in London which "drew the attention of all Europe to the criminal apathy of the Russian government." What the Christian Church has done for its suffering coreligionists in Russia it has also done, and has done even more, for the outraged and despoiled Jews, and therefore has, to that extent, fulfilled the divine command, "Love thy neighbor as thyself." Wherever Christianity is best appreciated there the Jews receive fairest treatment. It is true that the Church has not finished her work at home, nor will she do so while humanity remains the sad admixture of good and evil that it now is. Much more has it not, as yet, succeeded in fully realizing the predictions of evangelical Isaiah and filled the world with peace, equity, and love. But it is doing much of what it is empowered to do, and is faithfully endeavoring to persuade the Jews, whom it regards as brethren, to walk with Christians in the fellowship of the Father and of his Son, our Lord Jesus Christ.

To this invitation the Jews object, and professedly for the reason that

* *The Menorah Monthly*, June, 1893. † *The Century*, July, 1893.

the Church has not accomplished its ostensible mission and, therefore, is not preferable to Judaism. Christianity, it must be conceded with sorrow, has not realized the consummation of its aims; but it has effected vastly more for the good of the world than Judaism has done, glorious as the record of the latter is. Lecky sets forth historic facts when he says:

> The high conception which has been formed of the sanctity of human life, the protection of infancy, the elevation and final emancipation of the slave classes, the suppression of barbarous games, the creation of a vast and multifarious organization of charity, and the education of the imagination by the Christian type, constitute together a movement of philanthropy which has never been paralleled or approached in the pagan (or Hebrew) world. The effects of this movement in promoting happiness have been very great. Its effect in determining character has probably been still greater. In that proportion or disposition of qualities which constitutes the ideal character the gentler and more benevolent virtues have obtained, through Christianity, the foremost place.*

Professor Bowne says:

> Our conceptions of God, life, and death have been greatly clarified by Christianity. Thereby a vast extension has been given to moral principles, and the sense of obligation has been reinforced. It also affirms an origin and destiny for man which give him an inalienable sacredness. By its edict of comprehension it makes all men children of a common Father and heirs of eternal life. . . . Christianity also sets up a transcendent personal ideal which is at once the master light of all our moral seeing and our chief spiritual inspiration. Thereby the thoughts of many hearts have, indeed, been revealed; for men never know so well what spirit they are of as when contemplating it. . . . Rights grow more sacred, duties enlarge, and the sense of obligation deepens. Love and loyalty to a person take the place of reverence for an abstract law. The law, indeed, is unchanged, but by being lifted up into an expression of a holy will it becomes vastly more effective.†

While candidly confessing the delinquencies of visible Christianity we are amply sustained by the evidence in asserting that it is progressing, and that with unprecedented rapidity, toward a realization of the highest conceivable religious ideal, a closer approach to life's noblest ends, and the sure elevation of the human race. It is only fair and courteous that we should ask, "Is Judaism progressing in the same direction?" Numerically its exponents and advocates increase. The chastity, sobriety, industry, frugality, dietary and sanitary laws, and religion of the Israelites all conduce to multiplication. But are they progressing in religious, ethical, and moral respects? Here also the answer must be affirmative. Readers of Jewish religious literature will not doubt that piety, godliness, and philanthropy receive strikingly beautiful illustrations among them. Spectators of synagogic and family worship see plainly that earnestness and high moral purpose characterize many in their devotions. Sermons and lectures in the temples are of high order, and instruction of youth is thorough and influential. In respect of churchly activity and communal liberality the Hebrews are worthy of warm praise. New York may serve as a sample of all American cities. In it are thirty-six places of worship known as synagogues or temples. These, as a rule, have crowded attend-

* *History of European Morals*, vol. i, pp. 100, 101. † *The Principles of Ethics.*

ance. There is also a very large number of minor congregations worshiping in halls in the lower part of the city. Sabbath (Saturday) morning services are held in six public hospitals, asylums, and free schools, and in the Jewish Theological Seminary. Sunday lectures are delivered from November to May, at eleven o'clock A. M., in the Temple Emanu-El. Thirty-two communal organizations are munificently maintained. Among them are hospitals, asylums, trade schools, immigrants' homes, free schools, working girls' clubs, nurseries, lying-in relief societies, training schools for nurses, immigrant aid societies, poor relief, ministerial, and cantors' associations. Eighteen sisterhoods for personal service, seven benefit societies, and two admirably appointed free libraries are always abounding in good words and works. The New York branch of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* cooperates with co-religionists everywhere in the preservation of Jewish racial and religious autonomy. Faith is shown by works, and these, with few exceptions, are as much in harmony with the ancient conception of the great law of love as are those of Christians with that conception of it so marvelously illustrated by their Lord and Saviour. In mechanical, mercantile, and professional pursuits the degree of honesty and efficiency falls little below that of a similar number of Gentiles. Some people affirm that it stands on an equally high plane. If it should fall far below that of surrounding non-Hebrew compatriots it is only what might be reasonably expected in view of their former experiences in the lands whence the majority came, Great Britain and France excepted. The simple fact is that the Jews are human beings and, as human beings, present blendings of good and evil similar to those apparent in people of other races. Good and evil in manifestation are modified by heredity, environment, and education. The good provokes enmity in the envious, and the evil intensifies the animosity with which strangers to their blood, religious usages, and social customs regard them.

Is there no occasion for the prejudice and repulsion of which all Israelites complain? That there are Jews and Jewesses in large numbers of rarely excellent culture, sound moral principles, pure religious nature, generous and delicate philanthropy, courtly and gracious manners, goes without saying to Christians who enjoy their acquaintance. That there are also Jews of both sexes who are offensive in manners and morals, loud, self-asserting, and obtrusive, greedy, overreaching, and overbearing, unprincipled, immoral, and vicious, is confessed with grief and shame by those of the better classes. Thus, at the dinner given by the Maccabæan Club, in London, on the 11th of June, 1893, to Lieutenant Colonel Goldsmid, agent of Baron Hirsch in his Argentine colonizing enterprise, the guest of the occasion is reported as saying: "But first I must say that in Buenos Ayres there are Jews who are a disgrace to Judaism, and when I think of them I am an antisemite of the most bigoted description."* In many other cities there are nominal Jews of the same category. That the former class is held responsible for the sins of the latter is no less an injustice than it is a certainty. All that the true

* *The American Hebrew*, p. 276. New York, June 30, 1893.

Israelite asks is that he be allowed to stand on his own merits, and that he be not iniquitously chastised for the faults and foibles of others, simply because they are of the same religious communion.

What of objectionable nature there is in certain Jews of the United States is alleged by citizens of European nations to be still more evident and offensive in Semites in other lands. Thus, in 1879, Professor Heinrich von Treitschke, the historian, pointed out in the *Preussische Jahrbuch* "the growing power of the Jews, their solidarity as a separate caste of foreign race in Germany, their arrogance in the press, their resentment at the slightest reference to themselves as *lèse majesté*, while daily indulging in unstinted criticism of everything and everybody." Throughout Germany thousands of books and pamphlets accuse the Hebrews of every imaginable crime. It was a South German Romanist, Dr. Sigl, who exclaimed, "Never mind, the Jews shall be burned." His party clamor for the admission of the Jesuits to harry the Liberals and to persecute the Jews. In Roumania the Jews, four hundred thousand in number, are accused of enthralling the five million subjects of the monarchy. In Austria hatred and vilification of the Jew are limited only by inability to give them public expression. Even in France "Jew-hatred is spreading by leaps and bounds." The conspicuity in that country of German Jews among the many persons implicated in the disastrous Panama collapse is doubtless one cause of this phenomenon. Italy is affected by Judæophobia. Great Britain and the United States query how the immigration of the outcast Russian Jews may be stopped. Russia is determined to oust her Hebrew population, at the cost of sacrificing every Christian principle and of the deeper degradation and more revolting barbarism that necessarily ensue from bigotry, greed, and outrage. All this is unequivocally condemned by Christian canons.

Is there any palliation for these enormities, any excuse or shadow of excuse for these wrongs? Antisemitism adduces what it claims to be justifying reasons for its procedures. Among these is the allegation that the Jews furnish by far the largest quota in proportion to their numbers of the exploiters of modern civilization; that is to say, of the men who study and toil to gain all the wealth and other worldly advantage they may out of finance, commerce, and journalism, out of politics, literature, science, and art, without regard to the rights and interests of contemporaries. The Jew, it is said, stands apart as a spectator of men's weaknesses, intent only on profit. Reuter, Wolff, and others who are Jews own and control the great international telegraphic news companies. Their co-religionists rule the money and produce markets. Neither are they, as a rule, creators of wealth. In purveying for popular amusements they are among the most successful leaders. They supply capital, *impresarios*, critics, and wealthy audiences. None know better what will "take" with the public. For offices, social triumphs, titles, and decorations their capacity is equal to, if it does not surpass, that of the Celtic Irish. Their lawyers crowd the courts and their judges the bench. Among intellectual combatants they are in the front ranks. None enjoy

the pleasures of sensuous life more immoderately or fully than they. Multitudes swarm in first-class ocean steamships, in the best hotels at summer watering places, and in the most fashionable streets of cities. Of Freemasonry, it is charged, they make unscrupulous use. In all business affairs and in all literary, dramatic, and musical matters they have the coherence of an iron ring.

Simultaneously with these accusations comes the admission that they are sagacious and safe advisers in monetary investments and commercial transactions, and that to their projective foresight very much of social prosperity is due. It is also confessed that in many of the shadiest transactions of public men in haste to be rich, transactions in which some of the highest and purest Aryans have been criminally prominent, hardly a single Jew has been inculpated. Even the meanness of malice is constrained to applaud the sublime disinterestedness of public-spirited benefactors like Sir Moses Montefiore and Judah Touro and of leaders like Emin Pasha in Africa, who aspire to the gratification of the grandest passions of ideal human nature, without regard to wealth, or fame, or sect. In central and eastern Europe the Jew is a trusted providence—prescient, frugal, ambitious, energetic, successful. Exceptional fitness for conflict in the battles of modern life is the secret of his success. Yankees, Yorkshiremen, and canny Aberdeen Scots possess the same secret in equal extent. The fierce light that beats upon Hebrew racial and religious isolation brings into bold relief all that is most obnoxious to the inefficient, intolerant, and unsuccessful, and exposes the Jew to their hatred. He naturally feels his superiority, indulges his instinct for dominion, and is not always considerate in demeanor toward inferiors of his own or other races. Professor von Treitschke construes the exultant exclamation of Professor H. Graetz, the Jewish historian and spokesman, that "the Jews are recognized; it only remains for the spirit of Judaism to be recognized as well," as meaning that Judaism must be recognized as a separate community within the nation, and laconically replies, "Never." If by recognition Professor Graetz means only that which is accorded to each of the one hundred and forty-six religious sects in the American republic there can be no objection, and especially if, as Mr. Ellinger insists, the persistent aim of Judaism be "to make man virtuous, pure in thought and action, loving and lovable, abnegating and altruistic, more spiritual and intellectual—at all times and under all systems." For "the essence of Judaism, consisting in the cognition of God and the duties flowing therefrom," Christianity has only abiding friendship. It is to that false conception of Judaism and, equally, to that false conception of Christianity, which identify either or both with man-made rites and policies, with superstitions and immoralities, with rancor and cruelty, that it opposes invincible dislike. Recognition of Judaism as an *imperium in imperio* would be intolerable to the spirit and culture of the times. Any desire for such abnormality is what American Hebrews emphatically disclaim. Their right to religious opinion, worship, and customs peculiar to themselves will never be disputed so long as the practical enjoyment of them does not collide with the funda-

mental principles of modern civilization. Neither will any fair-minded American regret their success in chosen walks of life so long as that success is achieved in truth, fairness, and equity. Conservatives object to the socialistic doctrines of Marx, Lasalle, and Singer, but make a sad mistake in the use of persecution rather than of sound argument in reply. The gospel of "getting-on" at any price, with the concomitants of "arrogance, ostentation, vulgarity, heartlessness, and neglect of every moral principle," is the product of human, and not exclusively of Hebrew, depravity. Many Jews and Gentiles walk in its lurid, misleading glare to inevitable destruction, the Jews being, perhaps, more conspicuous in proportion to numbers because of their special race endowments. The real source of evil in nineteenth century society is "want of sense and want of grace; in one word, Philistinism and Pharisaism of every kind." Between "the ideal standard of precept and the mean average of practice the distance is enormous." Neither Jew nor Christian is without cause of complaint. Both forget the brotherhood of man, the fatherhood of God, and their responsibility to an infallible divine Judge for all the deeds done in the body.

Yet despite all complaints it is plain, when we contrast the present with the past, that Christianity and Judaism, so far as they represent the divine in the Old and New Testaments, are progressing. But they are still far from perfect embodiments of ideal standards. What then shall be done by both under the circumstances? Let discussion be free, fearless, truthful, charitable. Let neither Jew nor Christian be afraid of "conversionism." If either be in possession of the highest system of truth, natural or revealed, it is sure to prevail. Let Christianity labor to embody its highest ideal—that exemplified by Jesus of Nazareth—in the individual and collective life. Let Judaism be no less solicitous and strenuous in embodying its "highest conception of the religious ideal." Let it not shrink from, but welcome, the fresh light that may break forth from God's written word upon its mind and heart. Let all parties abstain from using the diabolical weapons of malice and calumny. Together let them work for the "improvement of humanity" and consult how best to raise the morals of society, to redeem the corrupted and perishing, to relieve suffering, and to establish the kingdom of God upon earth. No true Christian can doubt the result of enlightened conference and kindly cooperation. In mutual provocation to love and good works each will bear the fruits of all that is of God in its religious system. Gladly will Christianity accept the proposal of modern Judaism as represented by Mr. M. Ellinger: "If, after years of unselfish labor, they have succeeded in removing sin and have made men better and life sweeter, then let them compare notes, and the Church that can show the highest and best results achieved may then ask the other to come over to her as having presented the highest and best credentials of being . . . the best beloved" of God.* "And so all Israel shall be saved" through and in our Lord Jesus Christ, who is God over all, blessed for evermore.

* *The Menorah Monthly*, p. 349. New York, June, 1893.

VERSIONS *VERSUS* VERNACULARS.

BISHOP VINCENT has well said, in a recent number of this *Review*, that "students—consecrated, persistent students, and only such—are needed in the Methodism of the twentieth century. . . . And that pulpit must fail to command public respect and attention which does not present in a thoughtful, wise, and forcible way the great and glorious teachings of our holy religion." This being undoubtedly so, we feel impressed to add a word in reference to a branch of ministerial study which not young preachers only, but also many of longer experience, are very prone to neglect, greatly to the detriment of their usefulness. We mean the study of the languages in which the Bible was written, and more particularly the study of the Greek, since it is the New Testament rather than the Old which must ever stand as the fountain head of authority for the Christian faith.

Many have emphasized the fact that the original records of our religion, unlike those of some other systems, are of such a nature as to readily lend themselves to the process of translation, so that in the various tongues of the earth all the essentials of salvation can be distinctly, forcibly, and attractively set forth. This is both true and very important. But it is also true and equally important that the Bible, like all other ancient books in their original forms, contains a great deal that cannot be translated. What could probably be said of any two languages can certainly be said of Greek and English, that no single word in one has a precise counterpart in the other. Neither terms nor idioms, neither habits of thought nor modes of expression in any two nations exactly correspond. Each Greek word has a history of its own, carries with it certain associations and suggestions amounting to an atmosphere, which must be somewhat different, and oftentimes are widely different, from that of the English word which, on the whole, comes nearest to it in point of significance and so would rightly and necessarily be made to represent it. It may be said that no two English words are absolutely synonymous. Much less would it be possible to find identity of meaning in any two words which had been separated all their lifetime by continents and seas.

We are obliged, then, to say that, while for the ordinary reader who seeks only to know the plain principles of religion any good translation of the New Testament is wholly sufficient, a careful study of the original, which may be truly called the real New Testament, is absolutely essential for the scholar, for the teacher, for the preacher, for him who wishes to penetrate deeply into the mind of the Spirit. That is the real New Testament which the writers of it themselves wrote, not that resemblance to it which, having passed through other minds, has suffered the inevitable modifications that such passage necessarily entails. Words, at the best, are very imperfect vehicles of thought; and when that thought has to struggle through a medium yet more complex, has to go from hand to hand, from mouth to mouth, its chance of becoming fully understood is

poor indeed. We must lessen as much as possible the likelihood of contamination by getting as close as we can to the source.

The thousand subtile distinctions and delicate shades of meaning involved in the topics of which the sacred writers treat are difficult to grasp under any circumstances. How slight, then, the probability of grasping them if they are approached only through the clumsy contrivance which we call a translation! The precise idea will certainly be missed in a vast number of cases by him who stops short of the very expressions which fell from the lips or the pen of the authors. All know how great is the difference between hearing a magnetic speaker and reading in cold print what he said. It is not simply what he said, but the way he said it, that makes the impression. The tones of the voice and the play of the features, the inflections, the gestures, the whole attitude and expression of the living orator as with soul on fire he throws himself into his audience —these things cannot be put in type. Closely similar is the difference between reading the New Testament in the original and reading it in a translation. In the Greek each sentence throbs with life; it speaks, it enters not simply into the ear, but into the heart. We seem to be in the very presence of Paul himself, of Peter, John, and James. St. Augustine's three wishes were, "To see Christ in the flesh, to hear Paul preach, to see Rome in its glory." The second of these is practically fulfilled to him who masters the Greek, and even the first is largely realized. Such is the vividness imparted to the words that we not only hear Paul preaching, we almost behold the Lord himself teaching and healing. Both the gospels and the epistles take on a freshness most inspiring. If it be, as Renan claims, that the Holy Land is a fifth gospel, then may we also say that to possess and peruse the Greek original of the New Testament is to find twenty-seven more books—is to have a doubled Testament.

Surely if this be so, if there are big nuggets of precious gold waiting for those who ply their picks with vigor in the mine of untranslated truth, if there are hidden gems of thought in abundance only needing to be diligently sought by means of lexicon and grammar, no preacher, without very weighty reasons, ought to excuse himself from the duty or deny himself the privilege of such search. No preacher who does thus excuse himself can feel as sure of his footing as he ought in any argument that turns on the exact statement of Scripture; for whole trains of reasoning frequently depend on the force of a tense or the nature of a particle. Nor can such a preacher exhibit in his pulpit treatment of sacred themes that originality of view and that calm consciousness of authority which come so readily from close contact with the very words of inspiration. His devotional hours will also miss many sweet morsels of nourishing food well fitted to strengthen his soul.

It is true that the Revised Version, so vastly superior to King James's in faithfulness of rendering, puts the English reader now in a position greatly improved from that which he occupied before. But a polished and elaborate version, which must endeavor to be a model of idiomatic English for the daily use of the common people, which can never indulge

in paraphrase, which is fixed upon, perhaps, as a compromise between strongly differing minds, which is under the necessity of conforming to previous versions, and whose creation is hedged about by a variety of other hampering conditions, is necessarily very different from the closely literal, vigorously phrased rendering which the habitual reader of the Greek Testament has full liberty to make for himself. It is also true that the commentaries give a great deal of the result of critical study. Yet they differ widely among themselves; they are often largely influenced by peculiar doctrinal prepossessions; and we frequently have to go through much that is questionable or extremely commonplace to sift out a little that is really valuable. It is better to go to the well and draw directly for one's self, even with rude appliances, than to depend on these beautiful but unsatisfying buckets belonging to others. No commentator does more than make a selection from the multitude of thoughts that come to him in his patient investigation of the inexhaustible word. He is quite likely to leave out the things which another would find the most profitable of all. Far preferable is it to make one's own selection.

He who reads, and reads continuously and largely, the sacred text till he is fully steeped in it will find the gospel truth standing out before him in its vital, vernacular power and making upon him an impression of beauty and majesty such as no translation, however excellent, can possibly produce. And to reach so desirable an end as this he will not, if wise, begrudge the labor involved. That labor to one who is fairly well grounded in the Greek tongue and has something of a taste for languages is not excessive. And with all the helps now at hand an accurate knowledge of New Testament Greek, together with a power of independent judgment as to the true meaning of the inspired word, is not beyond his reach. If he has that deep devotion to this word which should characterize everyone divinely called to expound it he will not consider slight changes of meaning unimportant, nor count his toil ill repaid when he has gained some comparatively minute advantage in the comprehension of eternal truth. As Bishop Ellicott well expresses it in the preface to his *Commentary on Galatians:* "If the Scriptures are divinely inspired, then surely it is a young man's noblest occupation patiently and lovingly to note every change of expression, every turn of language, every variety of inflection, to analyze and to investigate, to contrast and to compare, until he has obtained some accurate knowledge of those outward elements which are permeated by the inward influence and powers of the Holy Spirit of God. As he wearisomely traces out the subtle distinctions that underlie some illative particle or characterize some doubtful preposition let him cheer himself with the reflection that every effort of thought he is thus enabled to make is, with God's blessing, a step toward the inner shrine, a nearer approach to a recognition of the thoughts of an apostle, yea, a less dim perception of the mind of Christ. No one who feels deeply upon the subject of inspiration will allow himself to be beguiled into an indifference to the mysterious interest that attaches itself to the very grammar of the New Testament."

The importance of a knowledge of that grammar can be illustrated from almost every page of the sacred book and by citing in evidence any of the parts of speech. Take, for example, the article. It is a very little word, but its value was very imperfectly understood in the days of King James. For lack of regarding it our common version says (1 Cor. iv, 5), "Shall every man have praise of God," instead of "his praise." Other similar mistakes are found in Matt. xxiv, 12, "The love of many shall wax cold," instead of "the many;" John xvi, 13, "He will guide you into all truth," instead of "the truth;" and Rev. vii, 14, "These are they which came out of great tribulation," instead of "the great tribulation." Even the Revised Version, though it has corrected such glaring instances as the foregoing, has disregarded the article, with loss, in many other verses. See Acts xxvi, 24; 1 Cor. xv, 8; John iv, 22. On the other hand, it has inserted the definite article, without warrant from the original, in many cases where it would have been better to leave it out. "I am accused by Jews" (Acts xxvi, 2) is more strongly emphatic than "the Jews." "A son of a god" (Mark xv, 39) represents the exclamation of the centurion at the cross better than "the Son of God." See also Matt. xii, 41; Mark i, 3; 1 Cor. xiv, 4. The use or omission of the article with the different forms of the divine name in the original is very significant and instructive, though it cannot be closely followed in a popular version. Θεός, without the article, seems to throw the stress rather on the broad conception of the divine character, godhead in general; with the article it means *this* God, *our* God, the God of the New Testament. To say simply *υἱὸς θεοῦ* gives a much less definite view of our Lord's dignity and divinity than to say *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ*. "Jesus" and "Christ" almost always have the article in the gospels and the Acts to emphasize their primary significance —the Saviour and the Anointed. In the epistles the article is generally omitted, the words having become recognized as regular proper names. "Holy Spirit" takes the article when the person thus designated is spoken of personally in himself; but when the reference is to his gifts or manifestations among men, as being "filled with the Spirit," "walking in the Spirit," the article is omitted. The subtlety of the Greek mind is well shown by some of its usages respecting the article, usages not possible to be transferred to our ruder tongue and not always to be grasped by our heavier Western brains. For example, abstract nouns sometimes have the article and sometimes do not, always with a difference, no doubt, to the Greek perception; and usually this difference can be felt by one who studies it, can perhaps even be stated, while no translation could possibly indicate it.

The voices, words, and tenses of the Greek verb are very rich in distinction which cannot be indicated at all in any compact English form. It is very interesting to notice the difference in the middle voice, especially in its dative or appropriative sense, denoting action for one's self, as contrasted with the active voice under the same circumstances or even in the same phrases. An instance is in Acts xvi, 16, as compared with Acts xix, 24. In the first passage the verb for "brought much

gain" is in the active voice; in the second passage, where we have the same phrase and the same rendering, the verb is in the middle voice, indicating, probably, what is certain to have been the fact, that Demetrius had a more direct personal interest in the gains of the craftsmen than the damsel had in the gains of her masters. The well-known difference between the aorist and imperfect tenses is rarely indicated in our common version, and not always by the revisers, even where it would seem the natural rendering. Even where for euphony or to conform to the genius of our language the aorist must be rendered by the perfect or the present, it is worth while to know that the aorist, and not a real perfect or present, is in the original; for these tenses are never used interchangeably. In Luke ii, 48, it is "Child, why didst thou thus deal with us?" instead of "hast thou dealt." In 1 Peter v, 7, "Casting all your care on him," the participle is in the aorist, indicating an act done once for all, rather than a continuous casting. In many verses we find the two tenses in close contact, but always with sharp distinctness. In Matt. xxv, 5, "They all slumbered and slept," the first verb is aorist—"They all nodded or dropped off to sleep;" the second is imperfect, to show their state. In Mark vi, 41, "He blessed and brake the loaves," are aorists for single acts; "and gave to the disciples," imperfect—"kept giving." Matt. ii, 4, "Herod inquired of the scribes," is imperfect—"kept inquiring," repeatedly; verse 7, "learned of the wise men," aorist, one act. In 1 Peter ii, 23, 24, the verbs which describe Christ's not reviling and not threatening are imperfect; but when it adds, "He bare our sins upon the tree," the tense is changed to aorist—"bare once for all." Many scores, if not hundreds, of examples could readily be cited where the imperfect is rendered in our English translation by the indefinite past tense, as though it were an aorist, whereas it is manifestly used in the original in its own distinctive sense. In the narrative of the woman with an issue of blood (Mark v, 28, 32), "For she said, If I touch but his garments," and "He looked round about to see her," the imperfects indicate that she kept saying and that he looked around more than once. So in Luke iii, 7, "John said to the multitudes," the imperfect shows that it is not a single utterance that is referred to, but the frequent or habitual trend of his teachings. In Luke x, 18, "I beheld Satan fallen as lightning from heaven," the imperfect might well be rendered, "I was beholding Satan fall," that is, while you, my disciples, were expelling his subordinates. In Luke v, 6, the imperfect denotes that the nets only began to break, instead of being really broken. And in Heb. xi, 17, the imperfect is decidedly the right tense, for Abraham only began, or attempted, to offer up his son.

The study of the prepositions, both when taken by themselves and when taken as parts of compound verbs, is fruitful of profit and adds new interest to many passages. For instance, *ἀπὸ νεκρῶν* and *ἐκ νεκρῶν* must both be translated "from the dead," but they are not precisely the same; *ἀπό* is "from the outside," and *ἐκ* is "from within," so that *ἐκ νεκρῶν* denotes a more complete identification with the dead, "from among the dead"—a stronger expression. Both phrases are used in Luke

xvi, 30, 31. The preposition διὰ, with the genitive, denotes the instrument of the action; with the accusative, the ground of the action. An instance of the former is seen in Rom. xii, 3, "I say, through the grace given me;" of the latter in Rom. xv, 15, "I write unto you because of the grace given me." In 1 Cor. xi, 12, we have, "The man is by the woman" —διὰ γυναικός; in 1 Cor. xi, 9, we have, "The man was not for the woman" —διὰ τὴν γυναῖκα. The same distinction comes in a single verse in Heb. ii, 10, "It became him for whom (δι' ὃν) are all things, and through whom (δι' οὗ) are all things." The prepositions πρός and ἐπί, both used with the accusative case and both having the general meaning of motion toward or upon, are separated by the fact that πρός implies a reciprocal or reflexive action on the part of the person met, while ἐπί implies that the person or thing receiving the action is passive and makes no response. Thus ἐπί is used in Matt. vii, 24, "He built upon the rock," and Matt. xiv, 29, "He walked upon the waters." But we have πρός in Matt. xi, 28, "Come unto me," in Matt. xxiii, 34, "I send unto you prophets," and in John i, 1, "The word was with God;" for in all these cases the object of the preposition actively responds to the action indicated. Prepositions give force to the many phrases of which they form a part, a force which can by no means always be indicated in a translation, but which can easily be felt as an added element of beauty, picturesqueness, and power. Thus in Heb. xii, 2, ἀφορῶντες is not simply looking unto Jesus, but away from all else unto him. So ἐπίγνωσις is full knowledge, advanced instruction, given subsequently to the rudimental teaching.

There are many other little words besides the prepositions, like the particles, μέν, δέ, ἄν, γάρ, which can rarely be translated, but which have a modifying influence on the sentence, discernible by those acquainted with the Greek. The two negatives, οὐ and μή, are rendered by our one word "not," but they are never used interchangeably in the original. Οὐ is the objective negative, denies categorically, denies matters of fact, and so is common with the indicative mood; while μή is the subjective or conditional negative, denies matters of thought, and so is more common with the other moods. The answer "No" is expected to questions containing μή, the answer "Yes" to questions containing οὐ. "Is it I, Lord?" (Matt. xxvi, 22)—Μήτι ἐγώ εἰμι—that is, "It is not I, is it?" "Is this the Son of David?" (Matt. xii, 23,) that is, "This is not the Son of David, is it?" and "Am I a Jew?" (John xviii, 5,) that is, "I am not a Jew, am I?" all have μή; but in Matt. vii, 22, "Did we not prophesy in thy name?" οὐ is used, for an affirmative answer is expected. This difference between the objective and subjective use of the negative is seen with vividness in Matt. xxii, 11, 12. As a matter of *fact* the guest had not a wedding garment, which is expressed by οὐκ in the eleventh verse. In the twelfth the king inquires after the guest's mental attitude, "How camest thou in, thinking, I will not put on a wedding garment?" Here μή is required. The double negative οὐ μή is very emphatic and, especially where used with the subjunctive aorist, makes an extremely strong denial; but in most cases there is no attempt to indicate this additional

idea in the translation, though sometimes it is partly shown by the words "in no wise," "by no means," "not at all." It is this strong form of the negative which is used by Peter (Mark xiv, 31), "I will not deny thee;" by Thomas (John xx, 25), "I will not believe;" by Christ (Mark xiii, 31), "My words shall not pass away;" and again (Matt. xviii, 3), "Ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven."

Perhaps in no respect does the reader of the original gain more than in being able to note the subtle play of *emphasis*, which supplies so much of light and shade to the narration and often conveys important modifications of the thought. The variety of inflections is so great in Greek that the sentences can be formed without reference to the grammatical dependence of the word, and a flexibility of arrangement is possible that gives almost unlimited opportunity for expressing the emphasis which with us would have to be indicated by italics or by the tones of the voice. There is hardly a paragraph or even a verse in the New Testament in which the regular collection of the words is not somewhat departed from in a way that the most accurate translation could scarcely recognize or reproduce. The New Testament abounds in synonyms, which are used with careful distinction in the Greek, but which are represented in English either by the same word or by words which do not convey equivalent distinctions. For example, *ἱερόν*, used seventy-one times, and *ναός*, used forty-six times, are both translated "temple;" but neither could possibly be substituted for the other in the original without great loss or positive contradiction. So a great deal is lost in John xxi, 15–17, and in many other passages, by the fact that we have only one word, "love," for both *ἀγαπάω* and *φιλέω*, which express different kinds of love. The words *ἄλλος* and *ἕτερος* are both rendered "other;" but the first stands for numerical otherness, while the second signifies generic otherness, denoting a distinction in quality—a different thing instead of merely another thing of the same class. In Gal. i, 6, it is a "different gospel," not simply "another gospel," of which Paul speaks. In Acts vii, 18, it is a "different king," that is, one of a different character, who arose in Egypt after Joseph's death. In short, there are scores and scores of synonyms, whose study is a source of unfailing interest and profit.

The perusal of the Greek also brings out a great number of plays upon words, alliterations, and other niceties or peculiarities of style, necessarily lost in a translation. Instances of these are seen in Luke xxi, 11, *λοιμοί, λιμοί*; Rom. i, 29, *φθόνου, φόνου*; Matt. xxi, 41, *κακούς, κακῶς*; Matt. xvi, 18, *Πέτρος, πέτρα*; Acts viii, 30, *γινώσκεις, ἀναγινώσκεις*; 2 Thess. iii, 11, *ἐργαζομένους, περιεργαζομένους*. Under the same head would come the instructive comparison of the different forms of expression used by the four evangelists in narrating the same incident, the words especially favored by each (Mark employs *εὐθέως* forty times), and the medical terms brought in so copiously and accurately by Luke, the beloved physician. A considerable number of ambiguities and infelicities, if not positive mistranslations, will be detected, even in the Revised Version, by the careful student of the original. There is room for two examples only,

both from Acts: in xxii, 25, "Tied him up with the thongs" should be "Stretched him out for the thongs;" and in xxiii, 3, "God shall smite thee" is better rendered "God is about to smite thee." Some things that look like direct contradictions in the English are readily straightened out by a reference to the Greek. For instance, in Acts ix, 7, it is said of the men who surrounded Paul at his conversion that they heard the voice, while in Acts xxii, 9, it is said that they heard not the voice. But in the former verse the noun following the verb is put in the genitive case, while in the latter it is in the accusative, showing that they heard part of the voice, that is, the sound, but not the words that were said.

In hundreds of cases there is a most impressive figure wrapped up in the original word, giving graphic power and vivid reality to the statement which is necessarily lost to the English reader. For example, in 1 Peter v, 5, "Be clothed with humility," or "Gird yourselves with humility," the verb is from a term meaning a slave's apron; and humility is thus stamped as the working virtue, employed in ministering, which we are to fasten on for a badge of our subjection one to another, even as Christ girded himself with a towel. In 1 Peter ii, 21, "Leaving you an example" is literally "a writing copy," something to write under or trace over. Many hundreds of other instances there are where a strictly literal rendering, not fettered by the necessity of preserving graceful English, brings out the strength of the thought more freshly and richly.

It is certain that there are many thousands of places where an English translation, the very best available, must fail to convey, with perfect precision, the thought of the original. A careful writer in the *Quarterly Review* for January, 1863, gives the number of these places in Matthew and Mark as 2,326, or about one and one third to each verse. This was, of course, for the King James Version. In the Revised Version, according to our counting, there are about one third less. But the number in the epistles is fully twice as great as in the gospels. Anyone can see by looking over a Greek concordance to the New Testament that there are a score or more of English words each of which is used to translate from ten to thirty-three different Greek words and phrases; and there is an even greater number of Greek words each of which is translated in different places in the New Testament by from ten to twenty-two separate English words and phrases. If the two languages have so little correspondence as this in their vocabulary it cannot be accounted surprising, when all the other points of divergence which we have mentioned are also reckoned up, that he who would come at the real New Testament must read it as originally written. He who does this will find an inexhaustible field open before him and an ever-increasing delight gathering round his biblical investigations. He will feel that in doctrinal and controversial matters he is treading on the solid rock, and that in devotional pursuits he is brought into closest fellowship with those who have possessed the fullness of the divine Spirit. He can have no better occupation for his leisure hours or his busy moments, nothing that will do more to increase his efficiency as a man, a Christian, and a minister.

PROGRESS OF CIVILIZATION.

SELF-MASTERY is at once the hardest lesson and the highest honor of existence. To dominate the animal world does not of necessity imply nobility of soul. Brute force is successfully overcome by human strength, directed by a masterful human brain to the best results; the muscular Samson, by the vigor of his right arm, easily tore a young lion in twain, and Hercules in his infant strength strangled the venomous serpents that would destroy him. Again, to discover the secrets of the natural world and add to the treasures of science does not necessitate personal dignity. Albeit such great souls as Humboldt, Audubon, and Agassiz lived close to nature's heart and drew therefrom her priceless secret, yet an investigator destitute of large sympathy with rock or flower or bird, passionate, envious, and so sordid in his soul that scientific investigation means to him merely a livelihood, may unfold the mysteries of creation. Nor does rulership over man imply moral excellence. The good kings and queens of history are in the minority. On the thrones of the centuries sit the Pharaohs, the Cæsars, the Borgias. Dissoluteness too often has lived unchecked in the palace; rapacity has held the scepter; cruelty has made the laws for the great kingdoms of history; and none the less in the present age—which optimists in their clarified vision are pleased to call the best of all epochs in human story—viciousness too often rules. In fact, there is legitimate room for the critic to question whether the race is making particular advance in practical morals. Virtue seems almost at a standstill. The surface indications show a resistless trend toward self-relaxation. It is the age of the sensuous man. He has come into a paradise adorned with flowers, odoriferous with perfumes, and rich with clustered fruitage. If Christianity was never more clear in its experience or more fixed upon the prize of its high calling, worldliness was never more determined, unabashed, or extreme. The old evils are newly vigorous. Gambling, whether upon the stock exchanges and bourses, on the race courses, or at the Baden-Badens of the two hemispheres, was never so fascinating in its glittering charms or deadly in its ruination. Alcoholism, like the hideous Medusa of story, fills the world with the noxious vapor of its breath; and what Perseus, himself free and fearless, has the prowess to rid the earth of the monster? Assault and murder come with every sunrise. Cain yet flames with anger at the superior merit and reward of his brother and strikes Abel to the ground. How little advance in self-government has the nineteenth century man made over primeval man! Progressive in all departments of inquiry, striding onward like a giant in archæological excavation, chemical experimentation, geological pursuit, *belles lettres*, or theological definition, he stands where Adam stood—face to face with personal tastes and tendencies that are out of consonance with virtue, and called upon in the exercise of his own sovereignty to build under such adverse conditions a personal character for the eternities. Nor is the difficulty of

the struggle for self-rulership to be underestimated. The true man would sooner dare all the lions in Trajan's arena than the rampant, raging passions of his own soul. Because the rewards of virtue, in men's opaque vision, appear so remote, so uncertain, so inconsequential, self-mastery does not seem worth the struggle; because the recompenses for worldliness are so visible and alluring, men consent to its slavery. And yet the permanence of civilization turns on self-victory. Convinced alike of the necessity and the grandeur of such a triumph, the wise teacher of Israel reckoned him who rules his own spirit better than "he that taketh a city."

THE transformation of New England is one of the later social developments which challenge the notice of all readers of American history. No section of the nation has less in its record of which to be ashamed or more for which to feel a glorious pride. What New England has been and done is an oft-told story. Favorably situated as to geographical location for playing the hostess to the visiting Puritans from Holland, near three centuries ago, she could not well have nurtured a lower type of nobility than that which she developed under their molding influence. Great statesmen have sprung into life and activity upon her favorable soil. Standish, Bradford, Brewster, and Carver, among the Pilgrim fathers, and the Winthrops, early governors of Massachusetts and Connecticut, were not men of small caliber. They were the worthy predecessors of Warren, who shed his lifeblood at Bunker Hill; of Israel Putnam, rugged hero of the War of Independence; of the elder and younger Adams; of Elbridge Gerry, Roger Sherman, and Oliver Wolcott, leading spirits among the signers of the Declaration of Independence; of Webster and Sumner, illustrious orators in the halls of our national legislation; of Andrew and Buckingham, the famous "war governors" of a generation since. Surely no section of the broad nation has been more prolific of great statesmen! In education, also, the older New England was at the front. Always the friend and patron of the public school, its elementary scholastic institutions were coeval with its first settlement. But it early grew ambitious also for colleges. In 1636—a remote period, as the rapid American reckons time—the foundations of the great Harvard University were laid at Cambridge; in 1700 the beginnings of Yale, its strong competitor, were made—both of them having their origin in the consecrated hearts and exalted purpose of Christian clergymen. Thenceforward liberal education has had no more loyal promoter than New England. Inducing students to seek her academic halls by the superior advantages she has offered, she long since became the schoolmistress of the nation. In theology, also, New England has attained to leadership. As the arena of Bellamy and Edwards, of the Days and Dwights, of the elder Beecher, of Channing, Starr King, and Theodore Parker, of the peerless Phillips Brooks, and as the burial place of George Whitefield, naught less would be expected of her than authoritative theological teaching. Inclining for the greater part to those sterner views

of life which follow belief in the divine sovereignty, she has, therefore, nurtured that type of character which exalts conscience above commercial interests and duty above desire. Martyrdom has been easy on her soil. The days of persecution ended, she is still the mother of religious enthusiasts, and out of the multitude of her sons has sent forth, without beggary to herself, stalwart Christian devotees to colonize the republic. Thrice hail to thee, New England, for thy illustrious record!

But the New England of history, like all things terrestrial, seems to have been passing through a transitional experience. With much that is great and noble in her present record she has yielded, nevertheless, to the commercial and secular influences of the day. Though she is yet a leader in educational and religious thought, other competitors have entered into the field to dispute her supremacy. Nor has she perpetuated her race of statesmen; but the time-serving, mercenary politician has long since entered her halls of legislation and filled those sacred shrines with the tables of the money changers. But in the shifting nationalities of the New England population is seen one of the most noteworthy of all mutations. The Scandinavian, the Irish, and the French Canadian have taken large possession of the fair land which the Puritans wrested from savage hands. Passing into the rural sections, they are acquiring ownership in farms; and, flocking in multitudes to the factory towns and manufacturing cities of New Hampshire and Massachusetts, they hold in their hands the preponderance of religious and political power. Protestantism, moreover, has become second to Romanism in numbers, incredible as the fact may seem to those who complacently have felt that New England was the very citadel of the Protestant faith. In the six New England States, by the census of 1890, are found 1,005,120 Catholic communicants against 763,987 Protestant communicants. Among all the sectional transformations in the rapid development of our American life, the changes which we note are among the most remarkable. To what they shall lead we may not prophesy. Yet under new conditions at least must New England work out the problem of her responsibility.

How far have the advances in invention affected human happiness? The presence at the naval reviews last spring, side by side with the highly developed war vessels of the world's maritime powers, of the caravels modeled after the three frail ships with which Columbus discovered this hemisphere was an object lesson not soon to be forgotten. The arrival more recently of the viking ship from Norway still further emphasizes the vast progress which the world has made since the days when Leif Ericsson and swarms of other hardy Norsemen scoured the northern seas, ravaging distant coasts and finding unknown continents. When Columbus set out from Palos, America was still unrevealed to the nations of Europe; Africa, uncircumnavigated and unexplored, lay wrapped in the darkest and profoundest mystery; Asia was a land of fable, knowledge of which was furnished by excited and unrestrained imagination. Learn-

ing had but just revived; printing was a new art; the Reformation was to be realized a generation farther in the future; Europe was Catholic; and whole histories, now familiar, were but unfulfilled designs in the mind of Providence. The viking ship carries us yet farther back into the past, to the times of the Danish invasions of England, when King Alfred held sway, and English—the greatest language the world has ever seen—was as yet an unborn tongue; to the foundation of Dublin and other Danish strongholds on the Irish coast; to the legendary times of Hamlet and Macbeth; to the times of the Carlovingians in France, when, but a century after Charlemagne, the vikings wrested from his weak successor the fair realm of Normandy; to the romantic settlements in Iceland, Greenland, and the misty Vinland; to the time when not a printed book was in existence, and men still believed that the earth was flat and stationary in space. These vessels are now in Chicago—itself among the greatest marvels of the world—where are also on exhibit the actual first trains which ever ran upon American railroads. These, though vastly more modern than the vessels of which the caravels and the viking ship are models, still carry us back to the old days when a stagecoach ran twice a week from New York to Philadelphia, and once a week from New York to Boston, and when Chicago was merely a convenient portage at the junction of its river with the lake. What reminders are they of the changes occurring within the present century!

Yet it is a matter for discussion, after all, how much the happiness of mankind has been increased by the great improvements in its material condition. We are undeniably happier in some ways than were the peoples of the past, because less barbarous and more humane. Wars are now less frequent, are more quickly ended, and are not often accompanied with such scenes of pillage, of cruelty, and of lust as were common in other times. We do not now burn our brothers at the stake for a difference in opinion. Breaking upon the wheel has been happily discontinued, though four centuries ago this was a legal punishment in more than one civilized country of Europe. Yet perhaps the average man was as contented then as now; for happiness, after all, is subjective, and not so dependent upon outer circumstances as is sometimes imagined. In the times described in Genesis we find in full play the same passions of love and hate, of joy and sorrow, of hope and despair which make or mar our happiness to-day. The eastern patriarch lived to a good old age, surrounded with a healthful atmosphere of peace and domestic joy, and, after a life of pastoral simplicity, was gathered to his fathers amid the lamentations of his kinsmen. The tranquil shepherd on the Assyrian plains, studying the glories of the heavens in the calm silence of the starlit night, was perhaps as capable of happiness as the feverish merchant or manufacturer of our time. Humanity has ever sought for happiness; and in all ages has it found it, not in conditions depending upon invention, but in family and social fellowship, in the cultivation of philosophic contentment, and, most of all, in the religion which is designed to satisfy human unrest and aspirations.

THE ARENA.

"THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS."

THERE was published in 1735 a volume entitled *A Survey of London, Westminster, Southwark, and Parts Adjacent.* It contains, with other valuable data, a history of the origin of the above society, the oldest surviving Protestant missionary society in the world. The extracts from this work herein given are set before the reader *verbatim et literatim.* They will spread before his vision the coagency of Church and State in the Christianization of churchless emigrants to foreign fields as well as of native-born citizens of the colonies in the sustentation of parochial libraries and educational culture, and in ministerial supervision. This "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts" was organized in 1701, in the thirteenth year of the reign of William III. Says the record:

Another Society there is in London which was set on Foot by a generous and most extensive Charity to carry Religion all the World over, and it is called *The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.* This Society obtained a Patent for making them a Corporation from King *William*, whose letters Patent bore date at Westminster the 16th of June in the 13th year [O. S.] of his reign; the cause whereof, as mentioned in said patent, was that in many Plantations, Colonies and Factories beyond the seas belonging to England, the provision of ministers was very mean, and many others of them wholly destitute and unprovided of a maintenance for Ministers and the Publick Worship of God. And, that, for want of Support and Maintenance of such many of the King's Subjects wanted the Administration of God's Word and Sacraments, and seemed to be abandoned to Atheism and Infidelity. And also for Want of Learned and Orthodox Ministers to instruct his said Subjects in the principles of true Religion divers Romish Priests and Jesuits were the more encouraged to pervert and draw them over to Popish superstition and Idolatry.

Letters patent were issued to the Society, embodying in the incorporation ninety-four members, "Bishops, Clergy, Nobility, and Gentry, enabling them to purchase 2000£ *per Annum*, Inheritance, and Goods and Chattles of any value." The act of incorporation provided for an annual meeting, to be held on the third Friday in February, "to chuse one President; one or more Vice-President or Vice-Presidents; one or more Treasurer or Treasurers; two or more Auditors; a Secretary; and such other Officers, Ministers and Servants as should be thought convenient for the Year ensuing." Thomas, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, was, by the act, made the first president of the Society, with instructions to "cause a Summons to be issued to the several members to meet within 30 Days after the passage of this Charter, and proceed to the election" of the other Officers of the Society, who were to continue in office until the third Friday in February, 1701 [O. S.], or until their successors should be duly chosen. The charter also provided:

The President, Vice President and seven members must be present and consent to every act so as to make it valid; the Society must, every year, give an account,

in writing, to the Lord Chancellor or the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, or any two of them, of the several sums of money by them received and paid out by Virtue of these Patents &c, and of the Management and Disposition of the Revenues and Charities.

The seal of the Society was orbicular. On the outer circle was engraved, in Latin, the name of the Society. The central part represented a ship under full sail bound to a foreign shore; natives of the distant lands are pictured on the seacoast with outstretched hands or on their knees; on the prow of the ship stands a minister, clad in priestly gown, looking toward those on the shore and "holding the Gospel open in his right Hand." In the interior is the motto of the Society: "*Transiens adjuva nos.*" In the sky above is the sun shining in meridian glory.

On February 15, 1702, in a general meeting of the Society it was agreed that all the bishops in the realm favorable to the Society should, through their archdeacons and other officials, issue a public call to all ministers who were willing to go forth as missionaries to send their letters to their several bishops, who should transmit them to the Bishop of London, who, after examination of the candidates as to their adaptation to the work, should assign to each one his field of labor. To aid still further this grand enterprise the Society issued the following proposal:

For Securing Parochial Libraries in the Foreign Parts; the Design of which was that men of Parts and addicted to Study be provided with such literary advantages in the Foreign Parts as they might have should they stay at home. And lastly: that every Parochial Minister in the Plantations have a Library of well chosen books in which he might spend his Time to his own Satisfaction and with Improvement and Profit both to himself and others.

The thoroughness of the plan is indicated by the following provisions: that a catalogue of books needed for such a library should be prepared by the Lord Bishop of London; that such a library should be sent to every parish in the foreign plantations (especially to Maryland and Virginia); that every library should "be affixed in a decent and large Room of the Parsonage-House of each Parish;" that, to prevent "loss or embezzlement," the commissary should inspect each library triennially and the parish minister be held responsible for any loss in his parochial library; that authors, clergymen, laymen, merchants, and others should be invited to make donations of books, money, or other means for promoting this philanthropic work. The indorsement of this plan is given as follows:

We do look upon this Design, as what will very much tend to propagate Christian Knowledge in the Indies, being they will in all Likelihood, invite some of the more studious and virtuous Persons out of the Universities to undertake the Ministry in those Parts, and will be a Means of rendering them useful when they are there. And therefore as we shall contribute chearfully towards promoting of those Parochial Libraries, so we hope that many Persons will be found, who out of Love to Religion and Learning will also contribute thereunto.

THO. CANTUAR. ED. WORCESTER.
JO. EBOR. SYMON ELIENSIS.
H. LOND. J. NORWICH.
W. COV. ET LITCH.

To this Society the Methodist Episcopal Church owes an imperishable debt of gratitude. From these parochial libraries and the intelligent, warm-hearted clergymen who had charge of them the heaven-called Francis Asbury and many of our early fathers in the ministry obtained much of their reading, which, together with the Holy Scriptures, helped to make them men of wisdom, knowledge, and sound minds—princes in Israel, judges and rulers in the Church of God. In conclusion, let there be in the year 1901 a World's Missionary Convention, where all Protestant Christians shall come together in holy union and conjointly provide for the issuing of the sacred Scriptures in their own vernacular to every nation, tribe, and tongue on this globe. Then shall the earth be filled with the knowledge of the glory of God. GEORGE A. PHOEBUS.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

THE RELATION OF YOUNG CHILDREN TO THE CHURCH.

THE position taken by H. C. Benson, in the May–June number of the *Methodist Review*, as to the moral and spiritual status of infant children appears to be the correct one. His conclusions are sustained by the Scriptures as interpreted by Dr. Scott, Richard Watson, Dr. D. D. Whedon, Bishop Merrill, and the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Infant children, by virtue of the unlimited atonement made by Jesus Christ, are subjects of the kingdom of God and heirs of eternal life. But what relation, if any, do they sustain to the Church?

In the Discipline, Paragraphs 43–48, we are told that by virtue of the spiritual status of young children they are graciously entitled to baptism and thereby placed in visible covenant relation to God and under the special care and supervision of the Church. The Discipline specifies that they shall be under the watchful care of the pastor, who shall see that their names are properly registered; that they shall be organized into classes with suitable leaders; that when they "shall understand the obligations of religion and shall give evidence of piety they may be admitted into full membership in the Church, on the recommendation of a leader with whom they have met at least six months;" and further directs the pastor and leaders and stewards' meeting to make provision for the Christian training of such children as may be deprived of Christian guardianship by orphanage or otherwise. The Discipline recognizes a possible vital relation between baptized children and the Church; but in fact, with the exception of a few churches, no such relation is maintained. The machinery of the Church is operated upon the "pound of cure" principle, rather than the "ounce of prevention" principle.

In foreign and domestic mission work, and in new fields generally such as our Methodist fathers cultivated, the chief energies of the Church may properly be directed to the restoration of the wanderer; and this will we do everywhere and evermore if the necessity be upon us. But it does seem that a well-organized Methodist Episcopal Church should receive the majority of her baptized children into full membership from the chil-

dren's classes, and not as converts from the outside world. And, alas, so many of them are not received at all! We put upon the lambs of the flock the Lord's mark, baptism, and then too often allow them to wander into the wilderness. It is not strange that when we seek them in after years they know not the voice of the shepherd and care not for the sheepfold.

Monroeville, N. J. HOWARD J. CONOVER.

CAN NATURAL SCIENCE ACCOUNT FOR MIRACLES?

WE venture to affirm that it cannot, and for this very obvious reason: miracles are effects produced by divine power acting in nature, independently of nature's laws, in proof of the divine authority of a doctrine or in attestation of such authority in the person who performs them; or, in other words, they demonstrate the presence of divine power. Therefore they are outside the field of scientific research, and any attempt to explain them on purely scientific principles is, from the very nature of the case, misleading. For if they can be so explained they are thereby shown to be no more than effects produced by scientific experts, and those works that have passed as miracles were only masterly and successful scientific experiments. The most they can prove concerning the worker is that he is in advance of his age. Instead of being miracles they were, at most, only prodigies, and the notion of miracles is a mere concept or a figment of the imagination. There can be no miracle as a fact. Such successful experiments can no more prove the divinity of Christ than the achievements of Edison prove him divine.

For this reason I submit that any theory of miracles which omits the evidential element or assigns it to a secondary place is inefficient. If "the chemical affinity by which water was converted into wine is the divine power in nature," is not gravitation also? And are not heat, light, magnetism, electricity, and, indeed, all the other forces of nature divine? I can see no good reason for making any distinction in favor of "chemical affinity." If nature's forces are God's powers is not nature God? This idea is evidently based on pantheism, as making the creature and the Creator one. If "God is the ever-present source of all the forces in the universe and in the system of nature," and if in miracles "the force is not new," "but only its manifestation is new," then in what special feature do the so-called miracles differ from the startling scientific discoveries of to-day? The Bible view of the raising of Lazarus is that it was an act of divine power wholly transcending the powers of nature and in contravention of its established order. Whatever may be said of the life emanating from Christ, as "very God of very God," in the raising of Lazarus, we know that that event was not according to any law known in nature. Hence, the force which thus caused life to resume its course was new to nature.

As an evidence of divinity miracles must manifest power transcending any and all other powers. Hence, Christ came working miracles. I believe in Christ as divine because he proved himself divine and appealed

to his works as proofs of his divinity in the presence of his enemies, who were able to judge of his acts, having been eyewitnesses of them. Without this evidence we would not be able to rest our faith on him as very God of very God; for, it is to be remembered, paganism claims many incarnations in its mythology. But our Saviour proved his divinity by "many infallible signs."

W. J. BARGER.

Sutton, Neb.

THE HOLY GHOST AND HUMAN TEMPERAMENT.

No man can save a soul. He can only influence the will, which is the executive department of our human nature, to yield to the claims of Christ, by faith in whom alone the soul is redeemed. But there are various approaches to the will; through the intellect, for instance, by the processes of argument and logical reasoning, and through the affectional and emotional nature, by the processes of kindly persuasion, by the use of pathetic incident, and in other ways.

Who is the most successful soul-winner—the man fully possessed by the Holy Ghost, and yet lacking in the attractiveness of a winning personality as indicated by all those details of carriage, voice, and happy combination of temperamental qualities by which man is drawn to man; or he who, wanting in all the elements of a deep spirituality, and yet persuaded of the truth, persuades to the truth through the medium of a nature richly endowed with all persuasive qualities? Of a company of ministers equal in consecration, intelligence, and energy some will be more successful in their fundamental duty of soul-winning than others. All ministerial success depends, of course, on the power of the Holy Ghost; but do not the personality, the inherent characteristics of some men better adapt them than others to be channels through which divine grace shall flow? Some are opaque, absorbing light; others are mirror-like, reflecting most of the light which they receive; still others are receivers but not distributers of truth.

Every true minister has a passion for souls; but is that passion in every case equally gratified? Many a minister whose integrity and consecration and all-absorbing yearning to reach men no one would question must yet remain content with meager results. "Ye shall receive power after that the Holy Ghost has come upon you." Yes, indeed; but are there not differences of power? or, to shape the thought a little differently, are there not varying capacities for its distribution? Does not temperament count in the work of a minister? The water of life always satisfies a thirsty soul; but are the channels through which it is conveyed always sufficient? If by the power of the Holy Ghost alone men were to be persuaded of the truth the world ere this would have ceased its rebellion, for he is infinite. The antecedent to his coming is the preaching of mortal men; and his power is restricted by the mental and temperamental embarrassments incident to the human family, some members of which have been called to preach the precious truth of Jesus and his love.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

WILLIAM W. GILLIES.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

EXEGETICAL.—"ALMOST," OR "WITH BUT LITTLE." ACTS XXVI, 28.

ONE of the passages of Scripture which our Revised Version has greatly changed is Acts xxvi, 28, 29. The revisers read, "*With but little persuasion* thou wouldest fain make me a Christian. And Paul said, I would to God, that *whether with little or with much*," etc. The words italicized are those to which reference is here made, especially those in the former verse. The American company substitute, as an alternative reading, "In a little time" for "with but little persuasion," and "both in little and in great, that is, in all respects," for "whether with little or with much." The stress of the discussion must rest on the change in the twenty-eighth verse, where our Authorized Version reads, "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian." The proper interpretation of this passage is so important in its relation to preaching that it forms a fitting topic for consideration at some length in the Itinerants' Club.

The translations of some of the versions will show the earlier views of this passage. Wyclif's version, 1380: "And agrippa seide to poul, in litil thing thou counceilist me to be made a cristen man;" Tyndale, 1534: "Agrippa sayde unto Paul: Sumwhat thou bringest me in mynde for to be come a Christen;" Cranmer, 1539: "Agryppa sayde unto Paul: Sumwhat thou bryngest me in mynde for to be come Chrysten;" Geneva, 1557: "Then Agrippa sayed unto Paul, Almost thou persuadest me to become a Christen;" Rheims, 1582: "And Agrippa said to Paul: A little thou persuadest me to become a Christian;" Authorized Version, 1611: "Then Agrippa said unto Paul, Almost thou perswadest mee to bee a Christian."

A reference to some of the commentators shows the meaning attached to these words by earlier and later theologians. Chrysostom says, "Ἐν ὀλίγῳ [that is, within a little, *almost*] thou persuadest me to be a Christian." In a note it is said:*

> It appears that Chrysostom supposes that Paul, as an ἰδιώτης, that is, not conversant with the elegancies of Greek style, did not perceive what Agrippa's phrase meant (namely, as here explained, παρὰ μικρόν), but supposed it to be the same as ἐν ὀλίγῳ, "with little ado"—that is, "Thou makest short work to persuade me, as if it were an easy thing, to be done in brief;" therefore Paul answers.

This is evidently Chrysostom's explanation of Paul's use of μεγάλῳ in the next verse. The point to be noted is his explanation of ἐν ὀλίγῳ by "almost." Calvin says:

> Valla thought that it ought to be translated thus: "Thou dost almost make me a Christian." Erasmus doth translate it "a little." The old interpreter dealeth more plainly, "in a little;" because, translating it word for word, he left it to the readers to judge at their pleasure. And surely it may be fitly referred unto

* *Library of the Fathers*, Parker's Oxford ed., p. 688.

the time, as if Agrippa had said, "Thou wilt make me a Christian straightway," or "in one moment." If any man object that Paul's answer doth not agree thereto we may quickly answer; for, seeing the speech was doubtful, Paul doth quickly apply that unto the thing which was spoken of the time. Therefore, seeing Agrippa did mean that he was almost made a Christian in a small time, Paul addeth that he doth desire that as well he as his companions might rise from small beginnings and profit more and more; and yet I do not mislike that ἐν ὀλίγῳ doth signify as much as "almost."

Grotius remarks: "Est locutio bene Græca. Nam et Plato dixit in Apologetico: ἔγνων οὖν καὶ περὶ τῶν ποιητῶν ἐν ὀλίγῳ τοῦτο, Prope idem de poetis cognovi." Meyer, on the other hand, translates, "with little," and quotes Œcumenius to the same effect. He says that most expositors either adopt the meaning, sometimes with and sometimes without the supplement of χρόνῳ, "in a short time," or "propemodum, parum abest, quin." So also Ewald, who calls to his aid the ן of value, "for a little," that is, "almost." For the use of χρόνῳ in a similar connection we may note Plato's Apology.* We have the phrase ἐν οὑτωσὶ ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ. Alford and other modern commentators favor the view which has the authority of the revisers. We thus see that the current of early exegesis favors our Authorized Version "almost," while the later expositors favor "with but little."

We note, further, that almost all the earlier translators convey the idea that the expression of Agrippa was not one of contempt or irony by which he would reject the idea of any impression having been made upon him by Paul, but rather that an impression had been made upon his mind favorable to the religion of which Paul was the defender and representative. The state of the argument growing out of the contextual relations of these words will be considered in another paper.

THE FOUNTAIN THAT IS PURE.

In considering the sources of religious doctrine and religious life it is very important that we do not allow ourselves to be diverted from the true and only reliable one—God's revelation in the Holy Scriptures. Whatever may be found elsewhere in the world of science or the world of philosophy must be regarded as tributary to or a preparation for the "true Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." "Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth." He is found nowhere else but in God's word. In the Old Testament he is presented; in the New he is historically set forth. We have no satisfactory teaching in natural religion. Paul in his masterly presentation in the first chapter of Romans declares as the teaching of the natural world God's "eternal power and Godhead;" but no one who has ever thought independently of revelation has developed any character or life or mission at all comparable to that of Christ. Whether it be his person or his teachings which we study, we always find that which is beyond anything that men

* *Opera Platonis*, Tauchnitz ed., vol. i, p. 43.

can produce. The only fountain out of which this pure truth concerning Christ flows is the sacred word.

The religion of nature has never developed the true scriptural idea of the origin of the world, the unity of the race, a complete system of morals, a firm doctrine of immortality and of future blessedness. Up to this time no era of thought at all comparable to revelation has proceeded from natural religion. What has natural science furnished that is at all helpful to the human soul? That in many things its opinions should be in harmony with the truth and in its own sphere be absolutely true we will not question. The laws of nature are uniform. Destitute of will nature knows no sin, and hence neither penalty nor forgiveness. It moves forward with a blind causality, destitute alike of hope or despair. There is no help in that direction such as many expect. A New York newspaper years ago gave extracts from several letters addressed by distinguished men to the founder of what was called a Theistic Church in that city. Max Müller, of Oxford, wrote:

> The true religion of the future will be the fulfillment of all the religions of the past. The true religion of humanity, that which is the struggle of history, remains as the indestructible portion of all the so-called religions of mankind. . . . All here on earth tends toward right and truth and perfection; nothing here on earth can ever be quite right, quite true, quite perfect—not even Christianity, or what is now called Christianity, so long as it excludes all other religions, instead of loving and embracing what is good in each. Nothing, to my mind, can be sadder than reading the sacred books of mankind, and nothing more encouraging. They are full of rubbish; but among that rubbish there are old stones which the builders of true temples of humanity will not reject, must not reject, if their temple is to hold all who worship God in spirit, in truth, and in life.

Dr. James Martineau does not speak so encouragingly:

> There seems to me to be several distinct sources in our nature from which the religions of the world have sprung, giving them most divergent values and necessitating permanent antipathies between them as ineradicable as between truth and falsehood, right and wrong. The antipathies wear out when the religions wear out, and that is the story of to-day. But I have more respect to monotheistic aversion to idolatry and nature worship in loyalty to the God of righteousness than to the modern search for sympathy in empty abstractions or æsthetic mysticisms.

Reading this passage between the lines, we should regard it more as a criticism of the theistic movement than an indorsement of it. Mr. O. B. Frothingham wrote:

> There are three prevailing ideas of the source of religion: 1. That it was a communication by the supreme Mind and by it adapted to the intellectual conditions of mankind. 2. That it was an outgrowth from human nature. 3. That it was a divine communication in its origin, but was subject to the accidents of a changing and deviating race.

The last is the gospel which Mr. Frothingham preached so long in New York, and in the propagation of which he himself confessed that his Church was a failure. The Church's safety is in the truth of Scripture. As ministers of the word, let us ever drink from the sacred source, the fountain that is pure.

PRESERVATION OF MATERIALS.

(*Continued.*)

To all interested in the subject the following communication will be of special interest. In a private letter to the Editor its author writes: "As an evidence that missionaries are not wholly disinterested spectators of what is going on in the centers of civilization it may commend itself as worthy of acceptance at your hands."

EDITOR ITINERANTS' CLUB: Having profited by the experience of brother ministers, I would fain place mine at the disposal of young itinerants who, at the beginning of their ministerial careers, are casting about for a really effective and reasonably simple plan for obtaining a thorough and permanent command of the literature that comes within their purview, and are desirous more especially to be able readily and easily to utilize the wealth contained in their own libraries. The plan I have adopted, the practical operation of which for some years past has afforded unmixed satisfaction, is one that because of its manifest superiority has in my work permanently superseded two other plans. Brethren to whom I have recommended it are enthusiastic in its praise. My apparatus and its *modus operandi* may be described as follows:

First, I give every book in my library its distinctive number, by which to be identified as long as it remains in my possession. This is not necessary in the case of cyclopedias, commentaries, and dictionaries, though it may be a convenience to include these also. It is optional whether the number be affixed to the book. If affixed, it should be by means of a gummed label on the exposed lettered back, as near to the top as possible, to insure a longer and more cleanly lease of life. In the first few pages of what I call my *Library Ledger*—a specially prepared blank book of about five hundred closely ruled pages, duly numbered and provided with an index—I have an accurate register of all my books with their assigned numbers. In this *Library Ledger* I open a separate account in the appropriate place with every topic that has commended itself to me as worthy of reference in the course of my general reading, indicating under the proper letter in the index the ledger page on which references to books that treat of the topic inserted are given. At the commencement of topics embraced under the several letters of the alphabet one page is set apart for biographical and another for topographical references.

In making entries in the *Library Ledger* under particular topics much time and space are saved by making the number of the book which treats of any given topic a numerator, and the page of the book on which the particular reference may be found a denominator. To illustrate: I desire to read up on "Conscience." Opening my ledger I find that my account with "Conscience" stands on page 44. Turning to page 44 I find an array of references: "Not developed by nat. selection, $\frac{20}{172}$. Not a separate faculty, $\frac{128}{172}$. Needs revelation, $\frac{44}{10}$. Hypothesis of its development,

$\frac{84}{415}$," etc. In an instant I learn that on page 172 of *Blending Lights*, on page 478 of Dickinson's *Theological Quarterly* for 1882, on page 70 of Liddon's *Elements of Religion*, on page 415 of Bowne's *Studies in Theism*, etc., I shall find helpful treatment of the subject in which I am specially interested at the time.

The exact scope of the material thus made available is indicated by two or three words in the ledger references, as shown above. This plan also works well in connection with my study Bible. In the margin opposite Rev. iii, 5, stands the fraction $\frac{1}{6}\frac{1}{8}\frac{5}{8}$, which tells me that on page 688 of vol. viii of the *Homiletic Monthly* there is a good sermon on this verse. Opposite 2 Cor. iii, 18, I find $\frac{3}{7}\frac{1}{5}\frac{9}{5}$, which introduces me to an exquisite gem of a sermon, Maclaren's "Transformation by Beholding." Immediately under the title heading of the Song of Solomon in said Bible $\frac{1}{1}\frac{4}{4}\frac{8}{1}$ refers me to Godet's *Old Testament Biblical Studies*, on page 241 of which commences his masterly critique on this perplexing book.

For the preservation of valuable newspaper and magazine articles I have an unbound expansible *Index Rerum*, consisting of separate detached leaves of stout pasteboard, lettered on the upper corners exactly in the same order as in Todd's *Index Rerum*. There are twenty-six larger boards, 10" x 8", representing the alphabet and the initial letters of topics treated of in the cuttings preserved. Between every two of these larger boards are five smaller ones, 6" x 6", representing the vowels. All stand on their edges on a shelf, occupying as much space as is needed by the constantly accumulating material filed away. It works thus: Finding an excellent editorial in the *Indian Witness*—"Why do Men Gamble?"—I cut it out, fold it up to convenient size, and after underscoring the word by which it is to be classified (in this case "Gamble") I proceed to place it. I look first for the large card, on the right hand upper corner of which is the capital letter *G*. Then, as the first vowel of "gamble" is *a*, I place the article between *a* and *e*. Then in my *Library Ledger*, at the account opened for "Gambling," I make an entry—"*Indian Witness*, art., *I. R.*" (shelf *Index Rerum*). Suppose I want to read up on leprosy. I first go to my ledger, to find what I have discovered in my books and indexed on this topic. Then I go to my shelf, and from the space between *L* and *M*, after *e*, I take out half a dozen really valuable articles, which, after perusal, are carefully replaced in their compartment. This plan, to me, at least, is vastly superior to the scrapbook or envelope plan, both of which I tried. If one's reading of newspapers and fugitive current literature be extensive, and time for cutting out and filing away be available, he may have two or more *Index Rerum* shelves—one for "Religion," a second for "Science and Philosophy," a third for "Sociology," etc.

To a busy worker to whom every moment of time is valuable the adoption of the plan outlined above has been a much appreciated boon. I only wish I had hit upon it at the beginning of my ministerial and missionary career.

J. E. Robinson.

Poona, India.

FOREIGN RÉSUMÉ.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

H. J. HOLTZMANN.

This great Strasburg professor is one of the largest figures in the theological world of Germany. His principal significance is in his New Testament work, and especially in his criticism of the synoptic gospels. Briefly summed up, his views are as follows: The motive which led to the first attempt to reduce the facts of Christ's life to writing was the growing feeling that the destiny of Christianity was not bound up with that of Judaism, but would live on into the far future. According to his view the chief interest of his disciples centered in the words rather than in the experiences of Jesus; and hence the traditional Matthaic collection of words of our Lord was the very first attempt of the kind. Next in order followed the gospel of Mark. These two works spread with great rapidity; and it was not long until an effort was made to combine the two into an harmonious whole. The first and most successful of these attempts to unite the two was our gospel of Matthew, properly so called, not because it was written by Matthew, which Holtzmann denies, but because the material furnished by Matthew in his collection of our Lord's words is that which distinguishes the first gospel from the other synoptical reports. The gospel was written with special reference to the needs of Jewish Christians. The last of the synoptics was our Luke. Holtzmann does not think that this gospel was written by Luke; but yet it is not without good ground that it is named after him, since it is probable that the influence of Luke is traceable in it. He admits, also, its strongly Pauline character, so universally recognized. It will be observed that here is a thoroughly naturalistic explanation of the rise of our synoptic gospels. Men wrote these books just as men write other books, because they think they see a need of them. There is here not the slightest hint that God either prompted them to write or gave them divine assistance in their work. On the contrary, he holds that our gospels do not merely describe what Jesus was and did, but also the faith of the Church concerning him. They are not simply histories, but dogmatic Christologies, somewhat nebulous, clothed in historic garb. He would not attribute this dogmatic history to a falsifying purpose, but to the inevitable workings of the human mind. Nevertheless, the theory is subtle and dangerous in the extreme. Our gospels are more than the expression of the early Christian consciousness.

SAMUEL OETTLI.

If you would know the theological position of a writer, test him on some crucial question. Judged by such a criterion this Swiss theologian is to be classed rather with the conservatives. He is ranked as high authority on many books of the Old Testament. But his ideas concerning Chronicles can alone engage our attention here. He firmly holds the

opinion that 1 and 2 Chronicles and Ezra and Nehemiah are the work of one author and are intended to form one continuous history, composed, as he thinks, about the end of the Persian period and the beginning of the Greek. As to the author, he surmises only that he was one of the Levitical singers. More far-reaching, however, are his opinions as to the spirit in which the Chronicles were composed. He observes that the author neglects the kingdom of the ten tribes in the interest of Judah, even calling the southern kingdom by the comprehensive name of Israel; that he excludes, even from the history of Judah, what does not serve his interest in religion and the Davidic dynasty; that he gives a great relative importance among the tribes to Levi, and dwells with special interest upon the ritual observances, the temple, the clergy, and the festivals; that he makes the weal or woe of the people to depend, not upon their moral but their ritualistic religious life. But after making all these concessions he rejects Wellhausen's interpretation of the facts, which he regards as a caricature. He denies that the author modeled his facts to suit a pre-existing judgment, admitting, however, that he places the material at his command in such relations as to suggest that he applies a true principle somewhat mechanically. He lays it down as a principle that a nation which finds no hope in the future seeks its ideals in the past. Hence it is that the author passed over the sins of David, Solomon, and others whom he represented as heroes, without mention. He explains the large numbers employed by the author as a matter of taste. When he comes to the question of the trustworthiness of the books he claims that they mention by name an unusually large number of sources, and thus prove that they were carefully written. He does not agree with those who see in Chronicles only the post-exilian conception of Israel's past. His final conclusion is that the books of Samuel and Kings are more reliable, but that we may with confidence avail ourselves of the history given us in Chronicles on points where other authorities are silent.

PROFESSOR J. MEINHOLD, OF GREIFSWALD.

RANKED as a conservative in Germany, Meinhold would be regarded in America as a radical. We can here only mention his views concerning the Book of Daniel as illustrative of his style of thought. With Dillmann, Graf, Hitzig, Kahnis, Delitzsch, and most other Germans, he denies the authorship to Daniel. On the other hand, he does not go so far as Delitzsch, since he denies that the whole book must be a product of the Maccabean age. Parts of it, including chapters viii–xii, were then composed; and none of it was composed in the exilian period. He thinks that the Aramaic portion (chapters ii–vi) was composed about B. C. 300. The author adopted well-known traditional stories concerning Daniel and his companions, and wrought them out in such a way as to show how the faithfulness of the captives in Babylon advanced the cause of God in the world. He assumed that these stories represented Daniel as gifted with special wisdom, and that his life was an exhortation to faithfulness to

God. It was according to the spirit of the times to clothe these exhortations to faithfulness in the garb of prophecy; and the firm belief of the people in the nobility and wisdom of Daniel made it eminently appropriate for the author to put all these things in Daniel's mouth. The Maccabean portion, chapters viii–xii, was placed subsequent to the Aramaic portion in order that the latter might lend authority to the former. To these the author added exhortations in the spirit of Daniel, of which chapter vii is an example. Chapter i, with the first three verses and part of the fourth verse of chapter ii, form the introduction to the whole. The purpose of the book so formed was to exhort the Israelites to faithfulness in the time of their great need. The book, however, is not a pious fraud, since the author did not set out to write a canonical book. Nevertheless, the Jews did right in adopting it into the canon, since it was in reality a source of religious encouragement in the period of the Maccabees. Furthermore, the traditional stories which lay at the basis of the Aramaic portion of Daniel were not fictitious, but were accounts of real events, at least in the main. These conclusions he bases upon linguistic, doctrinal, and historical data furnished by the book itself, the details of which cannot here be given. It must be confessed that Meinhold has the majority, even of the orthodox critics, with him. But the question, like many others, cannot yet be finally settled. Facts may yet be brought to light to confirm the authorship by Daniel.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

THE IDEA OF HOLINESS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE European custom of offering prizes for theological dissertations on subjects announced by theological faculties has elicited many excellent treatises. This is one of them, written by Ernst Issel, a pastor in Baden. At the suggestion of the Hague Society for the Defense of the Christian Religion, which offered the prize, he began his treatise with a discussion of the idea of holiness in the Old Testament. In the New Testament the fundamental thought in holiness is found to be separation from all that is profane (in contradistinction from sacred) and consecration of oneself to God. The term "holy" is not, therefore, equivalent to "pure" or "clean," since holiness is a far wider conception than purity. He raises the question how those conceived of themselves whom Jesus had sanctified, or made holy. One of the important elements is the consciousness of possessing the gift of the Holy Ghost. But they did not think of themselves as sinless, nor conceive the idea that in them every sinful impulse had been destroyed. Nevertheless, they felt the necessity of a pure life. Sin renders impure; nearness to God demands moral purity. Purity is the condition under which alone God can be seen. He is under the impression that Paul's teaching in 1 Cor. vii contains the germ of all the later asceticism of Montanism. But the gnostic principle, that nature is itself sinful, he thinks is not sustained in the New Testament. One of the strongest motives to sanctification is the early coming of Christ and the last judgment.

He thinks that in the word "holy" we have an illustration of how words may be employed in different ages of the world in entirely different significations, and is sure that the saint of the New Testament is an altogether different personage from the saint of the Middle Ages. That the conception of holiness was greatly changed is not to be disputed; but it was not so much in the elements which were supposed to go to the making of a saint as in the stress laid upon externals, to the neglect of the evangelical elements of personal Christianity. Issel's work suffers, like all others which take up but one side of the Christian life, from incompleteness. The Christian life is more comprehensive than holiness. It is to be hoped that sometime a treatise will be produced which shall afford a complete analysis of the true factors entering into a life according to Christ.

DO WE NEED A NEW STATEMENT OF DOGMAS?

In 1889 Professor Kaftan published a small treatise, entitled *Faith and Dogma*, in which he incidentally mentioned the need of a new dogma, using the word very much in the sense of "creed." It caused great excitement, which he answered with the work now mentioned. He would not displace the old creeds, but he would restate the doctrines of evangelical Protestantism in the light of our present needs and our present knowledge. He claims that our present creeds do not command that obedience which is due to the Christian faith. He also asserts that the dogmas of the Church ought to show us, as they do not now, the true path of the Christian in his relations to his heavenly inheritance on the one side and his duties and enjoyments on the other. Another point which he emphasizes is that the old dogmas only measure the knowledge their authors had of the Bible, but do not correspond to our knowledge of the teachings of God's word. He complains that the old dogmas were in a large measure the statements of conclusions drawn from scriptural premises, and boldly asserts that we should omit all such from the dogmas of the present day, admitting thereto only those which are fundamental in the word of God. Especially does he feel that the dogma concerning Christ needs restatement. Faith in Christ moves about him as the glorified head of the Church and about his historic manifestation upon the earth. It completes itself by asserting the divine origin of Christ. Herein lies the energy of our faith. But farther faith does not go. All attempts to make clear the origin of Jesus Christ from God are speculations, thoughts which we have concerning the faith, but which are no part of faith itself. It is evident from all this that Kaftan is not a believer in a creedless Church; that he is fully persuaded that the Bible is the true source of all doctrines which are fundamental to Christianity; and that he thoroughly believes in the divinity of Christ. Whatever may be thought of the necessity for a new statement of theological truth it must be admitted that, although he is a follower of Ritschl, Kaftan is orthodox in the main. The same may be said of most Ritschlians, their fundamental principles touching only the more speculative parts of the creed.

THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS, BY MARTIN KAHLER.

This book is not a commentary in the ordinary sense of the word. It is not an introduction to the study of Hebrews; nor does it discuss the questions of date, authorship, or any of the ordinary questions with which introduction concerns itself. It is an attempt at an exact reproduction of the thought running through the entire epistle. It at the same time professes to give an exposition of the epistle. Yet it is not a paraphrase, although approaching very closely thereto. It is a sort of cross between a paraphrase and a translation. It helps to explain the meaning of the inspired author, but it does not help us in getting at the significance of the author's thought. None of the ordinary machinery employed by the commentator is exhibited. The work is all executed in the absence of spectators and the accomplished result put down in writing for our benefit. We have to take Kähler's conclusions, therefore, as a purchaser takes the compound which the apothecary mixes out of his sight—on faith. Here and there, indeed, he gives us a hint which is helpful. For example, in speaking of Melchizedek as a type of the high priesthood of Christ, he says, "The silence of the [Old Testament] report concerning his parents and tribal relations is emphasized, and in this nonlimitation of his life a picture is found of the illimitable life of the Son of God." This is really a paraphrase—a statement of a truth in supposed plainer language; and it is the purely paraphrastic portions of his work which lend it value by giving us Kähler's opinions. The only special advantage we see in such a work is that it takes up less space than the ordinary commentary. But it loses immensely in satisfactoriness. The method employed is only adapted to use in the professorial lecture room, where the student can be sure that the results reached are accurately stated and that they thus leave the mind free to absorb and weigh the processes of thought by which the lecturer reaches his conclusions. But, while the method is not well adapted for general use, the work is done in a scholarly and scientific manner and, to the student versed in the exegetical problems of Hebrews, very suggestive. The basal idea, too, is one which needs emphasis, namely, that in order to understand the Bible as a whole we must understand each book as though it were the only book, and that the parts of a book can be best understood in their proper setting within the whole.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

RADICAL CRITICISM IN HOLLAND.

By comparison radical criticism in Germany is conservative. We need not refer to the extremes to which Kuenen went in his views of the Old Testament history and prophecy. A more recent case in New Testament criticism is more illustrative still. Reference has been made in the *Review* to Steck's views of the four principal Pauline letters. But Steck was preceded in Holland by Pierson and Loman, the former of whom says that it is a natural hypothesis that so remarkable a person as the Paul of Galatians

is not a reality, but the fiction of a Pauline Christian. And now that Steck has worked out a proof satisfactory to himself of the non-Pauline origin of every document of the New Testament, Völter, the Hollander, at least, agrees with him in reference to the Epistle to the Galatians. In Germany, on the other hand, he has found no supporters. Professor Van Manen, of Leyden, not only agrees with Steck in the rejection of Paul's four principal epistles, but goes away beyond him in his conclusions. The radical nature of his criticism may be seen by some comparisons. The Tübingen school was regarded as tolerably radical, but they held fast to Romans, Galatians, and 1 and 2 Corinthians. Van Manen follows Steck in rejecting them, although the newer critical school in Germany, following largely in the path of the Tübingenites, defends them. While Steck contradicts the Tübingen school in rejecting Paul's four principal epistles he also contradicts them in defending the historical trustworthiness of the Acts. Van Manen, on the other hand, rejects both. He accuses Steck of being too conservative in his views of primitive Christianity and of not drawing decisively enough the consequences of his own critical opinions. He declares that it is not justifiable, because we must reject the historical Paul of the principal epistles, to seek for him in the Acts. To maintain the historical worth of the Acts is too conservative. The Tübingen school and Steck must have some sort of foundation upon which to build—if not the principal epistles, then the Acts. But Van Manen does not feel the need of either. He thinks Steck is too conservative when he regards Paul as a great historical reality, entirely apart from the genuineness of Paul's epistles. To him Paul is not a distinctly recognizable reality. The real Paul had little more than the name in common with the Paul of the principal epistles. These letters, he thinks, had their origin in gnosticism. Having now gotten rid, to his own satisfaction, of all the New Testament documents bearing upon the case, he regards himself as having at last found the correct method of constructing an historically veracious account of the true course of things in the first fifty or sixty years subsequent to the death of Jesus. The average man would feel that all historical construction was at an end when it was proved that there were no reliable sources of information. But Van Manen seems not to be troubled by this lack. There is one great advantage which his position affords him—he is left free to make the early history of Christianity what he will. These "sources" are often a great bother to an historian. He would like the history to have taken such and such a course; it seems to him that that is the way it ought to have been. It is a great grief to him that his sources do not uphold his judgment. But henceforth when any historian wants to find the true course of history in any period let him prove that all the documents hitherto supposed to have been contemporary are forgeries of a much later period, written in order to make things appear as their authors would like them to have been, and then he will be on the right road to a true solution. And nothing could be simpler than to do this; for if we have no trustworthy records of the life of Paul it would be easy to prove that we have no trustworthy records of anything. It is

this extreme radical criticism which disgusts even the moderately radical critic with all criticism, and makes all who study the subject suspicious of the conclusions reached in every department of historico-critical study, by whomsoever conducted. There is one great comfort in it all, namely, that such criticism sinks of its own weight and generally carries its authors down with it. It was so with Bruno Baur, who approached nearer to Van Manen than any other German critic ever did. We predict that it will be so with Van Manen, Steck, Pierson, Loman, Völter, and the smaller fry who take up with their opinions. Steck is a German Swiss. The others are Hollanders. Steck is conservative compared with Van Manen. Holland will gain no credit theologically from these men. She will lose the confidence, however, of all who are searching for leaders whom it will be safe to follow.

THE DEACONESS HOME IN STRASBURG.

This institution recently celebrated its fiftieth anniversary. Pastor Voegner, chaplain of the institution, read the report. He described the work done in 1842 by the founder, Pastor Haertner. The institution now numbers two hundred and three sisters, who are charged with the management of twenty-seven departments. Eight of these are in Strasburg, among which are the large hospital on the Elizabethangasse; the intermediate and the high school for girls, the former with three hundred, the latter with five hundred pupils; the Krippe, or children's home; and a home for convalescents. Other departments are located in Gebweiler, Mülhausen, Munster, Kolmar, and in various places in the canton of Neuchâtel, in Switzerland. Frau Adele Schneiter, who assisted Pastor Haertner in establishing the institution, still presides with unabated vigor over the home and its various departments of work. It was announced that the emperor had donated ten thousand marks to the establishment. The Statthalter appropriated six thousand marks from the public funds. The empress donated a Bible, in which she inscribed with her own hand the words of John xii, 26. The theological faculty of the Strasburg University and the directory of the Church of the Augsburg Confession sent congratulatory addresses.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

During the latter part of November, 1892, a congress of socialists was held in Berlin, which indicated by its action a lack of unity and consistency. It was even proposed that the congress should henceforth meet but once in two years. This proposition was strenuously opposed by Bebel, who declared that it was in itself an evidence of indifference among the members of the party. It was also agreed to abandon the usual demonstration on the 1st of May, except in so far as it could be observed in the evening. Many of the former favorite methods of warfare against existing conditions were confessed to be inadequate or even harmful. The "boycott" had been found a two-edged sword, doing more damage to those who wielded it than to those against whom it was

directed. This was also true of the trade-mark by which all goods manufactured by members of the party could be distinguished and thus bought in preference to those made by their opponents. It prevented their sale except among social democrats. The southern and northern factions came to an agreement according to which the congress declared that the party has nothing in common with State socialism; but it was evidently only a compromise, and left the division of sentiment as emphatic as before. The separation of the anarchists from the social democrats in Germany is a gain. But the party within the party, composed of younger men, are ready for any measure by which they can most hastily bring about their designs, while almost as much can be truthfully said of the opportunist section.

ANTISEMITISM IN A NEW FORM.

THE question has been raised whether the Jewish books on the subject of religion do not contain statements inimical to Christianity and morality. This question is to receive careful consideration at the hands of the Prussian minister of religion and education. It is expected that the result of the investigation will be officially made known. Meanwhile two hundred and fourteen German rabbis have published a declaration to the effect that the ethics of Judaism recognizes no claim which allows to others what is forbidden to Jews, and recommends to every man the endeavor to attain to the image of God; the severest exercise of veracity toward all, whether in trade or in society; the inviolability of every oath and promise to whomsoever it be given, whether Jew or non-Jew; the fulfillment of the command, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," without regard to nationality or faith; obedience to the law of the land; the expenditure of every possible effort in behalf of the welfare of the Fatherland; and cooperation in all efforts looking toward the mental and moral perfection of mankind. This is a tolerably high creed, but not in all respects just what we have thought we have witnessed in actual practice among the sons and daughters of Jacob. But these rabbis are speaking of their ethical teachings, not of their realization in actual life.

INTERESTING TEMPERANCE FACTS FROM MUNICH.

IT has long been known that alcohol spares almost no organ of the human body in its ruinous effects. Recently it has been established by experts that the excessive use of beer produces affections of the heart. Munich affords a most favorable opportunity for such investigations, and here the deaths from heart disease are most frequent. The mortality of the general population of Munich reaches its highest point, among men, between the ages of fifty and seventy; among women, between seventy and eighty. Among the proprietors of beerhouses, on the contrary, the highest death rate is found between the ages of forty and fifty, among brewers between thirty and forty, and among the waitresses in beer halls between twenty and thirty. Among the causes of these deaths the most frequent is disease of the heart.

EDITORIAL REVIEWS.

SPIRIT OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

THE month of May witnessed in Washington City a season of the most anxious thought, when the General Assembly, the highest ecclesiastical court in one of the greatest Churches in Christendom, was pressed by a necessity which, without success, it had striven to avoid to the trial of one who, as an expositor of the Holy Scriptures and a teacher of theology, filled one of the most responsible and honored positions found in any Church. The Christian Church, of whatever denomination it may be, is too familiar with the difficulties it meets and has too intimate a knowledge of the often capricious reasonings of men and ministers in regard both to doctrine and practice not to feel a deep sympathy for any branch of the general Church which is brought into perplexity or grief through departures from essential faith or proper practice. The experience of one Church may be the experience of all. It is sometimes the case that men of superior education and acknowledged genius awaken the profoundest solicitude from the tendency of their thoughts and the trend of their teaching. No one who knows the glory of the Church of Scotland and of that wonderful genius and mighty preacher, Edward Irving, and the errors he imbibed and taught could blame the Church if, in loyalty to its great doctrines, it felt compelled to try and condemn him. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church was not unfeeling in its spirit or precipitate in its action because the trial of Dr. Briggs took place at its late session and because condemnation and suspension from the ministry followed the investigation of facts. If there was nothing that the professor could do, without compromising principle, to avert the result that was impending, then he may not blame the Church for strict adherence to the law which governs its action. No man may claim for himself a purer purpose or a greater wisdom than is found in the Church of his fellowship. We admire the modesty of true science. Not less should we commend deference to the highest authority of the Church we serve. If one claim integrity of mind in searching out the truth he must not reproach the many who with equal integrity adhere to and enforce the truth long since accepted and established. If the Church of Christ has any necessity laid upon it to do what men can do to prepare individuals to preach the word, then there is the most imperative demand that our young men shall be so taught the matters of belief as to impress them with the authority and the importance of the oracles of God. It was once said of the universities of England, by Rev. Jeremiah Seed, that they "were the eyes of the nation;" and it was added, "If the eye be single the whole body of the people shall be full of light." We may say of our theological seminaries that, if the teaching they give be evil, "the churches receiving their

preachers thence will be full of darkness" or suffer such obscurity as hardly to admit the assertion that they are "full of light." From the Union Theological Seminary, in which Dr. Briggs is professor, go annually from thirty-five to fifty graduates. Many of these in a few years may be filling some of the largest pulpits of the land. If, therefore, soundness is anywhere needed it should be required in such institutions; else was there less danger in the days of the fathers of the Presbyterian Church, when those preparing for the ministry, like those studying law and medicine, put themselves under the private tuition of men honored in their professions and capable of giving the best training to those who sought their aid. The moral alertness of all the Churches with regard to a true standard of faith will appear from the themes presented and the spirit shown in the current numbers of the various quarterlies. In the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for July we have "Some Recent German Discussions on Inspiration;" in the *Lutheran Quarterly* for July we have "The Higher Criticism;" and in the *African Methodist Episcopal Church Review* for July, an article similarly entitled. In the *North American* for July Dr. Briggs, in lucid language, expresses his hope for "a united Protestantism," "in which the Roman and Greek communions will likewise share"—where "they will continue to seek God through the Church and the reason, as well as through the Bible," and will remain a great constitutional party. Surely it will be confessed there is reason to be strong in the faith and to consider well the nature of ecclesiastical integrity. "If the foundations be destroyed, what can the righteous do?"

THE *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for July has: 1. "The Trial of Servetus;" 2. "Theological Thought Among French Protestants in 1892;" 3. "Homiletical Aspects of the Fatherhood of God;" 4. "Failure of the Papal Assumptions of Boniface VIII;" 5. "Metrical Theories as to Old Testament Poetry;" 6. "John Greenleaf Whittier;" 7. "Baptized for the Dead;" 8. "How Were the Four Gospels Composed?" 9. "The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America;" 10. "Some Recent German Discussions on Inspiration." The writers of the various articles show an ability that justifies them in themes they have selected for discussion. "The Homiletical Aspects of the Fatherhood of God" is a timely notice, by Charles A. Salmond, and a timely rebuke of those who "sink the judicial altogether in the paternal aspect of God's character." "Baptized for the Dead," by Dr. T. W. Chambers, shows the reasoning of the thinker and the conclusions of the logician. "Whittier," by J. O. Murray, will be read with admiration both for the poet and the writer. "How Were the Four Gospels Composed" shows the broad scholarship, the deep research, and the conclusive reasoning of Dr. W. G. T. Shedd. Accounting for what is witnessed in many of the German theological writers, he says, "The unproven assumptions and almost innumerable hypotheses which have characterized German schools of biblical criticism since the time of Sem-

ler are due to the substitution of the ecclesiastical origin of the gospels for the apostolic." And he asserts that "there will be no improvement in this class of exegetes until there is a return to the apostolical origin of the gospels." These are the weighty utterances of a strong thinker and a clear observer.

THE *Lutheran Quarterly* for July has: 1. "Holman Lecture on the Augsburg Confession;" 2. "The Church;" 3. "The Higher Criticism;" 4. "The Power of the Keys;" 5. "Faith and Regeneration;" 6. "The Preexistence of the Soul;" 7. "The Devil the Prince of the World;" 8. "The Word of God in the Sacraments." These subjects are of the first importance, and are skillfully treated. The article first named, by Dr. P. Bergstresser, is of great value to all who would know this branch of the Church in its high purpose to exhibit the true God and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent.

THE *Quarterly Review of the United Brethren in Christ* for July contains: 1. "Conscience;" 2. "Intellect;" 3. "Our Church Schools from a Teacher's Standpoint;" 4. "Christian Civics;" 5. "Rev. Benjamin Franklin Booth, D.D.;" 6. "Justification;" 7. "Sanctification;" 8. "Comparison of Πίστις in Paul's and James's Epistles." The first article, by Dr. C. A. Burtner, is an able argument to prove the infallibility of conscience, especially when "in harmony with the teachings of revelation." The second, by S. S. Hough, treats of the place, authority, and use of the intellect in matters of religion. Dr. M. R. Drury considers the nature, instrument, and fruits of justification. In "Sanctification," by Professor G. P. Hott, it is asserted and sustained that the doctrine is "as old as the Bible" and is "clearly set forth in both the Old and New Testaments."

THE *New Jerusalem Magazine* for July has many articles worthy of more than a passing notice. Among them is "The Training of the Will," by John T. Prince. He asserts that "The human mind is a wonderfully complex organism," shows the distinction between the intellect and will, and impresses the value of the training of the will not less in childhood than in maturity. Warren Goddard discusses the possibility and advantages of self-restraint, and recommends its cultivation.

THE *African Methodist Episcopal Church Review* for July contains the following: "The Free Coinage of Silver;" "The Higher Criticism;" "The Philosophy of Progress;" "British Guiana;" "Rev. Theophilus Gould Steward, D.D.;" "Temperance in the Public Schools and the Sunday Schools Equally Essential;" "Literature a Pillar of Strength;" "Africa and the Educated and Wealthy Negroes of America;" "A Southern City: Reflections;" "Niobe;" "In Memoriam—Bishop John M. Brown." "The Higher Criticism" is a calm and Christian consideration of the subject by Bishop B. T. Tanner. "Temperance in the Public Schools and the Sunday Schools," by Rev. John W. Norris, shows a mind awake to

the duty of arming our youth against the evils of intemperance, and a knowledge of the best methods of encouraging those habits so necessary to success in business and to usefulness in the Church. "Literature a Pillar of Strength," by Professor John R. Hawkins, enlarges upon the service of a noble literature in building up the greatness of nations and of races. A just tribute is paid to the memory of Bishop Brown by O. W. Knight, who knew his character, appreciated his ability, and would perpetuate the influence of his ministry and honor his noble deeds.

THE *North American Review* for July has: "The Future of Presbyterianism in the United States;" "Divorce Made Easy;" "Ireland at the World's Fair;" "How Distrust Stops Trade;" "The Anti-Trust Campaign;" "Silver Legislation and its Results;" "Should the Chinese be Excluded?" "Norway's Political Crisis;" "The Fastest Train in the World;" "French Girlhood;" "International Yachting in 1893;" "The American Correspondence of Lord Erskine;" "Natural History of the Hiss;" "The Family of Columbus." The article on "Divorce Made Easy," by Professor S. J. Brun, shows the painful consequences of our lax legislation. "Silver Legislation and its Results," by Hon. E. O. Leech, is especially pertinent at this moment. "Should the Chinese be Excluded?" is debated in two very able articles. The one against their exclusion, by Colonel R. G. Ingersoll, is very forceful. That in favor of exclusion is by Hon. T. J. Geary, and presents in a clear style the strongest points on that side of the question. "The Family of Columbus" is written by the Duke of Veragua. Its authorship, as well as the history it presents of that courageous and wonderful man to whose memory we are justly rendering such honor, will induce a careful reading. It will impart to many an accurate knowledge concerning the discoverer which they will be pleased to retain.

THE *Treasury of Religious Thought* for July is worthy the title it bears. Its thought is broad and clear, but religious, as the offspring of the heart. "A Lazy Church," by Rev. Frank M. Goodchild, contains a just rebuke and suggests a needed correction; "Honesty in the Pulpit" deals with the preacher, his position, his themes, and the material for his discourse. The tendency in much of present literature to disparage the Scriptures by unjust criticism and false interpretation of difficult passages is pointed out in "Questions of the Day."

THE *Review of Reviews* for July seems like a world of literary thought, an exhaustless storehouse of useful knowledge. "Two Giants of the Electric Age" may convey some idea of the intensity of thought, the self-oblivion, and the resolute determination which are exhibited by men of great scientific purpose and achievement. In "Thomas A. Edison, Greatest of Inventors," by Charles D. Lanier, we are presented with a splendid example of the force of will, of the self-denial, and of the concentrated

action of all the faculties which are necessary for the attainment of all remarkable scientific renown. The second article under the above caption is upon "Sir William Thompson, Lord Kelvin," by J. Munro. In the line of thought which engages him Lord Kelvin stands unrivaled "in the ranks of science at the present time." His work on the Atlantic cable was a great contribution to the ultimate success of that enterprise, which was "repeatedly baffled and postponed."

THE contents of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for July show assiduity in carrying out the purpose of this periodical. It is certainly a most successful means of perpetuating the memory of men, families, characters, and facts which render history of interest and of value.

THE *Preacher's Magazine* for July contains valuable hints for a judicious divine. He will do well to study with care, under "Present-Day Preaching," the sermon upon "Curiosity and Obligation," by the Rev. Thomas G. Selby. "How Men Get Their Sermons," by a London minister, may stimulate the thought how not to get them. They will be wise who avoid the wrong and practice the right way of getting them. There are sermons that largely make themselves from the heart as truly as from the intellect; and some sermons make men.

IN the *Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*, for July we are first presented with a sketch of the life and labors of "Albert Taylor Bledsoe," by Wilbur F. Tillett. He was a scholar, a professor in various colleges, and a writer of great metaphysical penetration and skill. Jefferson Davis, who was a student with him at West Point, said that "he considered Dr. Bledsoe the greatest intellect that our country has produced." His principal work is his *Theodicy*. Its profundity frightened many publishers, who could not foresee the success of such a book; but the New York Methodist Book Concern accepted it, and it speedily passed through many editions. It is a work through which the dead author still lives and speaks. It has power in purpose, plan, and execution. "Moravian Missions," by Eugene R. Hendrix, describes the results of that missionary spirit in which Zinzendorf and Wesley stood soul to soul. "The Law of Sanctification," by W. M. Leftwich, may edify others as well as Methodists.

THE *Nineteenth Century* for July contains, among other live articles on interesting subjects, one suggested by the season—"Some Day Dreams and Realities," by Rev. Harry Jones, who tells us what he thinks the best way to enjoy the country. "Great Britain as a Sea Power," by the Hon. T. A. Brassey, is worthy of study by all Americans. The cost of maintaining naval strength is a fact which should have weight with other nations. "The Apostles' Creed," by Professor Harnack, is honest and thorough in its examination of the origin and history of that venerable formula.

THE *Presbyterian Quarterly* for July has: 1. "Natural Religion and the Gospel," by John L. Girardeau; 2. "The True and the Fictitious Jesuits," by Charles C. Starbuck; 3. "The Way of Peace," by James A. Waddell; 4. "The Book of Esther," by A. Huizinga; 5. "Voluntary Societies and the Church," by C. R. Vaughan. In "Natural Religion and the Gospel" the points of difference are clearly and forcibly presented, and exhibit our only hope in the Son of God. "The True and the Fictitious Jesuits" is a carefully considered and well-presented article. In the third article the way of peace is seen to be simple and easy. As to Christian doctrine, fellowship, and practice every man should be fully persuaded in his own mind. Peace with God makes peace among Christians possible. "Voluntary Societies and the Church" is a consideration of the proper relations of such societies to the Church.

THE *Chautauquan* for July is a "summer number," is full of racy articles, and may make many an hour pass with the amusement, instruction, and mental quickening that are justly associated with this season of seclusion from care and relaxation from rigid duty. The first article, "Holland House," by Eugene L. Didier, is full of fascination. The history of this mansion carries the mind back nearly three hundred years, and shows us former lovers and patrons of "art, of literature, of science, of oratory, of genius and talent of every kind." We observe great men and women in the various aspects which their characters present. We see the origin and the fall of the house where royalty cast its eye of admiration on female beauty; where Sheridan, the "player's son," charmed princes and nobles by his wit; where Chesterfield revealed his grace of manner; and where Charles James Fox found mental delights after the triumphs of his eloquence in the senate. Here Johnson and Addison and Sydney Smith and Lord Macaulay and Byron and Tom Moore had a place and influence. But time has wrought its changes, and it is only the glory of those names and times that remains. "Sources of Literary Inspiration," by Georgia Allen Peck, though brief, is suggestive, and wisely teaches that "perfunctory work is not inspired and is seldom inspiring." Natures may be found that "give their best spontaneously;" but the majority need the inspiration which comes from high purpose and from contact with gifted and noble personalities.

THE *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* for August contains many articles of interest and edification. "More Discoveries in Egypt" is a tribute to the faith and courage of the explorer. In what Egyptology has yielded to history and furnished in support of the Scriptures there is no slight compensation to the painstaking and self-sacrifice involved. A notice of the life and labors of "Hester Ann Rogers" impresses the value of a character in which God is the first thought and "Christ is all and in all." Her example was a living sermon and her holiness an acknowledged power. She was one of the earliest and brightest illustrations among

Mr. Wesley's followers of a zeal that was inspired by knowledge and constrained by grace. Mr. Wesley's confidence and commendation were the result and expression of close observation. Her biography is an abiding power in the Christian literature of the Church. "The Substance of a Paper Read at a Convention of Class Leaders in York, March, 1893," shows the power for good possessed by the class leader as a subpastor and the wisdom and piety necessary to prepare a man for that responsible place. It is refreshing to think of the seasons spent under the spiritual tuition of the godly persons who in the class room have taught us the deep things of God. "Notes on Current Science" describe recent valuable discoveries in material things, and show the need of such investigation as guards life, affords secular gain, promotes the general good of society, and renders us familiar with facts which broaden our conceptions and knowledge of God in all the work of his hands.

THE *Canadian Methodist Quarterly* for July contains articles of abiding interest: "The Prophecy of Malachi;" "Agnosticism: its Ethical and Religious Tendencies;" "Psychology;" "The Witness of the Spirit;" "The Nature of Christ's Atonement;" "'The Land Shall Not Be Sold Forever;'" and "Bible Study." Each article contains material for intellectual elevation, for moral improvement, and for the deliverances of the pulpit. In the first article, "The Prophecy of Malachi," we see in the last of the prophets a servant of God whose brief predictions project their benefits through all time. The article upon agnosticism reveals its characteristics and fruits. That upon psychology increases mental penetration. The witness of the Spirit was among the most joyful and influential facts of original Methodism, and remains a power that tells in other Churches. The third installment of "The Nature of Christ's Atonement" discusses the "Attributes of God." "Bible Study" continues the exposition of Paul's missionary journeys as described in the Acts of the Apostles.

THE *Andover Review* for July–August has: 1. "The Place of Christ in Modern Thought;" 2. "Socrates Once More;" 3. "A Case of Social Myopia;" 4. "Missions and Colonies;" 5. "The Liberal and Ritschlian Theology of Germany." "The Place of Christ in Modern Thought," by Professor C. A. Beckwith, is a critical and elaborate presentation of the question. "Loyalty to the Christian facts" has compelled the author "to affirm both the sinless perfection and the proper divinity of our Lord." The result of his investigations leaves upon him "two strong impressions as to this whole subject. One is, that the supreme duty of our time is to gain and guard an accurate knowledge of the historic Christ; the other is, that we must be absolutely guided in our apprehension of him by what he knew himself to be—the Son of God and Son of man, the Saviour of the world." The fifth, by Professor Frank C. Porter, presents Ritschl as standing, not in a school that advocates definite critical and doctrinal views, but for a certain starting point and method which

are indicated by comparison with Schleiermacher, with whom he differs as to the subjectivity of religion. It is not claimed that they had equal originality, or that much of Ritschl's knowledge was not derived from Schleiermacher. The editorial, "Professor Huxley on Ethics *versus* Evolution," is keen and just. In the realm of morals the assumed law of evolution is seen not to hold, for men develop into the bad and worse as really as into the good, better, and best.

THE *Missionary Review of the World* for August contains many articles in which the soul finds comfort, inspiration, and strength in pondering. "God's Season Man's Opportune Hour," by Dr. A. T. Pierson, is an illustration of his topical faculty, his Christian spirit, and the hopefulness he shows in his labors. He who, being in slumber, wakes not from his sleep in reading this has need of a voice from the cloud. "The Present Aspect of Missions in India" should warm a cold brain, and might cause the tongue of the dumb to speak. The "Department of Christian Endeavor" is ably conducted, and affords encouragement to all who work for God and study duty.

IN the *Fortnightly Review* for July, among other valuable articles, the first, "A Visit to Prince Bismarck," by G. W. Smalley, will take and hold the attention. "The stream of his life flows on, as it has ever flowed, 'brimming and bright and large.'" "And if one may not say that there is something infinitely pathetic in his comparative solitude at Friedrichsruh, it is permissible to see in his attitude all the old dignity and an unshaken firmness of soul." "Advance of the United States During One Hundred Years," by Dr. Brock, is a carefully prepared statement of facts and a forcible presentation of his conclusions as to the present relative greatness and future hopes of this country. Through "the application of steam and electricity, the construction of new lines of railroad, the opening up of large areas of new territory, the extension of lines of telegraphs, constant improvement in all classes of machinery, new inventions by which labor is made easy and hours of labor are shortened, the greatly increased facilities for educational and religious culture," a wonderful progress has resulted, which has made a small people numerous and a little nation in its origin in some respects the mightiest of the earth. "French Movements in Eastern Siam," by Sir Richard Temple, is a timely subject presented in an interesting manner.

THE *Biblical World* for July has a wide range of thought and themes. ——The *Critical Review of Theological and Philosophical Literature* for July, by the mental food it furnishes, gives keenness to the appetite and strength to the system.——The *Chautauquan* for August is full of taking matter. "What Makes a Methodist," by Dr. J. M. Buckley, is clear and comprehensive.——The *Preacher's Magazine* for August contains a sermon by Dr. Hugh Macmillan, as well as the conclusion of Mr. Selby's sermon in the July number.

BOOKS: CRITIQUES AND NOTICES.

A COMPLAINT AGAINST THE REVIEWER.

An eccentric but well-beloved great man finds fault as follows: "In old times what a delicious thing a book used to be in a chimney corner, or in the garden, or in the fields, where one used really to read a book and nibble a nice bit here and there if it was a bride-cakey sort of book, and cut one's self a lovely slice, fat and lean, if it was a round-of-beef sort of book. But what do you do with a book now, be it ever so good? You give it to a reviewer, first to skin it, and then to bone it, and then to chew it, and then to lick it, and then to give it you down your throat like a handful of *pillau*. And when you've got it you've no relish for it after all." The authorship of this unique bit of querulousness will be known at a glance to some readers, guessed by others from the tone and style, and can be inquired for by any whom it may concern. Precisely what the great man means we are not sure that we comprehend; but we gather that he is for some reason considerably displeased with the reviewers. Nevertheless, we still suppose that the reviewer may have his proper and useful function in the scheme of culture. If the complainant would take the trouble to be explicit and define our faults we might learn how to mend our ways. Failing this, we see no course for us but to proceed as usual with the work which is expected of us in this department of our *Review;* and we hope and assuredly believe, notwithstanding the complaint of a rarely fine but irritable genius, that it may be possible for us, by care and diligence and judicious helpers, not to deprive reading of its relish, but rather to render some serviceable assistance to readers of the *Methodist Review* in reporting, so far as space allows, what fresh and inviting books of merit in the various departments of literature are upon the market. Accordingly we offer them the notices which follow, selecting for special mention: *Explanatory Analysis of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans*, by H. P. Liddon; *Let Him First Be a Man*, by W. H. Venable; *The Life and Work of John Ruskin*, by W. G. Collingwood; *The Puritan in Holland, England, and America*, by Douglas Campbell.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Explanatory Analysis of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. By H. P. Liddon, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D. 8vo, pp. 309. London: Longmans, Green & Co. Price, cloth, $4.

It is in the order of a benign Providence that the products of a highly endowed intellect, an educated mind, a sanctified ambition, and a consecrated course of labor should perpetuate the usefulness of one whom death has removed. Not less than the skill of the warrior or the wisdom of the statesman do the achievements of the deep thinker on divine truths and of the sound expositor of difficult Scripture deserve to be honored by pos-

terity. Canon Liddon was by genius, education, and theological training possessed of rare qualifications for the work he attempted in departments of deepest thought. Though a voluminous author, his works all honor him, and none more than those in the most difficult departments of his study. His sermons preached before the University of Oxford and his Bampton Lectures on "The Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ" place him before the world as one of the best thinkers and writers and one of the greatest men that the Church of England or any other Church has produced in the century. His *Explanatory Analysis of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans* suffers nothing from being posthumous, as it was prepared and intended for publication by Canon Liddon after years of labor, and little was left for the editor to do. It is the work of one man, and he one of the most fully furnished scholars of the age, whether we regard his acquaintance with the literature of the original text of Scripture, or the writings of the fathers, or the work of mediæval theologians, or the current productions of his own day. Canon Liddon was a High Churchman and entertained advanced views in regard to the eucharist; but as contradistinguished from the rationalists of Germany he was thoroughly orthodox. For Teutonic speculations he showed a positive repugnance, and, while familiar with the writings of its distinguished authors, spoke of its teachings as "misty magniloquence" and of its learning as "laborious pedantry." As a commentator the original languages of the Scriptures are constantly before him; collateral passages are critically compared; and thus the meaning of the sacred text is seized and appropriated with the earnestness of a mind intent on the understanding of the divine Author. He evades no Scripture because of the difficulty it presents. He is impressed with what he learns of "the remains of preadamite men in the strata of an unknown antiquity," and thinks they may well point to ages when the globe was the scene of the probation of earlier races of men; but he holds that the apostle's argument (Rom. v, 12) "assumes the organic unity of the present human race, and is inconsistent with any such hypothesis as that of several originally distinct pairs." He is unable to determine whether the seventh chapter is the language of the "regenerate" or the "unregenerate" life, the soul seeking or the soul after it has found God. The ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters engage his deepest thought. He clearly discriminates between divine foreknowledge and foreordination, and asserts that there is no succession in God's thoughts and resolves, and that predestination in respect to his creatures "must be in strict harmony with the eternal moral law of God's nature, with that unerring justice and love which is God." He impresses the fact that the Jews were foreordained to be his chosen people and, believing that the "gifts and calling of God are without repentance," expects his ancient people yet to return. But such foreordination is shown not to shut out the "other sheep" he has in the Gentile world. He disallows the theory that the final perseverance of the saints makes their salvation independent of responsibility and free will, and insists, 1. "That grace is indefectible, since man may fall from it; 2. That, having been

forfeited, it may be recovered; 8. That, viewed from the human side and in each particular case, predestination is not to be deemed absolute." The expository pervades the volume, but he is also dogmatic and practical. His analysis is keen, constant, and complete. The logician appears on every page. In language he is terse, direct, and lucid. In this work of so much learning we have looked in vain for a careless passage, a slovenly sentence, or an unguarded expression. There is no commonplace thought and no language that degrades rather than exalts its subject. It is a book to be studied; and the careful student may find much in his analysis to afford aid in homiletic labor. We have in Canon Liddon two powers that rarely meet in one man—those of a grand teacher and of an able exegete. He who addressed with a voice of the profoundest earnestness and influence the popular assemblies that crowded St. Paul's Cathedral or the scarcely less enthusiastic gatherings at the University of Oxford has left us, in his work on the Epistle to the Romans, a monument of his strength and skill in encountering some of the greatest difficulties of revelation.

Guide to the Knowledge of God. A Study of the Chief Theodicies. By A. GRATRY, Professor of Moral Theology at the Sorbonne. Translated by ABBY LANGDON ALGER. With an Introduction by WILLIAM ROUNSEVILLE ALGER. 8vo, pp. 469. Boston: Roberts Brothers. Price, cloth, $2.50.

This is a book for the few, not the many. It will be of value to the professor of systematic theology and to that small body of persons who unite metaphysical minds with a deep interest in religious things. It is of special interest to Protestants, in that it affords within reasonable and readable compass a very complete synopsis of the views of the leading theological authorities of the Roman Catholic Church on so important a topic as the philosophical proofs for the existence of Deity. Beginning with Plato and Aristotle, it traverses also the arguments of Augustine, Anselm, and Thomas Aquinas, and then, passing to the seventeenth century, thoroughly sets forth the positions of Descartes, Pascal, Malebranche, Fénelon, Petau, Thomassin, Bossuet, and Leibnitz. So convenient and reliable a *résumé* of these authors is probably found nowhere else, certainly not within the compass of English literature. The treatment of the matter in debate—whether or not a complete demonstration of the existence of God can be achieved by the reason—is masterly; and, although perhaps nothing that will be accounted especially novel by Protestant thinkers is brought out, and most certainly different minds will continue in the future, as they have in the past, to put different estimates on the validity of such demonstration, it is a decided advantage to have the thoughts of these great men of bygone centuries placed so conveniently within our reach. Particularly in this age of blatant materialisms and atheisms of all sorts is it refreshing to read these pages, wherein the fundamental faith of Christendom is so strongly and clearly presented by intellects of the first class. Very many Protestants of the present day, in their pardonable disgust at the perversions and corruptions of current

popular Roman Catholicism, are too apt to forget the unquestionable fact that the Roman Catholic Church holds firmly the primal verities of Scripture truth and is for us an indispensable ally in the warfare with godless, anarchic infidelity. Professor Gratry, whose character and life, we are glad to learn from the Introduction, were in full keeping with his attainments and fame—Mr. Alger says, "He was not merely a scholar and a philosopher, but likewise a philanthropist and a saint who thoroughly lived the doctrine he taught"—in the second part of this great work admirably treats the relations between reason and faith. Methodists will find no fault, we think, with any of his positions. He is certainly more Arminian than Calvinistic in his doctrine. As a specimen of the beauty of the style we append a single quotation from the closing chapter:

> We call the absence of our sun night. But what does the sun show us? It shows us the earth and itself. When it has vanished what do we see? At first we no longer see earth, or sun, or anything. But patience; let night advance, and behold! The stars appear one by one; the entire vault is peopled; the sky is filled with rays, movements, and scintillations, as it were with eyes waking and imploring our gaze. We see the heaven which the sun concealed. So that to anyone who wished to see the whole heaven it was well that the sun went away. But I confess all these stars still seem to you mere drops of luster upon the night. All together do not equal one sunbeam. And yet what have we before our eyes? We have before us the immense universe of suns, in which our own sun is but a point—a point in which the earth is but a fraction. Every imperceptible point of that luminous dust is a sun like ours, surrounded by a hundred living earths as great or greater than our own. Day, therefore, showed us a point; night shows us immensity. May I venture to say that this is one of the divine reasons for the setting of the sun? If the sun reigns and then disappears by turns it is because God desires that, besides the earth, man should also see the heaven. It is precisely the same with the obscurities of faith relatively to the daylight of reason. This is why our dogma teaches that reason, like the sun, should rule and should surrender by turns, should rule over all the earth and surrender in the sight of heaven. Its reign gives it a world; its surrender gives it immensity, in which the world is but a point. Let no one, therefore, be alarmed at the obscurities of faith or the surrenders of the mind.

Religion for the Times. By LUCIEN CLARK, D.D. 12mo, pp. 421. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, $1.25.

When Dr. Clark was in the pastorate he was observed to be so thoughtful and studious in mental disposition and habit, so balanced in intellectual judgment and trained in good taste, so apt and ready in thought, and so fluent, concise, lucid, and graceful in expression that *The Christian Advocate* coveted and secured him for its editorial rooms. While he was engaged in editorial work, going about on Sundays to fill pulpit vacancies in all directions, he was seen to be so rare a prize for any church that the congregations which heard him wondered that the pastorate had ever relinquished a man so conspicuously fitted for it, and began to plot conspiracies for his recapture; knowing which, not many people were surprised when the strong old Madison Avenue Church in Baltimore succeeded in coaxing him away from *The Christian Advocate.* This book is worthy of the editor and of the pastor, and is a product of the outfit of qualities and richness of resources which made both. There is in it the

experienced knowledge of life and of human nature which a faithful pastor gains, the delicate and efficient skill in the application of religious truth to actual and urgent needs which the practiced pastor acquires, and as well the philosophic view, the systematic and orderly thinking, and the careful and accurate statement promoted by literary training. That Dr. Clark should proceed to authorship in book form seems a perfectly natural evolution, whether regarded from the indications of his ministry or his editorship. Beyond the value of any particular book Methodism is indebted to any capable minister or member who incurs the labor and sets the example of really valuable authorship. All stimulus in that direction adds to the dignity and efficiency of the Church. There are a thousand young men in Methodism to-day who ought to be choosing their line of study, selecting particular themes, and beginning the acquisition of materials and drill in composition with an eye to authorship ten or twenty years hence. Specialists are more apt to print than men of general culture, probably from greater confidence in the exactness and topical fullness of their knowledge, as well as from the habit of magnifying the importance of their particular department and emphasizing the specific value of that which they have to publish. Dr. Clark's book is not the work of a specialist. It is a treatment of the great general interests of life in the noblest manner and from a great variety of standpoints, as is indicated in the titles of his twelve chapters: "Christian and Secular Pursuits," "The Best System of Morals," "Culture in its Relation to Christianity," "Debt of Civilization to Christianity," "The Pillar of the State," "The Christian Home," "Light in Darkness," "The Friend of the Poor," "The Fountain of Benevolence," "The Guide and Protector of Youth," "Consolation in Old Age," and "The Conqueror of Death." Recognizing that perfection cannot be claimed for any branch of the Christian Church to-day, that in all creeds there is doubtless some error, and that probably "none have yet fully grasped the true meaning and comprehended the whole system of the great Teacher with perfect accuracy," the author sets forth the sublime sufficiency of Christianity for the solution of all human problems and the meeting of all human needs, and shows how it vindicates its truth and its divine origin by its essential and indispensable relation to all the fundamental interests of humanity and by the real assistance it furnishes to men in the affairs of this life as well as in the preparation for another. And this it does with such cogent reasoning and such impressive and convincing array of undeniable facts as must leave to any rightly constituted mind as little disposition to controvert as there is possibility of doing so successfully. *Religion for the Times* is fresh and pertinent to the living present. There is nothing stale, flat, or unprofitable in it. It is capable of wide usefulness, calculated to help men just where they need it, and certain to afford elevated pleasure and incalculable profit to all who shall read it. We earnestly commend it to homes and to Sabbath schools, to the center tables and the libraries of laity and clergy, confident that no one will regret having purchased it.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Socialism from Genesis to Revelation. By Rev. F. M. Sprague. 12mo, pp. 493. Boston: Lee & Shepard. Price, cloth, $1.75.

The second part of the title of this volume is somewhat misleading. The book is not, as one might expect, a careful inquiry into the attitude of the Bible toward socialism. Indeed, it is not an inquiry at all, but a polemic. What the author probably means to suggest by his title, and what he copiously asserts, is that from Genesis to Revelation the Bible teaches socialism. A book of assertions was not needed to prove this; but the title is only a suggestion, perhaps; for the book probably means to carry the reader's mind along the long journey from the genesis to the revelation of socialism. The author really means that the sacred volume is throughout socialistic in such a sense as the writings of Karl Marx are. In short, the author assumes that our sacred book condemns the private ownership of capital. We should be pleased to read a good argument in favor of that proposition. If it were well done it would be good reading; and that can hardly be said of Mr. Sprague's declamations and assertions. It is a feverish book, neither scientific, logical, nor entertaining. And yet the pretensions of the title and preface put in a claim for consideration. Any respectable attempt to make us more Christian in our industrial life must command our attention. The principle of socialism as defined by Marx, that the States should own the capital employed in production—this is the Christian principle for which our author contends. That it is a Christian principle seems to us the very thing to be proved. The shortest definition of capital is "a tool." It does not seem to us a perfectly clear thing that Christ forbids a gardener to own his spade, a farmer to own his plow, a woodman to own his ax, a fisherman to own his net, or a carpenter to own his plane. Capital includes food for the morrow. It is surely nowhere taught in the Scriptures that an individual may not own a sack of flour or a bushel of potatoes or a fattened calf. Of course, the mind of our author is soaring far above such petty details; but it is only in such small details that the reader of his book can realize to himself what capital really is. Just why a man may lawfully own a spade and yet not be allowed to own an engine or a mill does not appear to us to be revealed in our Bible. Of course a spade, an engine, or a mill is a product of labor; but it does not follow that only muscular effort entered into its production, nor that it ought to be the property of men who did not build it, or even of men who did build it for a contracted equivalent in wages. We cannot shake off the belief that the good man who paid the laborers, every man a penny, was entitled to the grapes. We suspect that he solved his problem in a Christian way when out of his profits on grapes he paid the eleventh-hour men a full day's wages—as our author rightly guesses, paying them on the basis of their needs. But this is philanthropic, not scientific socialism, and the difference is immense. The author, in his use of the parable, gets no farther than the inference that the last-hour men were paid on the basis of their needs, though that

is not in the text; and it does stand in the text that this employer was a capitalist doing as he willed with his own. We suggest, however, that it is not quite a fair use of our Lord's industrial parables to read into them any socialistic theory framed to meet conditions not then existing in the world. A considerable variety of opinions might otherwise gain fictitious support from fanciful readings of these stories as lessons in social modern life. The preface of this book contains statements which make us wonder how a sane man could write it after writing the preface. We are told that "society will no longer tolerate its old dogma respecting private property, freedom of contract, and free competition." The destructive work is then done; why go on slaying the slain? There must be life in these old dogmas; at least our author must believe that society still tolerates them. Mr. Sprague and a good many other people say they no longer tolerate them, but it is very plain that the vast majority of us, including our leaders in economic thought, do tolerate and even preach these dogmas. We take pains at this point to say plainly that the economic and moral conditions of the great concentrated industries are very far from being satisfactory. The book before us seems to be chiefly concerned about the capital and labor employed in such mills. It is well to reflect that the disease is a local one. The vast majority of employers and employed are living in fairly satisfactory conditions. The farms and villages and three fourths of the people in cities know labor questions only as other men's questions. Mainly, then, capital and labor live together in a large measure of harmony. If the disease is local why not study how to cure the unhealthy spot? We are not going to have a national revolution because there is a street brawl in some factory town. It cannot be necessary to upset the farm and the village to restore order in a mill. The point is a seriously important one. Not more than one in forty of our people, perhaps not more than one in a hundred, have any concern in labor and capital troubles. We are strongly persuaded that the schemes our author calls palliatives—such as arbitration and profit-sharing—are steps on the right road, first steps only, but wise ones because they treat the real evil and not some imaginary one. The most suggestive parts of this book are those in which in one form or another the author deprecates inquiry into the effect of the state ownership of capital. He wants us to first accept the principle, as a righteous one, and go to work to adjust our lives to it. We cannot find in the book a particle of proof that the principle is a righteous one. We discover no difference between owning the clothes we wear and the food we are about to eat, on the one hand, and owning a farm, a vine, or a mill, so far as righteousness is concerned. The only way to demonstrate that the wise thing is to abolish private ownership of capital is to consider the effects which would be likely to follow and show that beyond doubt these effects would be salutary. We shall not enter upon a revolution through mere confidence in an untried dogma; we must know how the new proceedings would affect human life. The expression, "The vicious principle of self-interest," is not an argument; it is simply a phrase. It assumes that self-interest is unsocial,

immoral, and unchristian. But nothing is clearer than that Christianity appeals to this principle; and the author of this book must know that in so far as labor advocates adopt socialism they do so on the principle of self-interest. He has doubtless published his book on the vicious principle of self-interest. That any given thing promotes some one's interests is in its favor until it is shown that some other person's interests are damaged. Marx undertook to prove that profits are made at the expense of laborers. The argument will not be repeated by any one capable of understanding Mr. Gunton and others who have exposed the fallacy. The book before us contains the usual boasts of the higher morality of socialism. It develops and appeals to higher motives than salary and wage. This is merely a boast. In fact, socialism rests on a principle of covetousness. It would not have any life if it did not hold out to some men the delusive hope of obtaining the property of other men. Fine words do not disguise the thirst for the contents of other men's cisterns. Ninety per cent of its adherents would fall off if they did not see in it a way to evade the commandment, Thou shalt not steal. These are strong words, but it is time to utter them. The good purpose of a few unwise dreamers must not always cloak the wolf in the hearts of the mass of socialists. Not even a minister of the Gospel can be allowed to misrepresent, unchallenged, the character of the army he is marching with. The word socialism is, unfortunately, still used indefinitely. The book we have before us treats of that kind of socialism which teaches that the public (the State) should own the capital employed in production. Every Christian is a socialist in a very different sense; he believes that he himself owes himself and all his belongings to his fellow-men, and that it is his right, not the right of society, to determine with autocratic authority how he shall perform this duty of self-surrender. The dignity of Christian manhood requires the power to get that one may give. Our socialism is defined practically by John Wesley: "Get all you can; save all you can; give all you can." We cannot lay down this book without expressing our conviction that the scientific socialists have stumbled into absurdity over their dogma, "Labor produces everything," by assuming that labor means muscular effort and that only. There are two producers—muscular effort and intelligence, which devises and directs. The second does most of the labor. Ability is the chief producer of wealth. This master workman of the modern world uses both labor and capital; and without him both would be helpless.

Laws of the Soul; or, The Science of Religion and the Future Life. By M. W. GIFFORD, Ph.D., Author of *Baptism in a Nutshell*, etc. 12mo, pp. 204. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

The study of the soul life, when discussed in such a volume as the one now under review, is among the most dignified of all pursuits. Alike in its essence and its activities the superiority of soul to matter must be confessed. Matter is inherently lifeless and inert; the soul is animate and vigorous. Matter never plans or achieves results; the soul is the agent of varied and great accomplishments. Matter is temporal in its endurance;

the soul, like the whole system of supernaturalism to which it belongs, is eternal. In short, the greatest thing in the universe is the soul. Liberated from the thraldom of the sensuous and earthly, we find it therefore ennobling to rise to those higher planes of meditation where man investigates his own psychological processes and speculates on the unchanging laws of mental operation. Nor are these laws undefined or loose, but the reverse is the case. "There are laws," says Dr. Gifford in his present Introduction, "in connection with man's moral and spiritual nature as eternal as the law of gravity. . . . It has been the aim of the author, in the preparation of this little work, to point out some of those laws of the soul that lie back of religious worship, and to show that our religious experience and the cardinal doctrines of our Christian religion rest, not only on the authority of Scripture, but of science as well." In the prosecution of such a line of inquiry arguments drawn from the Scripture would possess at least the merits of solidity and of antiquity. The Bible bears the stamp of accuracy and age upon its delineations of soul essence and activity. While it never poses as a text-book on psychology, yet it is the masterful volume of the centuries in its analysis of the powers and operations of the human soul. Yet because the appeal has been so often made to the Scripture in support of such great laws as Dr. Gifford considers, he has rather chosen to confine himself "almost entirely to the scientific argument" for his proof. Following this method of treatment, he looks abroad in the spirit of Christian philosophy over the world; gives right prominence to the operations of nature; discovers the failure of atheistic science to account for the origin or the continuance of natural processes; finds in the Creator the Author of all being; and unfolds the rule of obedience to divine law under which all created things exist. The detailed discussion of the seventeen chapters of his volume would be impossible within the present limits; or even a full enumeration of their captions would tend to unnecessary prolixity. Among them, however, we find "The Law of Causation, or God's Relation to the Universe;" "The Law of Utility: Man's Relation to God and Nature;" "The Law of Infallibility of Instinct;" "The Law of Consciousness, or Certainties in Religious Knowledge;" "The Law of Adaptation, or the Philosophy of Happiness in Heaven;" "The Law of Self-Condemnation, or the Philosophy of Future Suffering;" "The Law of Equity, or the Necessity of a Future Judgment;" "The Law of Compensation: Differences in Glory;" "The Law of Supply: Christ Alone Meets the Wants of the Human Race;" "The Law of the Selection of the Fittest: the Philosophy of Salvation by Faith;" "The Law of Normalcy: the Philosophy of Unbelief." How satisfactory the manner in which Dr. Gifford has compassed this wide field of inquiry will depend upon the status of the reader. Undoubtedly the unchristian scientist—to whom naught is sacred in his *ignis fatuus* pursuit of "truth"—would tear to shreds and tatters the argumentation of the volume. To the Christian reader, however, the logic is clear and progressive. While the book is sometimes vulnerable in its rhetorical construction, elementary in its treatment, or sermonic in its tone, it must

be excused on the ground that it is designed for popular rather than scientific use. In spirit it is certainly healthy and vigorous, and may be advantageously read as a *résumé* of a vast body of Christian truth.

Let Him First Be a Man. By W. H. VENABLE, LL.D., Author of *The Teacher's Dream*, etc. 12mo, pp. 274. Boston: Lee & Shepard. Price, cloth, $1.25.

This is a schoolmaster's book in the double sense of coming from and being intended largely, though by no means exclusively, for that class of intellectual workers. Thus the thoughtless and mentally indolent will be repelled from it; the better and earnest-minded few will be attracted to it. From professors and instructors have come numerous departmental text-books, and in recent years various treatises on pedagogy. Dr. Venable's volume belongs not to either of these classes. It is broader, and therefore interesting to a larger number of readers. It is made up of "educational essays dealing with the common problems of teaching and learning, and derived from actual experience in school and out of school." Its purpose, as indicated in the first sentence of the Preface, is to "encourage teachers, especially young teachers, and assist that large class of self-helpful students who are seeking guidance in the broad field of general culture." The author modestly says that many of the articles printed in his book might properly be called familiar "talks" rather than essays; but that by no means makes them less readable or less valuable; rather all the more alive, animated, and interesting. Dr. Venable is a man of young and modern spirit, who has learned all that the oldest masters could teach him, and in applying it to present needs and conditions shows us that part of what is best in the improvements of to-day comes by a revival of old methods or by expanding and adapting hints derived from some of the wise ancients. Neglecting no part of man's being, this book regards his body as the "quintessence of dust," and his soul as "infinite in faculties," and concerns itself with the "processes of that nurture and training which fit men to live the best and most useful life." "Let Him First Be a Man" is a title taken from Rousseau's *Essay on Education*, and in its use here sounds the high key-note of a book which is not mediocre, barren, or impotent, but spermatic in quality, containing much seed-thought. At once ideal and practical, it has power to wake up the mind, feed it, and guide it. Strong and valuable in its original matter, it culls things superior, rich, and exquisite from many fields, with almost Emersonian facility for apt, varied, and beautiful quotation. Some of the poetry is original. That the author is practiced in estimating intellectual and moral values is apparent. Much reading and study of the sifting sort has emptied its sieve into these pages. A wide range of ancient and modern literature is in sight. There is evidence of the painstaking care and precision which might be expected from a lifelong educator, and also of that philanthropic and magnanimous passion for imparting knowledge and for inculcating pure and noble principles without which there is no true instructor and no sufficient inspiration for the exacting, and to some extent thankless, labors of a

teacher's life. No printed page can be contemptible or worthless which offers us the ripe wisdom of studious, reflective, and extended experience, the product of the strenuous endeavors and inquiring search of an earnest and laborious soul, and which is pervaded by a sense of the solemnity, responsibility, dignity, and sublimity of human existence. The scope and character are indicated by the table of contents: I. EDUCATION: End and Means, Foundation and Superstructure; Young America at School; What is a Man? II. THE PARAGON OF ANIMALS. III. FUNCTIONS OF THE PREPARATORY SCHOOL. IV. SCHOOLMASTERY: 1. Guide, Shepherd, and Pilot; 2. What the Schoolmaster Masters; 3. Teaching and Governing; 4. Persuasion and Force; 5. Dr. Arnold's Way; 6. How Not to Govern a School; 7. The True Story of "Rusty Nails;" 8. The Ideal Teacher. V. NATURE THE SOVEREIGN SCHOOLMISTRESS. VI. TOPICS OF THE TIME: 1. "Experiments of Light;" 2. Both Sides are Right; 3. Disco; 4. Natural Ability plus Education; 5. The Quick Coal; 6. Does it Educate? 7. The Beginnings of Education; 8. Education and Temperance; 9. Universal Education. VII. BOOKS AND READING. VIII. UNCLASSIFIED TRIFLES: 1. Stray Thoughts; 2. Woman's Rights; 3. Past, Present, and Future; 4. Progress of Civilization; 5. Use of the Ideal; 6. Combinations *versus* Individuals; 7. A Collection of Men; 8. Education Out of School; 9. The Old-fashioned Elocutionist; 10. "It's Books;" 11. The Cultured Snob; 12. Natural Science Teaching in the Common Schools; 13. How to Say It. IX. STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION: 1. Confucius; 2. Education in Ancient Greece; 3. Plato and Education; 4. Aristotle and Education; 5. Quintilian; 6. Goethe as an Educational Light. X. THE UTILITY OF THE IDEAL. XI. SYLVAN MYTHOLOGY, POETRY, AND SENTIMENT. This makes no pretensions to being a great book; but these talks and essays are full of noble views of human culture good for all who are interested in education for themselves or others, and, finally and best, are by a teacher who has sat at the feet of the great Teacher, looked up with reverence into his face, and listened ponderingly to the words which are spirit and life.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

The Life and Work of John Ruskin. By W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A., Editor of *The Poems of John Ruskin*, etc. With Portraits and other Illustrations. In two volumes. 8vo, pp. 565. New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $5.

At the time of the publication of this book Ruskin is peculiarly dear to the English-speaking race as the sole survivor of the literary great men of his generation in the British Isles. It is laid upon our table quietly and makes no great sensation in the market; but in the near future, possibly by the time this notice meets the reader's eye, public interest will be turned to these admirable volumes by an event which the world would gladly postpone were the power of life and death in its hands. There is no Ruskin craze abroad just now. Men of fifty remember the sensation and stir made

by the rising of Ruskin's brilliant star; men of thirty and under have not seen the literary world star-gazing at that bright particular luminary shining now with steady splendor for half a century. Soon the passing of Ruskin to the life immortal will concentrate attention upon his writings and the volumes before us will be in large demand. Few lives now breathing among mortals are so nobly worthy of record, or so full of work high-pitched in quality and purpose and laboriously as well as enthusiastically performed. Centuries hence his name will not be moss-grown. The products of his genius are a lasting treasure, which no study of the literature of the Victorian age can omit to examine or fail to admire. If any student, by reason of a prosaic cast of mind, an unawakened imagination, unfortunate reading or lack of reading, has failed to catch the enthusiasm for literature, having failed to experience the thrill and elation which great thoughts and a splendid style can impart, we earnestly exhort him to yield himself to Ruskin for a while; and, if this master has no spell that can bewitch him, then it will be plain that the Creator has not seen fit to give him lungs to breathe or wings to fly in the air of literature. Scarce any other man has so illuminated and decorated the House of Life for mankind. Mr. Collingwood's eminently satisfactory book confines itself to the limits of its title and accomplishes all it undertakes. A complete collection of Ruskiniana would make large volumes and is properly left until the time shall come for summing up the life now in its seventy-fifth year. What a volume his letters will make when the day arrives for gathering them! Only a few are given in the work before us, and a few from certain friends, notably Carlyle and Browning. When the newspapers were in "ecstasies of rapture" over the appearance of the first volume of *The Stones of Venice* Carlyle wrote: "A strange, unexpected *Sermon* in Stones, most true and excellent, I believe, as well as the best piece of School-mastering in Architectonics; from which I hope to learn in a great many ways. It is a quite new *renaissance* we are getting into just now: either toward new, wider manhood, high again as the eternal stars; or else into final death and the mask of Gehenna for evermore." To this the sage of Chelsea adds, "We are still laboring under the foul kind of influenza here, I not far from emancipated, my poor wife still deep in the business;" from which it appears they had *la grippe* there in 1851. Of the *Ethics of the Dust* Carlyle writes: "A most shining performance! Not for a long while have I read anything a tenth part so radiant with talent, ingenuity, lambent fire (sheet and other lightnings) of all commendable kinds." "In power of expression supreme." "Exquisite with a poetry that might fill any Tennyson with despair." Of the *Queen of the Air* he writes: "No such book have I met with for long years. The one soul now in the world who seems to feel as I do on the highest matters, and speaks *mir aus dem Herzen*, exactly what I wanted to hear! Well done! Pluck up heart and continue. And don't say, 'Most great thoughts are dressed in shrouds;' many, many are the Phœbus Apollo celestial arrows you still have to shoot into the foul Pythons and poisonous, abominable Megatheriums and Plesiosaurians that go staggering about, large

as cathedrals in our sunk epoch." When Letter V, "Fors Clavigera," arrives, Carlyle writes Ruskin: "This, which I have just finished reading, is incomparable; a quasi-sacred consolation to me, which almost brings tears into my eyes! Every word of it is as if spoken out of the eternal skies; words winged with empyrean wisdom, piercing as lightning." Fortunate is the possessor of these volumes. Happy the biographer with such a theme as the life and work of John Ruskin, whose record with rare completeness matches the standard of Dr. Vandyke's lines:

> Four things a man must learn to do
> If he would make his record true:
> To think without confusion clearly;
> To love his fellow-men sincerely;
> To act from honest motives purely;
> To trust in God and heaven securely.

The Puritan in Holland, England, and America. An Introduction to American History. In two volumes. By DOUGLAS CAMPBELL, A.M., LL.B., Member of the American Historical Association. 8vo, Vol. I, pp. 509; Vol. II, pp. 588. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $5.

Under no circumstances could the Puritan ever become an unattractive character upon the historic page. A Calvinist in his theological views and a republican in his political sentiments, he so put his impress upon European life, in former centuries, that, were his presence and operations altogether transatlantic, his sturdiness, his high intelligence, his intense religious convictions, and his sacrifices for freedom would make him forever conspicuous as a historic figure. The rise of Puritanism in Holland, to say naught of its influential presence elsewhere, is a distinct and all-important epoch. These Holland Puritans, says Mr. Campbell, "sealed their devotion to the faith by carrying through a war unparalleled in the history of arms and founding a republic which endured for over two centuries." Yet, vigorous as was the growth of this sturdy plant upon the soil of the Netherlands, its drift as an exotic in the rugged climate of the New World gives it additional claim to notice. The Puritanism of America, in other words, was the consummate development of Holland and English Puritanisms, and lifts them into eternal conspicuousness. American history can only be intelligently interpreted by the recognition of Puritanism as an influential force in the early development of the New World. When Mr. Campbell, as a law student, more than a quarter of a century since, began to gather material "for a history of the jurisprudence of colonial New York" he presently found this to be the case. "From their earliest school days," he remarks, "Americans have been told that this nation is a transplanted England and that we must look to the motherland as the home of our institutions. But the men who founded New York were not Englishmen; they were Hollanders, Walloons, and Huguenots. The colony was under Dutch law for half a century; its population was probably not half English even at the time of the Revolution; and yet here one finds some of the institutions which give America its distinctive character, while, what is more remarkable, no trace of many of these

same institutions can be found in England. What was their origin became to me an interesting question. New York, which was first settled, certainly did not derive them from New England, and New England probably did not derive them from New York. Could there have been a common fountain which fed both these streams, the debt to which has never been acknowledged? Of course the Netherland Republic must have been this fountain, if one existed; but to prove its existence and the mode in which its influence was exerted on New England required an examination far outside the record of New York." In this somewhat lengthy quotation from Mr. Campbell's Introduction is, therefore, contained the gist of the theory which he came in former days to adopt, and the key to the voluminous work now under consideration. Two visits were made by him to Holland for the examination of early records there preserved; and as a result of such opportunities for investigation, as well as of years of meditation, these volumes were finally the outcome. It would be a practically impossible undertaking to linger in minute comment on the near eleven hundred pages which he has written. Some of his chapters are entitled, "The Netherlands Before the War with Spain," "Revolution in the Netherlands," "England Before Elizabeth," "Elizabethan England," "English Puritanism," "The English in the Netherlands—1585–88," "The Invincible Armada," "England After the Armada," "King James and the Puritans," "The Netherland Republic," "The Netherland Republic and the United States," and "The Scotch-Irish, the Puritans of the South." From such an enumeration it will easily be seen how wide is the field Mr. Campbell has traversed, how painstaking must have been his preparation, and what a thesaurus of historical information he has presumably given to the reading world. Luminous in his method of narration and apparently fair in his use of historic incident, his zeal in the elucidation of his theory never lags until the end. That he is over-enthusiastic in pressing his claim for the influence of Puritanism upon modern life some may hold; yet no more valuable treatise, we are persuaded, on the personality and influence of the Puritan has in late years appeared. It is a matter of regret, from the earthly standpoint, that Mr. Campbell has not lived to enjoy his well-earned laurels.

Froebel Letters. Edited, with Explanatory Notes and Additional Matter, by ARNOLD H. HEINEMANN. 12mo, pp. 182. Boston: Lee & Shepard. Price, cloth, $1.25.

The immortality of Friedrich Froebel is assured. While some men come to fame through the inventor's skill, the explorer's discovery of new continents, or the warrior's cruel sword, in the more quiet and unobtrusive department of child training has the hero of the present volume achieved his enduring renown. Yet he was not led on in his pursuits from any selfish love of fame, which too often induces men to barter away their nobler manhood. In a spirit of sacrifice which led him to forget himself in the interests of childhood he wrought for the improvement of the educational processes of his day and has won that repute which Chris-

tian humanitarianism often brings. As a man the reader will not fail to admire him. His guilelessness, his industry, his conscientiousness, and his tender sympathy make him in no small measure an example for imitation. But the volume traces the development of the Kindergarten system, as well as presents a biography of Froebel himself; and the fact that it is in part made up of his own letters, now for the first time published, makes the book an authoritative record of the growth of Froebel's system. Like many other helpful theories, the Kindergarten method was an evolution. The origin of the name itself and the conception of various devices, like the use of sand in teaching, are illustrations of what these Froebel letters contain. One cannot read the book without thankfulness that such a man has lived, without appreciation of the services of Frau Luise Froebel in the development of the Kindergarten movement, and without a new realization of the scientific value of the system.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A Cry from the Depths; or, The Mourner Comforted. By Rev. E. T. CURNICK, A.M. Pamphlet, pp. 31. Boston: Charles R. Magee. Price, paper, 10 cents.

This is an attempt to expound the meaning and use of suffering and to apply the balm of Gilead to the wounds of the world. With the second beatitude as a text the author uses reason and Scripture to instruct and console, in an order of thought which is best indicated by the table of contents:

I. INTRODUCTION.
II. MINISTRY OF SUFFERING.—1. Pain a Protest against Physical Excess. 2. Danger Signals before the Mind. 3. Warnings against Business Excitement. 4. Man's Frailty shown by Suffering. 5. Pain a Factor in the World's Advance.
III. MOURNING FOR SIN.—1. Soul Conscious of its True State. 2. Sin Hated and Forsaken.
IV. "THOU COMFORTEST ME."—1. In Christ the Mourner is Justified. 2. He is Born from Above. 3. His Eternal Felicity.

Report of the Master and Examiner in the Reading Equity Case of Krecker vs. *Shirey*, with the Opinion of the Court of Common Pleas of Berks County, Pa., Sustaining the Same. Pamphlet. Philadelphia: Collins Printing Hou e. Sold by Rev. J. H. Shirey, Reading, Pa. Price, paper, 50 cents.

This is the official copy of the judgment of the civil court upon the question whether Rev. Augustus Krecker or Rev. Jonas H. Shirey is entitled by law to the pastorship of "Immanuel Church of the Evangelical Association" in the city of Reading, Pa. It is a thorough and comprehensive review of the Evangelical Association controversy from a legal standpoint; a clear and able vindication of the principles contended for by those in whose favor the court is constrained by law and equity to render its verdict. Seldom has a civil tribunal bestowed greater pains to make exhaustive examination or exhibited finer power of comprehension and of lucid argument in matters ecclesiastical. It is a model document and of no little historical value, bearing not only on the particular point decided

by it, but also on numerous other points of wider interest involved therewith or thereto related.

The Golden City. A Sermon by W. V. TUDOR, D.D., Pastor of Broad Street Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Richmond, Va. Pamphlet, pp. 16. Richmond: J. W. Fergusson & Son.

This is a discourse on heaven which seems pitched on the key of Bernard of Cluny's sweet, blessed, and rapturous hymn, "Jerusalem the Golden." It is a good specimen of that fervid, glittering, and sumptuous eloquence of which the South, in pulpit and on platform, has been prolific; which the North seldom produces, but is able to enjoy and admire. The author is a well-known and popular minister of our sister Church, only a trifle nearer the tropics than we are.

Walter and Nellie, or the Shadow of the Rock. Five Illustrations. By Mrs. S. S. ROBBINS. 16mo, pp. 298. Price, cloth, 50 cents.

The Little Sea Bird. Five Illustrations. By Mrs. S. S. ROBBINS. 16mo, pp. 170. Price, cloth, 40 cents.

Daisy Downs, or What the Sabbath School Can Do. Four Illustrations. By Mrs. S. S. ROBBINS. 16mo, pp. 306. Price, cloth, 55 cents.

Kitty's Dream, and Other Stories. Seven Illustrations. By Mrs. S. S. ROBBINS. 16mo, pp. 212. Price, cloth, 45 cents.

The above from the ready pen of a single author are interesting and instructive Sunday school stories for juvenile readers. The children will enjoy these narratives. They are among the latest issued by the eastern Book Concern.

Men and Morals. By the Rev. JAMES STALKER, D.D., Author of *The Life of Jesus Christ*, etc. 16mo, pp. 178. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co. Price, cloth, $1.

Eight discourses, delivered to the students of Mr. Moody's school at Northfield, in the chapel of Yale University, and elsewhere, make up the above volume. It is enough to say of these addresses that they are vigorous, practical, and helpful. Dr. Stalker is no less at his best in this incidental publication than in more pretentious volumes.

The March of Methodism from Epworth Around the Globe. Outlines of the History, Doctrine, and Polity of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By JAMES MCGEE. With an Introduction by Bishop JAMES N. FITZGERALD, LL.D., President of the Epworth League. 12mo, pp. 147. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, 60 cents.

To condense the story of so magnificent a religious movement as that of Methodism within so small a compass as the present outlines is no easy undertaking. Yet this is the task Mr. McGee has undertaken, and, we would judge, with some fair degree of success. While condensation necessarily means the omission of much that is valuable in biography and incident, yet the author would seem to have preserved the links which are indispensable in the chain of denominational history, and what he has written he has written with such general excellence and clearness of arrangement as to make his handbook one of practical service, particularly to the Epworth Leaguers of the Church.

METHODIST REVIEW.

NOVEMBER, 1893.

ART. I.—SOME POPULAR MISTAKES RESPECTING EVOLUTION.

IN the last number of the *Review* evolution was treated of as a general cosmic formula; and it was pointed out that the mistakes of popular thought upon the subject are mainly due to a confusion of the supposed fact of evolution with sundry doubtful metaphysical interpretations. We shall find the same thing to be true of organic evolution. In the organic world evolution is no longer a cosmic formula but a biological doctrine. By a little verbal conjuring it may indeed be made to appear as an illustration of the cosmic theory, but no new insight or evidence is gained thereby. Sawing wood, trimming one's beard, sifting ashes, and weeding the garden may all be brought under a common rubric; yet after all it is hardly worth while to announce that these diverse operations are but phases of the one fundamental process of differentiation. In the organic field evolution is simply the claim that existing living forms can be traced back along genealogical lines to a common starting point in some very simple primitive forms. This does not mean that existing forms can be changed into one another, but rather that they have grown out of a common origin, just as the branches of a tree, though separate and individual, unite in a common trunk and develop by a common process of the formation and growth of terminal and lateral buds. The essential idea is that of genetic connection. Present forms have arisen out of past forms along lines of descent; but when the forms have arisen there may be in many cases no further communication possible.

A complete discussion of this subject would need to consider three distinct points: (1) the fact of organic evolution; (2) the explanation of organic forms by means of evolution; and (3) the metaphysical cause or causes which underlie evolution. It is only as these are kept distinct that we can hope for any assured outcome. If genetic connection is not a fact the theory fails in its foundation. If it be a fact, but we are unable to connect it by any definite laws with the origin and differentiation of organic forms, we are no better off than before. If both of these points are sufficiently cleared up we need for our final peace some conception of the agent or agents which are carrying on the process.

On the first point we find very general agreement in spite of many outstanding difficulties, some of which are of a fundamental nature. The final result with minds of a judicial and critical type will probably be a somewhat more agnostic attitude than obtains at present. On the second point students are all at sea. There is no generally accepted theory of evolution. Natural selection, which for a time seemed to be the key for the unlocking of all mysteries, has been remanded to a subordinate position, and many evolutionists have ventured to speak slightingly of it. The action of the environment, use and disuse of organs, physiological variations, extraordinary births, and mysterious variations in the reproductive functions are all appealed to to explain the origin of species; and however successful they may be with particular cases, they are each and all sadly lacking when put alongside of the problem as a whole. The theory of evolution, then, is far from settled; and the agreement of students on the fact of evolution should not blind us to their disagreement on the theory. On the third point, the metaphysics of the process, we find generally only the crude, unconscious dogmatism of the senses. The failure to keep the several questions distinct has filled the discussion with confusion. Gradually, however, we are learning to distinguish them and are getting beyond some of the wild work of years ago. Surmises about what took place in "Lemuria," or about the missing links that may yet be found on the ocean's bed are given less and less weight as arguments.

But our aim is not to discuss the truth of evolution, but rather to criticise some mistaken inferences from it which

abound in popular thought. It is clear to everyone with only slight critical power that the supposed fact and the inferences from it have been sadly mixed. The inference most commonly drawn is that men are apes, or tadpoles, or some other animal which may strike us as rhetorically effective. There seems to be in many minds both spherical and chromatic aberration, which forbid them to see facts in sharp definition and without distorting haze; and certainly there is no more striking illustration than the subject in question presents. For, granting the fact of evolution, the truth would be simply that individuals taken from mutually remote points in a genealogical series would be so unlike as to forbid classifying them together. There would not be a change of individuals into something else, but a succession of unlike individuals along lines of descent. This would exhaust the fact; and it would leave entirely open the question concerning (1) the nature of the individual, and (2) the nature of the power which produces individuals. But popular thought, supposing that genetic connection must imply some identical essence, concludes that the earlier and the later members of the series are the same; and, as the earlier members were possibly arboreal or amphibious in their habits, there is nothing for it but to identify the later members with their ancestors.

In the same way the transformation of species is commonly misunderstood. In logic a species is any group of individuals which have some element of similarity. Most logical species are confessedly artificial and are imposed upon things by the mind for its own convenience. The things themselves are as indifferent to the classification as the earth is indifferent to the parallels of latitude of the geographer, or as time is to our dates and anniversaries. It is absolutely nothing to the temporal flow that we call one part of it June. It is contended, however, that natural species exist objectively; yet even here the most decided realist must allow that most species are of our own making. Dr. Asa Gray said that he had made and unmade too many species to believe in their fixity; and everyone knows how the classification of low forms of life changes from year to year. The realistic contention has plausibility only when applied to the more striking and highly differentiated forms of life. Now the evolutionist who understands himself is a thoroughgoing

nominalist. For him a species is only a group of more or less similar individuals, and apart from these it is nothing. Hence, for him the transformation of a species could only mean the production along genealogical lines of dissimilar individuals, thus forming a new group. These groups, again, would be only relatively fixed, and might shade away at their edges into other groups, so that no fixed frontier could be discovered. But popular thought is always realistic. Its notion of transformation rests on the fancy that a species is a real essence apart from the individual; and the notion that the later individuals are really the same as the earlier rests on an implicit denial of the transformation. Hence, although transformed, it is really the same old thing after all; that is, there has been no real transformation. In short, popular thought overlooks the nominalism of the doctrine of descent and seeks to interpret it by the traditional realism. Thus it digs a ditch for itself and then falls into it.

In all this the illusion is patent. Species are no substantial essences; and generation in any of its forms is only a name for a process whose inner nature and causes are wrapped in mystery. It is the process by which living individuals originate. We know some of the phenomenal conditions, and in this inductive sense we know something of the causes; but what the real agent is which produces individuals lies beyond any ken of ours. And when produced in this way they are as distinct and separate as if produced directly from raw material or made out of hand. Our knowledge of the process is purely empirical and phenomenal. Why such a process exists at all or why its successive phases follow in their discovered order is something we cannot fathom. Any other order is conceivably quite as possible. Here, as in the cosmos as a whole, we find an order of procedure, but are ignorant of the forces at work and of their laws.

If, then, in tracing the history of organic forms along genealogical lines we find a growing complexity and a continued progress, the simple fact would be that the power which produces individuals, instead of producing them all on a level, would rather produce them on a varied and rising scale, a scale of greater complexity and heterogeneity and one of growing adaptation to larger and fuller life. There is nothing whatever in the fact of such connection which identifies individuals, or which identifies higher and lower forms. It only says that the

higher forms have been brought into existence along lines of descent, and not directly from inorganic raw material. They are lateral buds higher up on the tree of life, rather than isolated beginnings. But when the higher forms are produced they are what they are, and are not to be confounded with their antecedents. We may indeed class them together for logical convenience, and may speak of later forms as modifications of earlier ones; but both the identification and the modification are purely subjective, and have no significance for the real things. Apart from our subjective manipulation, the fact is the individuals and the power which produces individuals through the processes of generation in such a way that they admit of being classified according to an ascending scale. All else is the shadow of our own minds.

Such would be the fact. And it is further plain that there is nothing in this fact in any way incompatible with the belief that the growing complexity of organic forms represents a plan and purpose. For if we suppose God to have created a world in time no one can say that he may not have brought forward its factors successively as well as simultaneously, and that he may not have made the earlier stages the conditions of the later. The question of plan must not be confounded with the question of method. Whether there is any plan can be decided only by studying the product. If the organic world has attained a stage in which such a plan is manifest the reality of the plan cannot be discredited by reciting the method of its realization. Such difficulty as popular thought finds here arises from three causes —its tacit realism, its underlying mechanical philosophy, and the psychological difficulty in seeing purpose when it is slowly realized. The first leads us to fancy that descent and classification identify the first and the last, and thus reduce us to apes. The second misleads us into making nature into a self-executing material system, which is able to begin with nothing and on its own account blindly produce all things. The third cause leads us to overlook the relativity of all time estimates and to demand that cosmic purpose shall be measured, not by universal harmony and adaptation, but by the rate of our mental movement. But if the present order of living things would point to intelligence if instantaneously produced, it points equally to intelligence however produced. This results from that complete determina-

tion of everything in a mechanical system which makes it impossible for anything to emerge in such a system which has not always been implicit in it. Every survival and non-survival and the net result of all survivals and non-survivals have been predetermined either from the beginning or from everlasting.

From oversight of this fact a peculiar abstraction is apt to mislead us here. Thus we separate the organic world from the inorganic and tend to make the latter the reality of which the former is a passing product. But we get such a notion only from the unlawful abstractions of verbal thinking. The reality is neither the inorganic alone nor the organic alone, but the actual universe, of which both the organic and the inorganic are manifestations. If it be said that the inorganic certainly preceded the organic, that shows not that the inorganic produces the inorganic, but rather and only that the inorganic manifestation of reality preceded the organic manifestation. When this is seen we are freed from those sterile and verbal debates about the origin of life from the essentially inorganic.

Popular thought has been further misled by sundry phrases and figures of speech which have figured prominently in the discussion. The implicit anthropomorphism in the phrase "natural selection," and the ambiguity in the phrase "the survival of the fittest," have often lent an unreal cogency to evolutionary reasoning. By force of the phrases alone provision is made for selection and progress. It only remains to call the phrases laws to reach a complete insight into the mysteries of organic forms. This is pathetic. Selection is an anthropomorphic metaphor. The fact is simply that organisms unadapted or ill adapted to the conditions of their existence perish, while others better adapted survive. It presupposes the existence of organisms, the general laws of life, the processes of generation, and then explains to us, not how adapted forms arise and survive, but how unadapted forms perish. The non-survival of the unfit, in the sense of unadapted to the conditions of existence, is plain enough, but the existence of the fit is not explained thereby. The fact that weak boilers blow up contains no account of the existence of boilers in general and of strong boilers in particular. When the metaphor is eliminated from the doctrine we see that the knot of the problem lies not in the survival, but in

the arrival of adapted forms; and for this natural selection makes no provision, but takes it for granted.

The ambiguity in "the survival of the fittest" is manifest. The doctrine is a barren tautology, if we determine fitness by survival; and, in a qualitative sense, it constitutes a problem rather than a solution. That the system of things should be such as to favor the fittest, in the sense of the highest, would be a noteworthy circumstance. In itself the doctrine is as compatible with regress as with progress. Which it shall be depends altogether upon the conditions external and internal; and when these work together to secure a real qualitative progress we need something more than the survival of the fittest to account for the fact. And when the fittest arrive and survive in such a way as to fall into different kinds and groups we have a result for the expression of which the old doctrine of types with a little furbishing and some increase of pliability would serve about as well as any. A theist would hardly claim that the Creator produces the similarities which underlie classification without thought of the fact; and an atheist must hold that from all eternity matter has been under the necessity of running in certain molds rather than in any others.

These considerations convince us that the doctrine of descent is entirely harmless so far as theism is concerned. It has, indeed, often been used as the conclusive demonstration of atheism; but this was due entirely to bad logic, crude metaphysics, and fictitious science. In fact, it is very possible that when the theory of descent is thought out into all its implications it will prove to be the most teleological, if not the most anthropomorphic, biological doctrine ever advanced. In many expositions it has already run into teleological conceptions of a mythological type. The same considerations also serve to raise a doubt as to the degree of light which the doctrine throws upon fundamental biological problems. To be sure, the doctrine is said to be accepted by all investigators who are not too old to change their opinions. "All those under forty years of age" was the formula years ago. If none of these have backslidden there must now be practical unanimity. But when we come to apply the doctrine to the solution of biological problems we have less light than we had been led to expect. Certain facts can indeed be connected with certain other facts according to rules em-

pirically discovered; but of the system of facts as a whole and of its general direction we get no account.

We have just seen what a truism the survival of the fittest turns out to be, and how its operation and direction are conditioned by backlying causes which are the real mystery. When, further, the doctrine of descent is held to explain the possibility of classification, the homologies of animal structure, etc., it does it only by assuming the explanation in some so-called law. Genealogical connection alone implies nothing as to its products. These might be like or unlike, for all we know, in any degree whatever. It is only as filiation is restricted to certain results by certain laws, discovered or assumed, that we can deduce anything from it. For the most part we follow Mephistopheles's advice and stick to words. If the offspring is like the ancestor, it is heredity; if unlike, it is differentiation, or variation. Both are names for empirically discovered facts, and neither is a law from which anything specific can be deduced. Either "law," taken absolutely, contradicts the other. In general we have heredity, that is, likeness, enough to explain the likeness, and variation, that is, unlikeness, enough to explain the unlikeness.

Our "laws" have so little definite meaning that, like a dough face, they can be punched into any desirable shape. Under the form of atavism and reversion heredity is easily induced to skip whole generations; and variation may be furnished with any desired velocity and measure. When indefinite time was at our disposal speculators made nothing of using hundreds of millions of years to effect very slight changes. The practical stability of most forms within the historic period was seen to mean nothing, as that period is a vanishing quantity compared with the æons consumed in the process. But when astronomy and geology and physics cut down the eons to moderate proportions there was only momentary embarrassment. By giving variation a variable coefficient, as was most meet, it was easy to make it fast enough or slow enough to fit into any facts whatever. In short, our laws admit of no deduction from them. They prescribe nothing. They are only abstract expressions of the facts themselves and add nothing to them. We have to wait for the facts to occur; and then we classify them as due to heredity or variation. If the facts had been altogether different

we could classify them with equal insight and satisfaction. Variations have arisen, we know not how, and have been preserved from effacement by crossing with the average individual, we know not how. They have been reproduced in the offspring, we know not how; why in the actual direction and measure so as to produce the actual product is altogether beyond us. But we may be sure that if these variations and reproductions fell out as they did the actual order is fully explained. One must be considerably "under forty years of age" to be fully contented with this account.

This logical pliability is well illustrated by the replies to an objection which was made at an early date in the evolution discussion. It was pointed out that cross breeding must speedily efface variations. A variation in a single individual, under the law of heredity and supposing cross fertility, must quickly vanish in the common characteristics. This was a grave objection, and one fatal to the doctrine in its original form. But why may not similar variations have occurred simultaneously in many individuals, at least in a pair? And since animals wander about, why may we not suppose this pair or these similar individuals to have emigrated or been segregated by the upheaval of mountain chains or by the subsidence of the earth's crust so as to form islands, thus escaping cross breeding? Or may not cross fertility itself have ceased through some undemonstrable changes in the reproductive powers of certain individuals, which thereby became a group by themselves? These suggestions, all of which have been gravely made in the history of the debate, show a notable flexibility in the theory and some power of scientific imagination.

The genetic connection of organic forms, then, may well be a fact, and one which enables us to relate many facts in a common scheme; but when we seek to find an essential explanation of organic forms in it we find that the doctrine does not touch bottom. We can carry many things into it, but we can get nothing out of it. In this respect it is like a logical classification which applies to all the particulars included under it, but implies none of them. Of course this is well understood among scientific men themselves; but it is not understood among magazine and hearsay scientists, who, unfortunately, are always with us.

Evolution has also been pursued into the realm of mind with great enthusiasm and greater misunderstanding. It is popularly supposed that evolution has shown that the human mind has been evolved from the brute mind, and hence that there is no essential difference between them. But here again we have to distinguish between the fact and its interpretation. Admitting evolution as true, the fact in the present case would be that minds of a lower grade preceded those of a higher grade, and that if we should classify these minds we should find them constituting an ascending order. There is no mind in general, neither brute nor human. The human mind is only a class term of which the reality is individual human minds. The brute mind also is only a class term; and if there be any reality corresponding to it, it is a multitude of individual minds whose powers are very obscurely known to us. The easy freedom with which we are recommended to study the human mind in its origin in the brute mind would naturally lead one to think that we have an independent and unquestionable knowledge of the brute mind; whereas what little knowledge we have is reached by assimilating the brute's activity to our own, while most of the alleged knowledge is only an inconsistent anthropomorphism. Of course no one ventures consistently to apply the anthropomorphic interpretation; and so we oscillate confusedly between reason and instinct, and lose ourselves in a cloud of words concerning the relations of the human and the brute mind.

Allowing the brute mind, however, the fact that these many minds have appeared in connection with a genealogical series and that they constitute an ascending order is far from deciding the essential nature of the individuals or their relation to one another. To identify them because they are all minds would be like identifying a watch and locomotive because they are both machines, or lead and gold because they are both metals. To identify them because the term mind is one is to overlook the fact that the thing is many and that no classification removes the incommunicable difference of individuality. To class them together because of the assumed genealogical connection would be to assume that the antecedent and consequent must be alike, and that would take all motion out of the doctrine. The actual order, whether intended or not, involves the successive appear-

ance of individual minds so as to form an ascending series in the scale of mentality; but the true nature of the agents by which this series is realized is enveloped in profound obscurity, while the process throws no light on the nature of the individuals themselves. The problem is not, as so many seem to think, to put the abstraction "mind" or the "brute mind" through the various paces of verbal evolution, but to produce a series of individual minds, each distinct from every other and, except in a figurative way, inheriting nothing from any other.

The history of thought furnishes no more striking illustration of the power of the fallacy of the universal than appears in this debate. It is positively pathetic, the way in which men have caught themselves in a verbal trap. To begin with, a deal of rhetorical skirmishing has been done over the general question whether evolution may be applied to man, in which not a little courage of a sort has been shown. The claims of the scientific spirit and of the principle of continuity having been duly vindicated, it only remained to show that the human mind and all its contents admit of being developed from the brute mind as the principle of continuity demands. The method consisted in showing that human faculty and brute faculty differ in degree rather than in kind. Animals love and hate, remember and reason, and even show traces of conscience and religion. Mr. Darwin detected notable indications of a moral nature in dogs; and one French *savant* has discovered in the nightly howling of a dog an act of religious worship. Since, then, the brute mind contains at least the rudiment of our human faculties, it is entirely possible that the latter should have been evolved from the former. This is all the more credible from the fact that the difference between the highest and the lowest man is far greater than that between the highest brute and the lowest man.

Strenuous and agonistic attempts have been made to reply to this by finding in language, in general and abstract ideas, or in the idea of the infinite an impassable gulf between the human and the brute mind. And yet the debate did not touch reality at all; it was only a matter of logical classification or of the contents of a pair of logical abstractions, the human mind and the brute mind. If the two abstractions were found to be identical the concrete problem would be as hard as ever; for this, as we have said, consists not in a verbal shuffling of logical

symbols, but in the production of a series of concrete minds, each of which is a distinct individual and, except in a figurative sense, inherits nothing from any other. Given one or more minds, to produce new minds of higher kind or degree, or indeed of any kind or degree, is the real problem.

The difficulty of this problem is shown in the materialistic debate, and also in the traditional discussion in theology as to the origin of souls. One thing is sure: no one has yet discovered a way for reducing souls to functions of physical organization or for evolving souls from something which is not soul. Equally undiscovered is the way for evolving souls from the souls of parents, say by some process of budding, or fission, or offshoots. The imagination, indeed, readily masters the process by a few sense-images, though more commonly by merely naming the process; but thought finds no escape from viewing each successive mind as a new beginning. Here, as elsewhere, the supposed fact of evolution has been illogically connected with a mechanical and material philosophy and with that crude dogmatism of uncritical thought which erects nature into an independent and self-sufficing system. A few echoes of scholastic realism make the doctrine complete.

This distinctness of individuality on which we have been dwelling reduces many potent phrases, as "race-experience," to mere figures of speech. The experience of an individual, being inalienable, cannot be inherited or transmitted. Of course the so-called facts of mental heredity remain; but when we eliminate from these all that is figurative they are reduced to a similarity, more or less striking, between the mental traits of the ancestor and those of the descendant. How this similarity is produced is a special problem; to explain it by heredity is simply to offer the name of the problem for its solution. To suppose the experience to be handed along bodily is to fall into one of the many mythologies of the imagination. Refraining from these follies, we have left a graded series of minds of greater or less similarity; but the cause of the series and the reason of the similarity remain in the highest degree obscure. If we think to help the matter by saying that at least the process is natural the claim may be admitted, in the sense that the facts succeed one another in a certain phenomenal order. To make "natural" mean more than this is to plunge into the

depths of dogmatic metaphysics. The conception which commonly underlies the claim is that nature is a closed dynamic system, self-centered and self-administering; and this is merely the apotheosis of crude and uncritical thinking.

So far we have considered only the existence of minds; we have found the difficulties of the problem covered up by irrelevant verbal thinking. Evolution is also supposed to have great significance for the contents of these minds. Here evolution is no longer a cosmical formula or a biological doctrine, but a psychological theory. The unity of the name must not lead us to overlook the difference of the thing. In this field the doctrine is mainly the familiar sensational psychology, renamed and furnished with some sonorous biological phrases and with the unmanageable notion of a race experience. New names and fresh paint are such powerful rejuvenating agents that were it not for a law of Congress all the old hulks afloat would renew their youth. Speculative doctrines often undergo rejuvenescence by an analogous process. Our new psychology, that is, our old sensational psychology with a new name, points out that the beginnings of the mental life consist of simple sensations and animal wants and instincts. All higher forms of mentality, and especially all moral manifestations, come later. Hence it is concluded that the higher are evolved from the lower, and that if we should reduce our mental life to its essential factors we should find only the selfish wants and instincts of animal life.

But here again we confound the description of the order of mental development with a theory of its conditioning ground. On the one hand, there is no doubt that the order of mental development is that just described, and, on the other, it is equally plain that the conclusion is utterly false. In the history of the human body there is a successive appearance of facts and functions of which the infant body shows at first no trace, such as teeth, beard, reproductive functions; but these cannot be explained as accidents of the physical life, but rather as successive manifestations of a law of growth which implies all these stages. So in the development of a fruit tree. There is a long period of growth in which no hint is given of blossoms and fruit; and yet when they come they can be viewed only as manifesta-

tions of an essential law which expresses the nature of the tree and determines the order and stages of its development. The same is true of a mind. There is an order of development; but that order can in no way be understood without assuming an inner law as its foundation. And as the true nature of an apple tree is not fully revealed in the leaves alone, but only in the whole cycle of manifestation, so the true nature of a mind is revealed, not in simple sensations alone, but only in its entire cycle of manifestation. Without this assumption we cannot explain mental development at all. The several phases of mental unfolding can in no way be identified. The lower may precede the higher and condition its unfolding, but it cannot of itself pass into the higher. The ground of progress must be sought, not in the antecedents, but in the essential nature of the mind itself.

The claim often heard, that the moral nature is only a phase of the brute nature, is barely intelligible at best, and is quite false in its intended meaning. It is our old friend, the fallacy of the universal, over again. It classifies various feelings together and supposes that they are thereby identified in fact. This notion disappears as soon as we recall the distinction between verbal thinking and concrete thinking. Things are not made alike by being classed together. Their union in a class may give a common point of view which has logical convenience; but as soon as we have to deal with reality we must go back to the things themselves. When, then, we class a number of feelings together we do nothing to the feelings. They remain what they were, with their differences as well as their likenesses; and for their understanding we have to leave the formal identifications of logic and betake ourselves to experience itself. Most of the identifications of the theory are of this formal sort. They are not concrete but abstract; they do not represent reality, but only logical manipulation. But in popular thought when the terminology of evolution is let loose upon animal elements they are supposed to develop into moral elements, yet not into truly moral elements; they rather remain animal elements as at first. Thus the baseness of the raw material infects the product, and the moral nature is shown to be of the earth, earthy. The popular speculator is so little conscious of his own aim that he really does not know whether there is a develop-

ment or not. If you deny the possibility of such evolution he turns on a flood of words with amazing volubility and proves it possible. If you accept the development and emphasize the moral nature he then points out that it is not truly moral, but only disguised animalism. This dreary verbal seesaw needs no further discussion.

Mr. Darwin himself, as well as his disciples, seems to have fancied that his view of a gradual development of human faculties has immense significance for psychology and philosophy, and especially for morals. This opinion rested partly upon the fancy just mentioned, that such a development can be worked without assuming an inner law as its determining ground; partly also on the fancy that the derived must be untrustworthy; and finally on the failure to distinguish between the order of mental genesis and the question of philosophical value. The first fancy has been sufficiently noted; the second one is a curious inheritance from an obsolete psychological doctrine, and is, too, a contradiction of evolution itself. For if faculty is really developing, if insight is really being evolved, then our minds in their last, and not in their earliest, stages are the true court of appeal. If we are not developing toward knowledge of course all thinking is at an end. But in either case it is quite absurd to appeal either to babies or to some primitive polyp to settle philosophical questions. If it is no reflection upon the mature mind that it was once in the embryonic state of infancy and the whimsical stage of childhood, so also it is no reflection upon it that it was preceded by others whose development never went beyond an animal stage. As to the other point mentioned, it is sufficient to say that the psychological genesis and history of our ideas are one thing; their philosophical value is quite another.

A final misinterpretation of evolution is to be noticed in the field of religion. Writers of the evolution school largely agree in tracing religious belief to some low primitive form, as fetichism or animism. Some hold that the belief in ghosts, arising from dreams and pathological phenomena, was the primal form of religion; and from this unseemly, or at least unpromising, beginning all the various forms of religion, even the highest, have been evolved. The common inference from such views is that the

nature and truth of religion are determined by its earliest form. If, then, we would find the essence of religion we must look to its embryonic manifestation. The truth of religion also must depend on the tenability of its rudimentary conceptions. If we find the belief in ghosts to be the earliest form of religious conception we must view the latest and highest forms as only sublimations of that primitive faith. If we no longer believe in ghosts we must prepare to see all the sublimated phases of that faith vanish with its grosser forms. Probably most of those who hold such views as to the historical origin of religion are convinced that they have an important bearing upon the truth of religion. We see, it is said, how the religious idea arises, and we have only to invoke evolution to see how it unfolds.

It is curious to the origin of this fancy. The mind spontaneously gives all its objects a substantive form, no matter whether they be proper things or not. Language has comparatively few nouns which stand for real things, most nouns representing only a conceptual existence. But when an idea has once taken on the substantive form we easily mistake it for a kind of thing and apply attributes to it which are meaningless except when applied to things. Again, we think under the law of identity; and hence our ideas, when once defined, come to have a fixed meaning for thought. When, then, we speak of the development of ideas we tend to think of the ideas themselves as developing or evolving, and yet as never going beyond the abiding essence which the law of identity demands. In the case in hand the primal religious idea is supposed to develop, and yet it never gets beyond its original self. By developing it unfolds itself into the myriad forms of religion; and by the law of identity it is kept to its primal essence. But that essence was, say, a belief in ghosts. No one, then, who has given up the primitive faith in ghosts can long keep its offshoot or outgrowth, religion.

Now, in all this the fallacy of the universal is full-blown. The mind merely chases its own shadow and mistakes its verbal manipulations for a real process in the thing. But as soon as we get away from verbal thinking to the fact we see that a belief or idea is nothing which can develop itself. Just as little can it have an abiding objective essence which remains un-

changed through its several phases. This would be logical and psychological mythology. Except in a figurative sense a belief does not admit of being developed at all. A developed belief is another belief. As a mental act or affirmation a belief exists only in the act or affirmation; and when the affirmation is changed there is no abiding essence which glides over from the old to the new, but a new affirmation is made. If we viewed the modern house as developed from the wigwam we should hardly suppose either that the wigwam evolved itself into the house or that there was a wigwam essence which remained unchanged throughout the evolution and constituted the true nature of the house. The development of the wigwam into the house means the tearing down of the wigwam and replacing it by the house. So in the case in question. If the alleged genesis of religion were historically correct it would not mean that the primal religious conception developed itself or that it was developed into anything else. It would rather mean that human beings in a given stage of progress formed certain conceptions of things unseen, while other human beings in another stage of progress replaced these conceptions by other and higher ones. Fetichism, animism, ghostism, polytheism, monotheism, pantheism, Christianity—these are not phases of a common belief, except in a verbal sense or in the sense of logical classification; in reality and apart from the verbal identities of logic, they are different conceptions which men have formed concerning the invisible world.

The fancy that what was historically first was the raw material out of which the others were made is a meaningless whimsey of the imagination. The fancy that the first belief is the standard by which the others must be judged is equally whimsical and groundless. As well might we say that astrology is the real essence of astronomy, and that to believe modern astronomy is to accept ancient astrology, since the former has developed out of the latter. And finally, if the historical genesis of religion were agreed upon, the truth of the competing conceptions would remain an open question. This could not be settled by any study of evolution. To make such an attempt would be like settling the claims of chemistry by reciting the history of alchemy. The question of truth must be transferred to the court of philosophy, whose function it is to study the

grounds and worth of belief, in distinction from its genesis and history. If religion began as animism it is now animism in the same sense in which astronomy is now astrology or chemistry is now alchemy. And, as it is no reproach to these sciences that their beginnings were both crude and unsavory, so it is no reproach to religion that its early forms were both crude and superstitious. This, indeed, is characteristic of all early conceptions, scientific and religious alike. A good part of early science was sheer superstition, and the rest was largely mistaken. But this fact has not the slightest significance for the truth of our present conceptions. A moment's reflection shows this. Yet by dint of talking and much reference to evolution this historical order of genesis has been supposed to reveal in religious ideas an essence of abiding baseness, and also to furnish a standard of their truth. To resume the illustration already given, this is like refuting astronomy and chemistry by belaboring astrology and alchemy. So fearful are the ravages of verbal thinking.

To sum up the matter, it is plain that evolution, in what I have called the scientific sense, is a perfectly harmless and not over-important doctrine. In itself it is as good as any other, and, when proved, or in so far as proved, it is better than any other. It is equally plain that most of the conclusions drawn from it do not follow. The mass of what passes for evolution in popular literature and discussion is bad metaphysics, worse logic, and hearsay science. The term itself has become so vague that it is much to be desired that the distinguished clergymen who now and then make a sensation among the reporters by announcing themselves as believers in evolution would accompany their profession of faith with some interpreting definition. Without this the performance is not altogether unlike expressing a belief in things in general.

Borden P. Bowne.

ART. II.—MATTHEW ARNOLD.

IT is now ten years since Mr. Arnold came to America and gave lectures in some of our cities. He followed in this the example of Thackeray and Dickens, and if his hearing was smaller than theirs it was quite as attentive and appreciating. These men, seeking their own pleasure or profit, gratified our curiosity and stimulated us to read and value their writings, and thus did us an abiding service. Arnold was of noble presence, of kindly, earnest face, and his rich hair, parting and clustering in generous masses, was in that winter of 1883 just sable silvered. He was no orator; his tones were pleasant, but low and slow of utterance, and his drawl was unspeakable. For all that, to cultivated audiences the charm of his personal composure, the beauty of his thought, and the clear, incisive quality of his silvery rhetoric made him very welcome. During his lifetime Mr. Arnold was well rather than widely known among his countrymen as a man of letters and as a thinker. Nor since his sudden death, in 1887, has this statement needed any modification. Yet he was appreciated by his contemporaries; and his works will receive from posterity by just award a permanent place in the ever-lengthening scroll of our English classics, which Americans also claim, seeing that we read them without translations.

Matthew Arnold was born December 24, 1822, in Laleham, England. His father, Thomas Arnold, eminent as clergyman and historian, was still more eminent as a teacher. At Matthew's birth he was privately fitting students for the universities. Later he entered upon his career as head master at Rugby, where many a Tom Brown came to love and respect him. He knew the good and the ill of English boys, as with all their faults the most sincere, energetic, and self-centered of the human race, and with wonderful skill he trained them in sound learning and, still better, in devout and generous sentiments. Molded to his ideals, more than one of his pupils became, like Dean Stanley, a leader and a blessing to the generation following. Matthew was his elder son. Another, William Delafield, early worn out in the educational work of India, died on his homeward route and was buried at Gibraltar; and the

grave of his noble wife is shown beneath the mighty shadow of the Himalayas. In Matthew's boyhood the home of the Arnolds was made at Fox How, in the Lake region, near the cottage of Wordsworth. Here in his vacations the father studied; and here the son could see the Lake Poets, Coleridge, Southey, and Wordsworth. To Fox How, thus a haunt of the muses, streamed in pilgrimage a line of visitors eminent for literary gifts and sympathies; and young Matthew, who even early "seemed no vulgar boy," could catch the deep things of reason and the sweet things of song. Most reverently sat the lad at the feet of these philosophers and poets.

In 1840, having studied under his father, he entered Baliol College, Oxford, and three years later gained a prize for an English poem. Two years later he was made a fellow of Oriel College. In 1846 he became private secretary to Lord Lansdowne, and so remained for several years. He also—after his marriage with Frances Wightman, daughter of an eminent jurist—served for thirty-four years as her majesty's inspector of British schools. He became in 1857 professor of poetry at Oxford. This office he held for ten years. Occasional poems, oftenest on simple themes, as the death of "Geist," his terrier, or of "Matthias," his canary, afterward appeared, and his "Westminster Abbey," written on the death of Dean Stanley, has the deep tone and solemn movement of a funeral anthem. His later years were given to educational work, to essays, critical and æsthetic, and to public addresses. Death came suddenly—a collapse at some muscular exertion—before either mind or body showed symptoms of decay. The simplicity and unworldliness of his life may be illustrated by the fact that from all his labors he had gathered an estate of only a thousand pounds!

Mr. Arnold's first stir of thought was from Wordsworth, not Wordsworth in his prime, the flush "high priest of man and nature and of human life," but from the venerable laureate when his utterances were beginning to have "the sweetness, the gravity, the beauty, and the languor of death." The son of Thomas Arnold inherited lofty energies; it is a pity that these were impaired by the contemplative egotism of the father's next friend and neighbor. At the time, too, when impressions deep and lasting were easily made on Matthew's mind, Goethe, artist and critic of more than one generation, went to

his grave. How men raved of him! "Knowest thou," says Carlyle, "no prophet, even in the vesture, environment, and dialect of this age? I know him and name him Goethe. In him man's life begins again to be divine." Goethe had at first held the principles of Rousseau. Later, with the serenity of a Brahman and the tone of a Delphic oracle, he announced that the chief end of man is "to cultivate his own spirit." This utterance fell like a gospel on Arnold's ear; he gave himself to expound and enforce it, to engraft it on the literature of his period, and to embody it in the English character and manners. To him we owe that sense of the word "culture" so hard to state, but often synonymous with "life in the spirit" and other words and phrases, such as "perfection," "sweetness and light," "harmonious development," and the like. A better pleader for the new "development" could hardly have been found. Clear and graceful in statement, gentle under criticism, patient under reproof, and witty in reply, he seemed chiefly to fail in what both the sacred and the profane oracles enjoin as the first step in culture—the understanding of himself.

When he was in the receptive undergraduate mood Oxford was still shedding on its children those "last enchantments of the Middle Ages" which can never wholly vanish from its halls and groves. The venerable university "has more criticism now, more knowledge, more light; but such voices as those of my youth it has no longer. They haunt my memory still." Cardinal Newman, not yet a Catholic, seemed destined to revive and spiritualize, if not transform, the Church of England. He entranced young Arnold, who forty years later seemed still to hear him saying: "After the fever of life, after wearinesses and sicknesses, fightings and despondings, languor and fretfulness, struggling and succeeding; after all the changes and chances of this troubled, unhealthy state—at length comes death, at length the white throne of God, at length the beatific vision." The young man heard Goethe say through Carlyle: "Here in the marble sleeps undecaying the fair image of the Past; in your hearts, also, it lives and works. Travel, travel, back into life! Take along with you this holy earnestness, for earnestness alone makes life eternity." And now to him from Massachusetts "a clear, pure voice" brought a strain as new and moving and unforgetable as the strain of Newman

or Carlyle or Goethe. "What Plato has thought, he [the man in you] may think; what a saint has felt, he may feel; what at any time has befallen any man, he can understand." Such utterances charmed Arnold's heart and gave to all his doings a noble tone and a transcendent temper.

His general view of the human race is that back of social appearances we are utterly separate, each a lone islander by himself in "the unplumbed, salt, estranging sea:"

> Yes, in the sea of life enisled,
> With echoing straits between us thrown,
> Dotting the shoreless, watery wild,
> We mortal millions live *alone.*

By this isolation it comes that none can be his brother's keeper. Some strong-lunged islander may call to his fellow, but nothing more. This being the environment, the first quality to be cultivated is endurance, more that of Zeno than of Paul. Patience under an order of things not of our making is a teaching traceable through all his poetry and prose. Then comes in many a pleasing form the lesson of "self-centering:"

> And with joy the stars perform their shining,
> And the sea its long, moon-silvered roll;
> For self-poised they live, nor pine with noting
> All the fever of some differing soul.
> Bounded by themselves and unregardful
> In what state God's other works may be,
> In their own tasks all their powers pouring,
> These attain the mighty life you see.

In the "hopeless tangle of our age," to which he is keenly alive and which he explores, though to do so be a task of sorrow, "alone, self-poised, henceforward man must labor." "No man can save his brother's soul nor pay his brother's debt." As a man is thus set apart from his fellow, "self-perfecting," "self-culture" are his duty and his chief concern. By this "culture" Mr. Arnold means the unfolding of every power enfolded within us and the perfect adapting of ourselves to the island of our Crusoe life. This culture is not gained by "Philistine" expedients, by unions, cooperations, and harangues, with "tremendous cheers." It is of, for, and by one's self, save as the perfume of one "islet" may be wafted to another. It can be achieved by nothing save patient personal effort.

Here Mr. Arnold looks back longingly to the feudal age and

the Periclean. The evil communications of the present corrupt good manners. He seems to say, "Any former times were better than these." Such temper could not well come into practical politics; it is too remote, unformulated, and unitemized, not to say fastidious. Pure as Arnold's motives were known to be, he was too dainty to serve in a party, even in that of Mr. Gladstone. He scouted "equality," and preferred benevolence to democracy. As a result the "sweetness and light" shed from his "islet" were little felt by the masses; they were hardly as effective as an aurora borealis. *Punch* summed up as follows his discourses to the laboring classes and all other classes:

To Matthew Arnold hark,
With both ears all avidity!
That Matthew—a man of mark—
Says "cultivate lucidity!"

Mr. Arnold's educational efforts were steady and sincere. Indeed, like his brother, he had the teacher's zeal for his inheritance. He served well and wisely in many and various school offices, of which one need not here speak particularly. His part was a large one in entering young women in England upon university study, so that Newnham College at Cambridge and Girton at Oxford are already too narrow for their throngs, and young women have taken the first honors in Greek and mathematics. His pleading for literature in courses of study, as against the exclusive pursuit of science and the "practical" branches, was earnest and eloquent. He held that education means knowing ourselves and the world, and for this we should know the best that has been thought and said in the world. True it is that *belles-lettres* may be so treated as to yield only a smattering benefit; but its study should be a serious search for truth. "Canst thou not minister to a mind diseased?" a young man explained to him (as examiner) to mean, "Can you not wait upon the lunatic?" "Is it not better," he asks, "to understand Shakespeare than to know that the combustion of wax produces water and carbonic acid?" Especially he urged the study of poetry, holding with Aristotle that poetry is more truthful and serious than history, and with Wordsworth that it is "the breath and finer spirit of all knowledge," "the impassioned expression which is in the countenance of all science." He is sure that

man's sense of beauty and sense of conduct give life three fourths of its meaning, and that these demand the study of literature and, most of all, that best of human products, the Greek literature.

"To attain perfect culture we must be perfectly religious, and for this we must properly understand the Bible." Arnold was no atheist, and in no sympathy with Colenso, Baur, Clifford, or Ingersoll, destroyers of the faith once delivered to the saints and givers of nothing in its place. He cannot "stand by the sea of time and listen to the solemn, rhythmic beating of its waves" without feeling that "Moody and Sankey are masters of the philosophy of history" and that "Christianity is the greatest and happiest stroke ever yet made for human perfection." Just as perfection in art, salvation in art, will never be reached without knowing Greece, so perfection in conduct, salvation in conduct, the way of peace, can be reached only with the Bible and Christianity.

But here begins his departure. He holds that, as the ages roll, religion unfolds new aspects and meanings, while the old decay and disappear. In our day "every creed is shaken, every dogma questioned, every tradition dissolving." The incarnation, the resurrection of Jesus, the atonement as preached by Moody, the supernatural in Christian history, these he seems to reject as "materialized" conceptions of ruder ages. Even the doctrine of the Trinity he can speak of as "a fairy tale of the three Lord Shaftesburys." "Be ye perfect," said the great Teacher, and this, says Mr. Arnold, is the harmonious development of all sides of our humanity. "Something Mr. Moody and his hearers have got from Jesus that does them good; but if he bases Christian salvation on a story like covenant redemption he shows a want of intellectual seriousness. To the more educated class belief in Mr. Moody's story is impossible now; to the religious middle class it will be impossible soon." "There is an enduring power, not ourselves, which makes for righteousness," says he, cloudily. "The method and secret" of Jesus were commendable; the "method" was repentance, the "secret" was peace; but the Christian religion rests on the assumption of a personal ruler, and "this cannot be verified." Even the resurrection, poorly understood by Paul, is in fact "a rising to that harmonious conformity with the real and the eternal

which is life and peace, until it becomes glory." How reassuring to know that Moody still tells the old, old story, as once in Arnold's presence, that the common people hear it gladly, and that, while Arnold has said,

> Resolve to be thyself! And know that he
> Who finds himself loses his misery,

many in finding the Saviour are losing their misery! Yet this brilliant disbeliever has longings that he does not quite conceal. He seems, in spite of some pride of reason, to yearn for faith in Jesus such as his father had, such as was easy when

> Men called from chamber, church, and tent,
> And Christ was by to save.

He would gladly have been himself caught in the tide

> Of love which set so deep and strong
> From Christ's then open grave.

But, turning sadly away, he says:

> Now he is dead! Far hence he lies
> In the lorn Syrian town;
> And on his grave, with shining eyes,
> The Syrian stars look down.

At last we seem to find this gifted and fascinating man, Christian born and Christian bred, sinking into such pantheism as our missionaries confront in India:

> Myriads who live, who have lived,
> What are we all but a mood,
> A single mood, of the life
> Of the Spirit in whom we exist,
> Who alone is all things in one?

Genial and kindly as Arnold is, he seems with condescending air to look from his "islet" upon "the un-Hellenic public" and to say, "Cultivate your own spirit," "Cherish light and sweetness," and "Look at me and aspire to your own best self." This delicate self-worship is so characteristic of Goethe that it is no wonder if we find a suspicion of it in his admirer. It is not pleasant to classify Arnold with Marcus Aurelius, Goethe, Carlyle, and Emerson in that "marge" of the "Inferno," the limbo of the good heathen, "who served not God aright," though "all their words were tuneful sweet;" but where else shall we put him?

His first volume of poems, given nameless to the world in 1849, made us start as if another of the immortals were come, and so it proved. In song he followed those who were his masters in culture, striving "Wordsworth's sweet calm and Goethe's wide and luminous view to gain." He took up poetry seriously, believing its office is "to sustain, to console us, to interpret life for us." "For poetry the idea is everything; the rest is a world of illusion, of divine illusion. Poetry attaches its emotions to the idea; the idea is the fact. The strongest part of our religion to-day is its unconscious poetry." "Science, philosophy, religion are incomplete without it, and most of what now passes for them will be replaced by poetry." His poetry is, therefore, no idle warbling, but an intense criticism of life, in which he worked from an overmastering sense of duty. All his poems have dignity, grace, much of spiritual unrest and somewhat of the healing balm that nature gives.

Thus, after Rustum in desperate fight has, unawares, slain his son Sohrab, who, at dying, makes himself known, how quietly the Oxus leaves Sohrab in his gore and Rustum in his agony and tears!

> But the majestic river floated on,
> Out of the mist and hum of that low land,
> Into the frosty starlight, and there moved,
> Rejoicing, through the hushed Chorasmian waste
> Under the solitary moon; . . .
> . . . till at last
> The longed-for dash of waves is heard, and wide
> His luminous home of waters opens, bright
> And tranquil, from whose floor the new-bathed stars
> Emerge and shine upon the Aral Sea.

He comes to nature, not like Byron in "Childe Harold," to pour upon it his own "sparkling gloom," or like Coleridge at Chamouni, to fill it with his own lofty rapture, but only to find relief and rest. By the lake he says:

> How sweet to feel, on the boon air,
> All our unquiet pulses cease!

In his "Summer Night,"

> And the calm moonlight seems to say,
> "Hast thou, then, still the old unquiet breast?"

And further on he exclaims:

> Ye heavens, whose pure dark regions have no sign
> Of languor, though so calm and though so great,
> And yet untroubled and unpassionate;
>
> . . . . . .
>
> A world above man's head, to let him see
> How boundless might his soul's horizon be.

In "Kensington Gardens" he says:

> Calm soul of all things! make it mine
> To feel, amid the city's jar,
> That there abides a place of thine
> Man did not make and cannot mar.

Nowhere in his pictures of nature, given in the most musical of English and in style flowing, bright, and tender do we find the deep gladness of Wordsworth or the organ-toned joy of Milton.

He is sad, unbelieving, and self-absorbed, and it is given him to sing the beautiful "as he thinketh in his heart." Sincerely as he worked for advance in education, in his poems the men of to-day lack greatness. "There hath passed away a glory from the earth." The wash of waves at Dover tells him, as the sough of the Ægean told Sophocles, the endless tale of mortal sorrow. Christianity, that revived the old world when it was weary, is now in its turn "outworn," and men once more are waning. Therefore he goes far back for his heroes and even for his meters. His "Sick King in Bokhara" is truly dramatic, his completest work of art, and best displays his temper and genius. In none of his poems, nor in all of them together, do we as here find the whole of Mr. Arnold—his dignified self-poise, that unrest agreeing strangely with the calm of helplessness, that daintiness of allusion and transparent simplicity, and these rich and artistic in color and setting. How beautiful is this from "Tristram," that rhapsody from the fruitful Arthurian legends! It is a description of Iseult after the death of her husband and that of her rival, living with her children as in a dim and moonlit dream:

> Joy hath not found her yet nor ever will.
> Is it this thought that makes her mien so still,
> Her features so fatigued, her eyes, though sweet,
> So sunk, so rarely lifted save to meet

Her children's? She moves slow; her voice alone
Hath yet an infantine and silvery tone,
But even that comes languidly; in truth,
She seems one dying in the mask of youth.

On the whole, Mr. Arnold's best service to literature was in criticism. He freely admits that in literary work the creative power is greater than the critical power; its exercise is man's highest activity and gives him his highest happiness. Creative epochs are rare, because in them the power of the man must concur with the power of the moment as shown by its current ideas, on which creative power must operate. Thus the epochs of Elizabeth and of Pericles were from this concurrence so richly creative. The business of the critical power in all branches is "to see the object as in itself it really is." This should precede the exercise of the creative power, in order that this latter may know the material on which it is to work. The poet needs to read poetry widely and carefully that he may safely proceed to create his own. Then comes the critic's task to test and set forth the value of what is created.

The range of Arnold's criticism was wide. It reached from Homer to Shelley. The Celtic bards might rise to thank him for his service. Nor did he neglect the doctrines and movements of his own passing day. His views of Emerson were certainly free from illusion, at least from such as Americans may have. We who, in fervid youth, shook Emerson's hand and heard his charming voice were sure that a demigod was among us. At the Wesleyan University fifty years ago the "powerful mind" read and understood his "Essays." The others were as the people in Andersen's little story, where the emperor walks naked at the head of the procession, who are told that if they fail to see his royal apparel it is from some sin of their own; so all are eager to chant their praise of his magic robes. So we fell into unison with the "powerful mind." How many since have in chorus lauded poems incoherent and essays incomprehensible! And now Mr. Arnold, in his fearless effort to get at the best that is known and thought in the world, showed to a Boston audience why Emerson was not a great poet, not a great writer, not a great propounder of philosophy! "He is the friend and aider of those who would live in the spirit." Just what we average boys thought, but we dared not assume to

say it. Emerson had discoursed richly to us of honesty, veracity, and hope; but soon he was beyond us, and, like Browning's poetry, he is beyond us still. Only we saw him so serene and kindly as he voiced his Delphic enigmas. In efforts like this to learn and propagate the best that is thought and known in the world, to subject to fair but close scrutiny ideas, doctrines, and institutions, Arnold put forth his most serious exertions. There is a charm about his prose and about his poetry, though neither may reach the highest classic rank. If with his other gifts he had possessed the joy that comes of deep Christian faith, he would have diffused "sweetness and light" indeed.

One seems in all his writings to hear that sob of the Ægean, the plaint of a soul shut out from its highest satisfaction; but no English poet has shown soul-hunger so delicately or given negatives in form and color so fascinating. No English critic of our day has been more discriminating, clear, and instructive. His keen sparkle of insight and expression may be lost upon "the majority," but "the remnant," who in the long run rule the world's thinking, will not willingly let it die; and Arnold will stand as a helper of the human mind for his own generation and beyond. He will long be discernible in the perspective of our period's literature.

A. B. Hyde

Art. III. — THE ROMAN CATHOLIC DOCTRINE AND LAW OF MARRIAGE.

The fact that the Roman Catholic doctrine of marriage holds it to be one of the seven sacraments is apt to induce in Protestants an apprehension of a wider difference from our view than really exists; while, on the other hand, at various subordinate but important points the difference is in fact much wider than is commonly understood. The consequence of this duplex misconception is a general dislocation of popular ideas among Protestants on the subject, a dislocation which sometimes appears where we should little expect it. We have, therefore, prepared the present statement of the Roman Catholic doctrine and law of marriage after a careful collation of high Catholic authorities continued for a number of years, and have aimed—while presenting with but little divergence into controversy the actual theory of the Church of Rome—at bringing into suitable relief those features of her doctrine concerning which it is peculiarly important that Protestants should be rightly informed. Particular pains have been taken, with the help of various eminent authors, to distinguish between positions as simply permitted, prevailing, universal, official, or of strictly dogmatic force. The latter are not so many as is commonly supposed.

In popular conception the widest difference between the Roman Catholic and the prevailing Protestant doctrine of marriage is that the former affirms and the latter denies marriage to be a sacrament. If this were really so, if Protestantism generally, like Luther himself, held marriage to be "a mere bodily thing," leaving Rome to defend Christian marriage as having a far higher character, it would be very little to our honor. In reality, however, the controversy is rather over words than things. On the one hand, Rome, and that under the late and the present pontiffs, expressly declares marriage to be a contract. On the other hand, evangelical Protestantism everywhere acknowledges that Christ raised marriage to a specifically higher dignity than that of a contract, making it the channel both of natural blessings and of rich spiritual graces, such as enable a wedded pair to discharge their relation to each other

and to their offspring more perfectly. The two views, therefore, do not appear to differ essentially. Rome, accordingly, has authoritatively pronounced that a marriage between two baptized persons, seriously intended as a Christian union, does not become invalid from the mere fact that the parties do not call it sacramental. She even declares that to deprive it of this character there is required a positive "prevailing intention" in one of the parties that it shall not be a Christian marriage. In this latter case Rome holds that if not sacramental it is not a marriage at all.

The irreconcilable difference, therefore, between us and Rome lies, not in the sacramental doctrine, but in the almost unrestricted right claimed by her to prescribe conditions over and above those of natural morality on which alone the contract shall be valid. These not only respect her actual subjects, but largely extend to baptized Protestants. Thus, besides maintaining the invalidity of an undispensed marriage between a baptized and an unbaptized person, not as intrinsic, but as of long-established ecclesiastical use, she holds all restrictions involving invalidity, or, as she calls them, diriment impediments, which have prevailed from before the separation, to be still in force for baptized Protestants. For instance, she pronounces void all undispensed marriages between all baptized persons whatever having the same great-grandparent, even when the fact was unknown. She is therefore logically bound to declare void the marriage of the Queen of England with the late prince consort and a great part of the marriages of Protestant princes, as well as countless private marriages. This impediment also applies to all standing in such a relation to a former husband or wife. Moreover, anyone, even a layman, baptizing another, becomes incapable, without a dispensation, of marrying the baptized person or his or her parent. The same disability rests on a sponsor at baptism or confirmation. And, as Rome directs that in matrimonial questions Protestant baptism shall be presumed valid, the same impediments, excepting as to confirmation, would be held to vitiate marriages between baptized Protestants.

The statement, however, so often made among us, that Rome accounts all marriages between Protestants as being merely "filthy concubinages," is so far from being true that it does not even apply to the above-mentioned marriages among us

which she accounts void. It is a well-settled principle of her ecclesiastical law that an invalid marriage not contrary to natural morality is so far to be considered that, when its invalidity is discovered, no Church censure shall be involved, provided the parties then separate or obtain a dispensation, and that children previously born shall be legitimate. Thus, soon after 1200 Innocent III, though requiring Philip Augustus of France to take back his lawful wife, Ingeborg, and to send away Agnes of Meran, made no difficulty in acknowledging Agnes's children as legitimate, since the marriage, though contracted in bad faith by the king, was contracted in good faith by Agnes on the strength of a sentence of the French bishops. Lately, also, the marriage of the Prince and Princess of Monaco was declared void, while their children, doubtless on the same ground, were pronounced legitimate. Roman doctrine therefore holds the subjective guilt of unchastity to be involved in marriages void on the ground of natural or spiritual relationship only when the impediment is known, and known by the contracting parties as applying to them, which of course does not hold good of Protestant marriages. In this latter case, if either party goes over to Rome a dispensation obtained "heals" the marriage, and may even "heal it in the root"—that is, give it retroactively the same juridical effects as if it had been valid from the beginning, including certain advantages not involved in ordinary legitimation. The phrase "filthy concubinages," occurring in an encyclical of Pius IX, is so far from applying to Protestant marriages that it does not even apply to irregular Roman Catholic marriages in Protestant countries. It is used solely of Roman Catholics in Roman Catholic countries who, knowing the law of the Council of Trent which requires for validity the presence of the Catholic pastor or his deputy to be prevailing there, content themselves with a merely civil marriage. In Protestant countries, with a few local exceptions, this *Lex Clandestinitatis*, as it is called, has never been proclaimed; while in Roman Catholic countries it is held not to apply to Protestants where their ecclesiastical system antedates the Council of Trent, and where, therefore, they have not been *de facto* members of the parishes in which it was published.

Before going further, however, let us consider the accepted Roman Catholic definition of marriage. It is this: Marriage is

a mutual contract or consent, between a man and a woman capable of the relation, by which there is a present mutual surrender and acceptance, each of the other, as having the full rights, spiritual and physical, of the married state. Of course Rome teaches that marriage, binding and indissoluble, though not as yet a sacramental contract conveying specific grace, was instituted by God, as simply dual, in the garden of Eden. The question whether indissolubility and monogamy rested in the very nature of the relation or were simultaneously added by positive divine legislation is debated among Catholic theologians, with a prevailing tendency to the latter opinion. Accordingly, it is held that after the flood God, in view of human perversity, was able, without violating the absolute nature of his own institutions, which of course is impossible, to grant mankind a dispensation for polygamy and for divorce. Both dispensations, it is held, have been revoked by Christ for all mankind. The single dispensation which he is held to have granted under the new law will be mentioned presently.

In a wider sense all pure marriages from the beginning are viewed as having been sacramental, and before the fall in a very eminent degree. In the specific sense, however, in which the Church now uses the term "sacrament" only marriages between the baptized are held sacramental. Marriages between the unbaptized, if consonant with natural morality, are viewed as chaste, obligatory, and, so long as both parties remain unbaptized, indissoluble, but not as belonging to the supernatural order, and therefore not sacramental. If one of the parties is afterward baptized it is held that the Church, in this solitary case, has authority from Christ to pronounce a dissolution of a valid and consummated marriage, especially where the unbaptized party refuses to live "without contumely of the Creator." In this case alone permission is given to marry during the life of the other party. Where a Jewish wife, however, having been divorced by her husband, afterward becomes a Catholic, she may be forbidden to marry again if her husband is willing to renew the relation and to respect her Christian profession, every such divorce from a valid marriage, since Christ, being viewed by the Church as null. The Greek Church from an early time (at least since 692) has held heresy as a diriment impediment, absolutely voiding a subsequent marriage with an

orthodox Christian. The Roman Church has always held it to be merely an impedient impediment where the heretic is a baptized person, rendering the marriage without dispensation unlawful and punishable, sometimes even to the point of permanent separation, but leaving it sacramental and indissoluble if the prescribed conditions of validity be complied with. Priests in this country are said sometimes to frighten parishioners into believing such a marriage void. If so they must be either grossly ignorant or grossly fraudulent, and therefore liable to deposition.

The principal ground of Protestant confusion of idea respecting the Roman doctrine of marriage is the notion that sacramental means sacerdotal. This error might be corrected by observing that the fundamental sacrament, baptism, even when administered irregularly and censurably by a lay person or by a Jew or pagan, is received by the Church as valid if due attention is paid to manner, form, and ritual intent. Sacramental, therefore, does not of necessity mean sacerdotal. In the case of marriage, however (the one other sacrament administrable by lay persons), there are complications which need a more explicit development. Roman Catholic theology holds that Christ, as incarnate, has not created marriage nor altered its essence, but has elevated it for the baptized, and for them alone, from the simple order of nature into the supernatural or regenerate order of grace. Its substance, therefore, consists now, as always, in the mutual consent of parties competent to contract. But within the pale of baptism this consent, being no longer purely natural, but within the supernatural order (even though the contracting parties should not be at the time in a state of grace), is at once a consent and a sacrament. The priest, therefore, is not a minister of the sacrament, but the consenting parties are themselves, as Archbishop Heiss virtually expresses it, the complex minister. In the early Church the benediction of the bishop or, as numbers increased, of a presbyter was enjoined, as contributing to dignity, holiness, and full moral ratification, but not as intrinsically essential. Nor where an unbaptized couple have become Catholic has a renewal of their marriage ever been required by the Church, although of course we cannot answer for all the eccentricities of local ignorance or bigotry. The baptism of the married

pair, introducing them into the supernatural order, is held to raise their marriage, already valid, into sacramental sanctity, though some divines advise a private renewal of consent. There are those, it is true, who hold it, though remaining valid, to remain nonsacramental.

This view of the parties as being themselves the ministers of both the contract and the sacrament has always been the prevailing one. Previous to the Council of Trent simply consensual marriages were very frequent and, though censured, were acknowledged by the Church. Some divines, however, maintained such marriages to be void, no formal doctrine of faith having been published concerning them; and many, though still a decided minority, held them to be valid indeed, but not sacramental, viewing the priest, though not necessary to a true contract, as being yet essential to a true sacrament of marriage. The Council of Trent condemned the former opinion, but left the latter free. In a decree guarded by anathema and papally ratified, and therefore by the overwhelming majority viewed as irrevocably binding on faith, the council declares that "clandestine marriages," that is, marriages *sine parocho et testibus*, without clergyman and witness, are valid wherever the Church has not declared that they shall be void. The council, moreover, provides that the *Lex Clandestinitatis*, requiring for validity the presence of the parish clergyman or a deputed priest and two witnesses, shall not come into force in any parish until thirty days after a formal promulgation. Such a publication has never been made by Rome in parishes situated in Protestant countries (with some local exceptions), and has been revoked for mixed marriages in Holland, Belgium, Hungary, Poland, Ireland, Canada, the Rhine dioceses of Prussia, and various other regions. In these Catholic countries, therefore, Holland too being under the law of Trent, the validity of mixed marriages is independent of the presence of a clergyman; while in Protestant countries, speaking generally, marriages contracted by Roman Catholics themselves without a Catholic clergyman are held highly censurable indeed (except where clergymen are not to be had), but valid and indissoluble.

I have thus far treated it as the certain doctrine of Rome that whenever a marriage, sacerdotal or nonsacerdotal, between baptized persons is valid it is also sacramental. This is prac-

tically true, although even the allocution of September 27, 1852, given by Pius IX, not being distinctly *ex cathedra*, is not absolutely conclusive. Yet this so fully and authoritatively expresses and confirms the general judgment of the Church in all ages, declaring "that, between baptized persons [*inter fideles*], marriage cannot exist without being at one and the same time a sacrament," that it seems now to be agreed on all hands that the previous minority opinion, holding nonsacerdotal marriages contracted in regions not bound by the *Lex Clandestinitatis* as valid and binding indeed, but nonsacramental, can no longer be maintained. They must be acknowledged henceforth by all, as always by most, as valid, indissoluble, and sacramental.

The place of the parish clergyman, therefore, in his parish, of the bishop throughout his diocese, and of the pope throughout the Church, when confirming a marriage is not that of a celebrant in the strict sense, but of a "public witness," whose presence, where the Church requires it, is necessary to the validity of the contract and, indirectly, though not directly, of the sacrament. Accordingly, a parish clergyman, bishop, or pope when once instituted is immediately competent to ratify a marriage within his jurisdiction, even though not yet ordained to the priesthood, and therefore still incapable of any strictly sacerdotal act. A deputy, however, must always be a priest. Nor does an excommunicate pastor or bishop lose this right so long as he retains the title of his benefice. Nor is it needful for validity that he should utter a word. Indeed, in various cases of mixed marriage he is forbidden to speak a word, rendering only what is called "passive assistance." His presence is esteemed sufficient for ratification even when compelled; nay, where, being carried bodily to the nuptials, he has covered his eyes and ears so that he could neither hear nor see, Rome has pronounced the marriage firm, since he could have heard and seen if he would, and therefore was morally present. Intention and activity are necessary in the administration of a sacrament; but as he is here only a required witness, in certain parts of the Church, while it is the parties who administer the sacrament to themselves, his mere bodily presence is sufficient. Even when, as commonly, he uses the words "I join you," this is merely a solemn ratification of the sacramental consent of the parties which, alone, is intrinsically indispensable, and may

be given either by words or signs, either by themselves or by an accredited agent. Many people have a vague idea that without the nuptial benediction they are hardly married. The Church, however, does not require this benediction, or always allow it. Mixed marriages, even when sacerdotally celebrated, are not blessed, nor even a second marriage of a widow. The clergy are directed to instruct their people that the nuptial benediction "appertains to the greater solemnity of marriage, but not to its essence."

Rome holds and teaches that a sacramental marriage is indissoluble by any power on earth when once the parties have lived together as husband and wife. If they have not, then even a sacramental marriage is dissolved by a monastic profession of either party or by a papal dispensation. There are thus three stages of marriage. Those between the unbaptized are simply *vera*. Those between the baptized are *vera atque rata*. These latter are absolutely indissoluble only when they are *vera, rata, atque consummata*. The Council of Trent, however, although it anathematizes all who shall maintain "that the Church errs when she has taught and teaches, according to the evangelical and apostolic doctrine, that the bond of marriage cannot be dissolved on account of the adultery of one of the parties," has, nevertheless, taken care to abstain from directly anathematizing the different doctrine of the Greek Church, which holds, like most Protestants, that even the bond of marriage, if not dissolved, is at least dissolvable by adultery. Rome, having never accused the Greek Church of heresy, but only of schism, and revering her unmistakable and conspicuous zeal for doctrinal orthodoxy, which appears in her very title of the orthodox oriental Church, has been unwilling to make the breach irreparable by denouncing her as heretical. Accordingly, the Greek and prevailing Protestant position, though plainly contradicted by the declarations of Trent, may, it appears, be defended without the imputation of actually opposing the faith; and it is doubtful whether, in that one tenth or one fifteenth of the Roman Catholic Church which adheres to the Eastern rites and discipline, the Eastern doctrine of marriage may not be quietly acted upon with the tacit allowance of Rome, which has as good a capacity as the rest of us, not to say a better, of shutting her eyes and ears to any variations of opinion or prac-

tice which it might be impossible to suppress. We hazard this conjecture, however, only as agreeing very well with her general relations to her subjects of the Eastern rites, not as a matter of certain knowledge, although it is confirmed by the immediate occasion which moved Trent to intermit the anathema, namely, the fear of driving certain affiliated Eastern communions into revolt.

In the West, of course, for many centuries, although marriages innumerable, especially those of princes and of nobles, have been severed by the Church on the most trivial pretenses, these separations have never been divorces in our sense, but declarations of original nullity. It is said, and apparently on excellent evidence, that the ecclesiastical courts in England under the earlier Tudors parted man and wife as recklessly as even our American courts. They always did so, however, under the pretense of an original flaw, thus consecrating venal looseness by unctuous hypocrisy. The Reformation has elevated the standard of married fidelity, as of general morality and devotion, in England (though perhaps at the expense of a temporary decline of both), and the counter-reformation has greatly purified the ecclesiastical courts of Rome; while Trent, by cutting off a large part of the old impediments to marriage, has compelled a much stricter procedure in these courts. On the whole, therefore, contemporary Catholicism practically holds its adherents to the matrimonial theory of the Church. The dissolution under military constraint of Napoleon and Josephine's marriage, and on the pretence of nullity of that of Jerome and Elizabeth Patterson, was tolerated, but never confirmed, by the high-minded Pius VII.

We hear so much in history of Henry VIII's application for a divorce that we are apt, mixing modern practice with the older theory, to misconceive the case fundamentally. Henry never dreamed of asking the pope to allow him to marry a second wife while his first was living. Setting aside some flitting notions of bigamy (like that of Philip of Hesse, afterward reluctantly sanctioned by Luther) which, though ventilated by a cardinal, would undoubtedly have been rejected by the Church with horror, Henry, with universal Western Christendom, viewed a second valid marriage while his first wife was living as impossible. What he desired was that the pope should

declare that Catherine, as his brother's widow, had never really been his wife, since the papal permission had trenched upon a prohibition, not of the Church, but of God, and was therefore void; as, for instance, all allow that a dispensation for a father to marry a daughter would be wholly ineffective and abominable. Opinions were seriously divided. Between the emperor, Catherine's nephew, and the king, her husband, Clement VII was at his wit's end; and the famous University of Bologna boldly gave sentence for Henry. His case, therefore, was not so frivolous as we, in our just reverence for Isabella's noble daughter, have been wont to imagine.

There is one feature of Catherine's case which seems to show that the Roman Catholic law of marriage was as yet vaguer than now. It was proposed to her to enter into "lax religion," by taking a vow of continence, without espousing a monastic rule, thus leaving her husband free to marry again. But such a vow, taken by a married mother, would now have no force whatever to dissolve the bond of marriage, even though permitted or solicited by the husband. Henry, therefore, after marrying Anne, accounted her his first, not his second, wife. After tiring of her and obtaining a second declaration of nullity from his obsequious primate he esteemed Jane Seymour as really his first wife; and this marriage was never questioned. At the close of his life he only acknowledged himself as having been the husband of two wives, Jane Seymour and Catherine Parr, passing over in silence the status of Catherine Howard. The ground on which he declared null his marriage with Anne Boleyn, namely, that she had been precontracted to another man, would now be viewed by Rome as staining a subsequent marriage, but not voiding it. In those days of consensual marriages, however, when betrothals varied uncertainly between contracts *de futuro* and *de præsenti*, it was easy, where the interests of the great required, to represent a betrothal as really a marriage and, therefore, as a diriment impediment to a subsequent union.

It is often said, as for instance in a volume of Unitarian essays, that Rome, for money, will license a princely or ducal applicant to commit the sin of incest. This accusation is unjust. Rome holds herself incompetent, under any circumstances, to grant a dispensation for marriage between an ascendant and descendant or a brother and sister. She does not hold a

marriage between an uncle and niece or between an aunt and nephew as forbidden by God, but only by the Church, from an unquestionable sense of decency and reverence. What the Church forbids, not God, the Church, it is held, may, on grave grounds, especially of public policy, allow. The late Duke of Aosta, therefore, in marrying Letitia Bonaparte under papal license, was not, in the view of Rome or in his own, guilty of incest, but the true husband of a true wife, his marriage with whom, having been invalid only because ecclesiastically forbidden, became valid as soon as ecclesiastically allowed. Rome might well be asked how she could justify the violation of natural reverence involved in such a marriage. The State might well be asked the same. We may well assume that the Unitarian accuser of Rome and of King Amadeus, as well as his ten thousand orthodox associates, if they met with an uncle and niece, or even an aunt and nephew, legally married, would not summon them to separate as living in incest, as they would a brother and sister. Then why do they accuse Rome, not accusing the State, of licensing the sin of incest?

For a marriage between a stepparent and stepchild, where the violation of reverence due to both the living and the dead is so shockingly gross, Rome never concedes a dispensation. Whatever her faults of theory or of administration (and the latter, in past ages rather than in present, have often been enormous), she has never accepted the absolutely animal theory of John Bright, who proposed that the law should recognize no restraints on marriage except such as are purely physical; so that, if science should give assurance that a particular union between parent and child involved no danger of congenital imperfection to descendants, he would have been bound, on his own showing, to allow it. Our entire way of viewing certain social selections formed by marriage as inducing a moral impediment to subsequent marriages within their limits we are now told is finical and prudish, and that it does not fall within the competency of the State, or apparently of the Church, to enforce pudicity. Physical detriment, we are assured, is the only thing against which legislation has any right to guard. I need not say that this "pig philosophy," as Carlyle would call it, has never been acknowledged by Rome, any more than by general Christianity, by Judaism, by Mohammedanism, or, with the monstrous exception of Zoroas-

trianism, by any ethically developed school of paganism. That it prevails so widely and increasingly in our country is simply one of the many proofs of that individualistic self-will which says of every moral restraint that deals with interests not coarsely palpable, "Let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their cords from us."

I have said that an undispensed marriage between a baptized and an unbaptized person is held by Rome to be absolutely null. With a dispensation it is accounted valid and indissoluble. The question is debated whether it is sacramental for the baptized party. Yet as the consent is mutual, and as the unbaptized party is confessedly incapable of giving a sacramental consent, the negative side asks with force how the nuptial contract can be sacramental. If a marriage of this kind, contracted with authority, is disturbed by contumelious and persecuting behavior on the part of the unbaptized partner, the Church authorizes a Catholic thus fettered to apply for a separation, but not for a divorce *a vinculo*. The Third Plenary Council of Baltimore publishes in its proceedings a series of questions on this subject sent from this country and answered by Rome. The answers of Rome are to this general effect: If the deserting husband was the son of Baptists he is to be presumed unbaptized, and his forsaken wife, as her union with him was null, may marry again. If he was the son of parents belonging to a sect allowing infant baptism, but not requiring it, he is to be presumed unbaptized, and she may marry again. If his parents were zealous members of a zealously pedobaptist sect he is to be presumed baptized, and she must wait till his death, unless, of course, she learns positively that he was unbaptized. If his parents were indifferent members of a zealously pedobaptist sect the detailed evidence may be transmitted to Rome, which will then decide. If one parent was a zealous and the other an indifferent pedobaptist the decision depends on the question which of them controlled the religious education of the son.

These questions show how far Rome is from desiring to deal lightly with the marriages of baptized Protestants. She directs, moreover, that where the fact of baptism is ascertained its validity shall always be assumed, *in ordine ad matrimonium*. We Protestants are famous for finding mares' nests in the Roman Catholic Church. For instance, every now and then it is

announced with bated breath, as a mystery lately excavated out of the Roman catacombs or the Vatican grottoes, that the Church actually allows that under some conditions even Protestants may be saved—a mere commonplace of Catholic, especially of Jesuit, theology, for generations past. So also it is sometimes announced as a wonderful proof of growing liberality that a sister of charity has been allowed to marry, and has even been married with great state in a Roman Catholic cathedral! Now this signifies nothing in the world. A sister of charity engages herself but for a year at a time. When this expires she is always free to marry, and there is no more reason why she should not be married in state than why any other Catholic woman should not be. Even the marriages of nuns proper and of monks not in major orders, though involving excommunication, are in large measure received as valid. Nuns in this country and England, with some exceptions, are only admitted to take simple vows. Moreover, all monks, friars, and nuns (unless by special papal allowance) are now required, for the first three years after their profession, to remain under simple vows. But simple vows are only an impedient, not a diriment, impediment to marriage; that is, they render it censurable, but leave it sacramental and indissoluble. In the case of the Jesuits alone simple vows are a diriment impediment, except after dismissal from the society. So long, therefore, as a woman is not admitted to solemn vows, and so long as a man is either not under solemn vows or ordained a subdeacon, a contracted marriage is acknowledged, even though punished, by the Church. Holy orders, from subdeacon up, are allowed to be a diriment impediment to a subsequent marriage, unless, of course, there is a papal dispensation, or unless, as sometimes in the East, the ordination has taken place in early childhood, in which case Rome provides that the man, though spiritually retaining his orders, is yet free, on growing up, to live altogether as a layman if he will. A dispensed priest (of whom there are very few indeed) must, on marrying, surrender his functions, although he may shrive a penitent *in extremis*. A deacon or subdeacon (more easily dispensed) must surrender his not very important functions entirely. It is not certain that more than one bishop has been dispensed to marry since the present discipline was established. Talleyrand, it is true, was a bishop, but the pope

always refused to acknowledge his marriage. Cæsar Borgia, though an archbishop, had never been consecrated or even ordained a priest.

A paragraph peculiarly calculated to stir up animosity in Protestant minds has been widely circulated throughout the country, as follows: "Rome pronounces null and void every marriage not declared by one of her priests." Now, it would be impossible to compress a greater number of misstatements into so short a sentence. First, three fourths of human marriages, those of the unbaptized, are declared by Rome entirely out of her jurisdiction, but acknowledged by her as being, if agreeable to general Christian morality, chaste, binding, and licitly continuing even after the baptism of one or both the parties. Even a private renewal of consent, though suggested by some divines as a means of elevating these marriages to sacramental rank, is not required by the Church. Secondly, Rome punishes with the greater excommunication the assertion that nonsacerdotal marriages between baptized Christians are void outside the proclaimed limits of the *Lex Clandestinitatis*, and, since 1852 at least, frowns on the refusal to accept such nonsacerdotal marriages as being also sacramental. Thirdly, Rome has decided that, as the parties, not the clergy, are the ministers of the sacrament, it is not requisite, even under the *Lex Clandestinitatis*, that the celebrant should be an ordained priest, if only he has the title of a parochial or diocesan benefice. Fourthly, she has decided that his merely bodily presence suffices, without any declaration on his part whatever. This sentence, therefore, is a perfect Pandora's box of injurious and wholly unwarranted accusations and, if we regard the ninth commandment as having any application to our relations with Rome, should be revoked by its author and everywhere hunted down to extinction. Sharp controversy may be very salutary, but it is time that we began to dispatch controversial lies, as fast as we discover them, to their father, the devil.

As some parts of our country were until this century under French and others under Spanish dominion, the *Lex Clandestinitatis* for Roman Catholic marriages is still in force throughout a good many districts of the United States. We extract from Lehmkuhl's *Theologia Moralis* an exact account, dating from 1887, of the bounds within which Roman Catholic

marriages contracted without an authorized clergyman are pronounced by the Church null and void. It will serve to correct various exaggerated extensions of these limits of the *Lex Clandestinitatis*, and also to impress us with the singular degree to which Rome makes the validity of the marriage contract dependent on arbitrary external conditions. In this respect it may be doubted whether she does not exceed almost any civil government in Christendom, since a relation intrinsically the same in all respects is declared on one side of a surveyor's line a sacramental marriage, and on the other "a filthy concubinage." "The *Lex Clandestinitatis*, accordingly, is in force as controlling Roman Catholic marriages: (1) In the archiepiscopal provinces of New Orleans (extending to the west line of Georgia), Santa Fé (excepting northern Colorado), San Francisco, with Utah (excepting eastward of the Colorado River); in the diocese of Vincennes; in the city of St. Louis, with the suburbs of St. Genevieve, St. Ferdinand, and St. Charles; and in four parishes of the diocese of Alron, namely, Kaskaskia, Cahokia, French Village, and Prairie du Rocher." Every other part of the United States is exempt from the *Lex Clandestinitatis*, except that it is, with wily caution, provided that for every Catholic who erroneously believes the law of Trent to be in force where he marries it shall be in force. Such a man, so to speak, pulls it down on his own head. There is no part of our country in which marriages between baptized Protestants are held subject, for validity, to the law of Trent, unless it should be New Mexico and southern Colorado, as to which Rome has never given a final decision. As Protestantism there is recent, very possibly the severer school would declare even Protestants there bound by the *Lex Clandestinitatis*.

Mr. Gladstone affirms, in his pamphlets on Vaticanism, that should Rome proclaim the *Lex Clandestinitatis* in Great Britain she would be obliged to treat all subsequent Protestant marriages in the island as null and void. She would certainly not be so obliged; and the general trend of Roman Catholic theology in our time seems to be the other way. He overlooks the fact that the law of Trent comes into force, not by virtue of a national proclamation, but in each parish by virtue of a special publication. Were there accordingly ten thousand Roman Catholic parishes in Great Britain, the promulgation

of the *Lex Clandestinitatis* in nine thousand nine-hundred and ninety-nine would leave the ten thousandth parish wholly unaffected and exempt. Moreover, according to the general tenor of Roman Catholic authorities, including even the Jesuits, Protestants are confessedly untouched by the *Lex Clandestinitatis* in countries where they enjoyed an organized and permitted worship before 1563, in countries which, though then Catholic, have since become so prevailingly Protestant that the law of Trent has long fallen out of use, even for Roman Catholics. Cardinal Newman, indeed, with other divines, denies that a Protestant couple is ever bound by the *Lex Clandestinitatis;* but in this he appears to have Jesuit authority and the trend of the Roman decisions against him, although the chief pontiff himself has never pronounced a conclusive judgment on this point. Pending such a final decision the Roman congregations of the council appear to take the view that, wherever in any region the law of Trent was not proclaimed until after the Protestants had an organized system of their own, still maintained, or where, having been proclaimed, it has fallen into disuse, Protestant marriages valid on other conditions are to be acknowledged; but that otherwise they are to go for naught. Accordingly, were Rome to-morrow to promulgate the law of Trent in every Roman Catholic parish north of the Channel, it may be safely assumed that this would not, from her point of view, affect the validity of Protestant marriages in the Protestant island. The Protestants, as the Jesuit Lehmkuhl remarks, being separated into societies of their own, cannot be regarded as members of the Catholic parishes in any such sense as that the promulgation can be juridically apprehended as made to them. Yet this, it is held, would not apply to Protestant societies formed, as now in Italy, Spain, Mexico, and Brazil, by secession from parishes already standing under the law of Trent. Protestant marriages, at least of natives, in all these countries, will doubtless be treated by the Roman Church as null and void, as being "filthy concubinages" in an aggravated degree.

The question may be raised whether a Roman Catholic clergyman is permitted to marry a Protestant or an unbaptized couple. It appears that he may, acting simply as a magistrate, without any *communicatio in sacris*—that is, without any reli-

gious rite. At least this may be permitted in the second case, if not in the first, as the unbaptized are not viewed as rebels against the Church, and the priest is therefore guilty of no complicity with rebellion in assisting them to enter into a relation which, though not sacramental, is esteemed wholly legitimate. Indeed, in this case he might possibly offer a prayer, though not impart a benediction. On the other hand, the Church treats it as a mortal sin for one of her children to use the services of an heretical clergyman either before, after, or without the ceremony of his own religion, at least where the religious rites of Protestantism are employed. She grudgingly tolerates his appearing before the Protestant minister, in cases of mixed marriage, where the heretical party insists upon it, provided it is agreed that there shall be no religious ceremony whatever, but that the Protestant clergyman shall act purely as a civil magistrate or legally accredited witness. Here, however, as we know, her children are in fact often very inattentive to her monitions, contenting themselves with some slight amends of confession and nominal penance.

What authority over marriage does the Roman Church attribute to the State? Over the marriages of the unbaptized she concedes an indefinite authority, claiming no jurisdiction over them for herself, so long as the parties remained unbaptized. Impediments of merely ecclesiastical enactment are acknowledged to have no application to them. But over the marriages of the baptized, Catholic, schismatical, or heretical, she claims complete and exclusive authority, leaving to the State only authority over the mere circumstances and fringes of the relation and its temporal consequences, such as the rights of succession and dower. It is certain, from express, peremptory, repeated, and recent declarations of the chief pontiffs, crowning a long series of papal and conciliar declarations, that the Roman Catholic Church maintains, not indeed as of faith, but as morally certain, that all marriages of the baptized, and especially all marriages between the baptized, as having been raised into the supernatural order, belong exclusively to her competence. She alone can impose invalidating impediments. She alone can remove them. She alone can determine a marriage to be valid and a subsequent marriage null, or null and the subsequent marriage valid. She alone can pronounce children legitimate

or illegitimate. These decisions of hers are of immediate civil efficacy, binding civil judges in conscience to act accordingly. The refusal of governments to accept them is an act of civil and spiritual rebellion. At most they can but suspend such sentences for appeal from a national church to the Church of Rome, whose decision, once given by the pope, is conclusive as to the case in hand. If the State, without contradicting the Church, adds new impediments, these may bind, by the fear of ill consequences, but not as intrinsically obligatory on the conscience. A Roman Catholic who contradicts any of these positions is not, indeed, excommunicated, but he is looked upon as of very doubtful Catholicity, a mere Gallican, only a few grades above a Protestant.

These various positions, avoiding minute particulars rather curious than important, all of them carefully tested by repeated collation of high authorities who have written within three centuries, especially of Archbishop Heiss, Lehmkuhl, Bellarmine, Cardinal Newman, the Catholic Dictionary, Wetzer and Welte's profoundly digested Encyclopedia, St. Alfonzo de Liguori, that exceedingly mild and careful, but profoundly learned and very clear-minded pope, Benedict XIV, and manifold decisions of Roman congregations and popes, resting upon the definitions and enactments of Trent, give us the essential lines, so far as concerns us, upon which the Roman Catholic doctrine and law of marriage have settled down in our day. As we have said at the beginning, it will be seen that at various points of great moment the Roman doctrine comes very near to us, and that at other points of great moment it recedes very far from us. As respects the point of chief moment to us as Christians Rome acknowledges unhesitatingly that the overwhelming majority of marriages between baptized Protestants in the United States are valid, sacramental, and indissoluble.

Charles C. Starbuck

Art. IV.—SOME ASPECTS OF EARLY CHRISTIANITY.

The origin and development of Christianity are preeminently the miracle of the ages. The history of the world exhibits no similar phenomenon. While there are many clearly discernible human elements in this growth there will always necessarily be a residuum, a subtle force, underlying the whole movement that cannot be explained from the purely human standpoint. The first Christians were makers, not writers, of history. They were more concerned to leave their mark upon the world in deeds than in words. Thus it is that the early records are so meager, and thus it comes to pass that the origin of Christianity has received so many different explanations. How often has the solution of this problem been attempted! Nevertheless historians and theologians, philosophers and psychologists, are still at work upon it, sifting the materials, scrutinizing the original documents, and trying to peer a little deeper into the minds that indited the various records yet extant, or into the circumstances that called each particular record into existence.

One of the latest works of the many bearing upon this topic, and certainly one of the best, if not the best, now in print is entitled *Geschichte des Untergangs des griechich-römischen Heidenthums*, by Victor Schultze, Professor in the University of Greifswald, 1887–92. Its two solid volumes, based almost entirely on original documents, apparently leave little more to be said on the subject of which they treat until additional materials shall be forthcoming. The author writes without a trace of warmth or enthusiasm. The deliberateness with which he reaches his conclusions and the judicial coldness with which he sets them forth carry conviction on almost every point. The view he takes of the motives of the early Christians and of the disinterested activity of the first converts is highly favorable. Even Constantine, whose conversion has often been characterized as a piece of statecraft and nothing more, is shown to have acted in sincerity and to have honestly believed what he professed. Let us glance rapidly over the first three Christian centuries, with special reference to the moral and social forces at work during this period.

Toward the end of the first century after Christ, Rome had

extended her sway until it was acknowledged almost without resistance over the civilized world. The utmost bounds of its power had been reached. The last formidable opposition, that of the Jews, had been overcome. An admirable system of highways had made intercommunication between the most remote parts of the country comparatively easy and rapid. This condition of things had not a little influence upon the spread of Christianity. A knowledge of the Greek language, especially in the East, seems to have been almost universal. The fact that the New Testament writings are all in this language is sufficient evidence of its universality. No doubt the dispersion of the early Christians from Palestine by devastating wars was greatly instrumental in the rapid spread of the new doctrine. While there is not much direct testimony as to the missionary labors of the first disciples, except Paul, the existence of many congregations in widely separated parts of the known world may be accepted as proof of the zeal and rapid multiplication of converts. The sway of the Roman government over so large an extent of territory was especially favorable to Christianity in one important particular. Not only was migration from one section of country to another made easy by military roads, but this system also served to break down any barriers that might be set up by one province against another. Ingress and egress were, doubtless, equally easy and safe.

Though the Roman empire was widely extended and nearly all its free subjects had become citizens, this class, nevertheless, embraced but a comparatively small portion of the entire population. It seems highly probable, however, that the condition of the slaves was in some respects preferable to that of a large number of the free citizens. In material regards they were not unfrequently better off, and the moral sentiment of the world had not yet become of sufficient weight against the institution of slavery to make its victims feel keenly the disgrace of their position. Nothing is more remarkable in the history of public opinion than the slowness of its development against what Wesley called the sum of villainies, unless it be the vehemence of that opinion when once it began to grow. We have no means of forming even an approximate estimate of the population of the Roman empire at this time. That it was greater than at the beginning of the fourth century

is probable, as war, pestilence, and famine, now in one region, now in another, doubtless made great havoc in the intervening period of two centuries. Several modern historians have estimated the number of people embraced within the civilized world when Christianity became the State religion. Schultze thinks it cannot have been far from one hundred millions, of which at least one tenth were nominally Christians, and about the same number Jews. Gibbon puts the number of Christians at five millions; Keim at more than three times this number. Most other authorities oscillate between these two extremes, with a general tendency toward the larger figures.

Before the advent of Christianity the barbarian element had virtually disappeared, especially in the East. Nowhere does it come to the surface. The Greeks were the predominant race, with a large admixture, though not intermixture, of Jews. It is safe to assume that neither were devoid of intelligence. It was not necessary, therefore, to create a civilization on which Christianity could be engrafted. As we penetrate further into the first Christian centuries the economic distress of the times becomes more and more apparent and pressing. But the majority of the people were too intelligent to resign themselves calmly to despair, like the Russian peasants of our day. Many were eager to enter upon any scheme that promised to better their temporal condition and to assist others who were most in need of aid. The feeling of kinship was stronger than it is in our day, though not the recognition of moral obligation to men as fellow-beings. The world was not indifferent to the practical teachings of peace and mutual help that Christianity brought to its attention. Hellenism was in one sense directly favorable to Christianity. The Greeks had no interest in the military projects of Rome, and their national character lacked the conservatism that was so marked a trait of the Romans. They held less tenaciously to customs and traditions simply because they were of immemorial usage. Besides, their lively curiosity made them ever ready to give heed to anything that promised to gratify it. The importance of this fact can be best appreciated by those who have had the opportunity or have taken the pains to study the Greeks as they are to-day. They are still, as they always have been, the progressive element among the people of the East. Greek literature

must at all times have been much read and studied. In some of it moral questions receive a large share of attention. Of the profane writers belonging to the first century of our era no one was probably better known than the kindly Plutarch. On many points he approaches the Christian view of the ethical relation that ought to exist between man and man. Judged by his writings he was eminently a good man according to the old order of things. Still, Plutarch was far from being a Christian. His virtues are ethnic rather than cosmopolitan. His moral writings display a certain narrowness of view, a lack of enthusiasm, that is in striking contrast with the books of the New Testament and their successors. Nevertheless, his writings were certainly not without their influence for good. Seneca, too, though a Roman, was thoroughly imbued with Greek ideas. It is well known that he has often been regarded as a Christian, though a close inspection of his life will show that this is a mistake. The works of these men and others more or less similar, together with the fact that they were popular, show that the world was to some extent ready to listen to those who endeavored to make men better. While these authors did not profess to teach philosophy, as the term is generally understood, they advocated a philosophy of living in which ethical principles occupied a prominent place.

The motives that led the first heathen to become Christians were without doubt of a somewhat varied character, though they may be classed under a few prominent heads. One of these motives grew out of the relation assumed to exist between gods and men. According to popular belief, the attitude of the former was supposed to be primarily one of hostility toward the latter. The good will of the gods had to be won by some means or other. It is true that many of the ancient philosophers held that these gods were unworthy the name if they looked with greater favor on the gifts of the rich than on those of the poor. But there is abundant evidence to prove that it was a matter of common belief that the good will of a god could in almost every instance be gained or his anger appeased by gifts of sufficient value. In the place of this somber faith Christianity taught the universal fatherhood of God, the only divine Being. It laid great stress upon the fact that his attitude toward man was primarily and constantly one of intense love; and

that not costly gifts, or, indeed, any gifts, were needed to gain his favor. In place of the capricious beings whose ill-will might be aroused by the most trifling act or omission, the heathen were told of a Being with whom there is no variableness or shadow of turning, a Being who is just according to men's highest conceptions of justice, and whose character could be sufficiently comprehended by the humblest worshiper. The wide extension of the Greek language had done much to prepare the way for the spread of a cosmopolitan religion such as Christianity claimed to be. Still, this element of its character did not gain ascendency without a struggle, as is evident from the conflict of views between the Jewish and the Gentile converts. The mighty personality of the greatest of the apostles eventually decided the contest and opened the way for the establishment of congregations throughout the known world. The fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man were the corner stones of the new religion. Yet it must not be supposed that either of these doctrines found ready and full acceptance even among the heathen, grateful as it must have been to the thousands who were without political rights, or at least without such as were of any value. Nor was the spirit of mutual help and brotherly kindness easy to understand in its practical aspects; but that it must have exercised a powerful influence upon many can readily be conceived even if it were not well attested. It no doubt brought some hypocrites into the Church of the sort typified in Ananias and Sapphira, but there is no evidence that they were numerous.

That the possessions of the Church are the property of the poor was the motto of believers from the least to the greatest. Christian writers never tire of contrasting the luxurious living of the heathen priests with the humble condition of their own spiritual leaders. They dwell with equal persistence on the dissolute lives of the former, whose sole object was sensual enjoyment, as contrasted with the charitable labors of the latter. The early bishops urgently insist upon the value of active philanthropy no less than upon the importance of a godly walk and conversation. Says Schultze:

> An effectual means of gaining influence over the heathen lay in the activity of the Church in works and institutions of a social character. As early as the apostolic times we find the care of the

poor conducted voluntarily and systematically. Though intended primarily for believers, it extended beyond these in particular cases. In close relation with this activity was the solicitude of the Church for the sick, for the feeble of every age, for orphans, and for all who were in any way in need of help. These works of charity and mercy were carried on to an extent and with a zeal that sufficiently attest the existence of an admirably planned and widespread organization. Later on, when the material condition of the Roman empire kept going from bad to worse, it is easy to imagine how great an attraction upon the humbler classes such charitable organizations would exert as the Church had established, or had in charge. We do not know to what extent such institutions increased the number of believers, but we are safe in drawing the inference that it must have been considerable. On the other hand, we know positively that the Church rescued and brought up in the doctrines of Christianity large numbers of heathen children that had been cast forth to die. The immemorial usage of parents exposing those children who were likely to become a burden upon them was proscribed by the Christian emperors, but had not wholly ceased as late as the sixth century. The Church set itself resolutely against this heartless practice, and not only rescued the victims of parental cruelty from death, but saved many from physical and moral degradation.

What a potent factor in the building up of the Church the spirit of brotherly kindness must have been may be judged from the estimate put upon it by the emperor Julian, who wished to transplant it into his ideal commonwealth. To three things, he thought (Schultze, i, 164), Christianity owed its rapid growth: the active benevolence of its votaries, their care for the dead, and a godly walk and conversation. But he so greatly misunderstood the spirit of believers as to charge the last of these to pure hypocrisy. It is safe to accept his judgment upon the situation, though he misinterpreted the motive. He so far misconceived the spirit of believers as to suppose that such conduct could have sprung from, or be based on, the polytheism which they had discarded. To look for grapes on thornbushes would not have been a greater absurdity. It needs but a cursory examination of the vocabulary of the New Testament, and no profound knowledge of the Greek current in the time of Christ, to convince anyone that the two deal with widely different modes of thought and feeling. The first Christian writers had in a great measure to create the lexical material with which to express their ideas. This they did by assigning to current words a special, usually a wider, significance than they had

at the time. In no particular is the expansive power of Christianity more strikingly exhibited than in the influence it had upon the language in which its teachings were first promulgated. The skill with which the early disciples, in spite of the fact that some of them were men of meager education, adapted the old words to the new conditions, presents one of the most interesting phases in the development of the human mind.*

It is a sad fact that together with the recognition of Christianity as the State religion came its spiritual decline. Yet there is nothing surprising in this, or, rather, it follows from the nature of the case. As soon as it becomes a matter of material advantage to belong to a particular organization in which membership is a mere voluntary act, there will always be many to take advantage of their prerogative to whom the aims and purposes of the association are a matter of indifference. The history of Christianity for fifteen hundred years is a standing witness to the fact that the largest measure of spiritual life is found in those denominations that are without governmental recognition. Wherever there is a State Church it is assumed that all loyal citizens will be found among its members. A disorderly walk may bring rebuke upon the offender, but rarely, or never, expulsion. The English Church, to cite only this single example, was almost totally devoid of spiritual life during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Bishop Tillotson said that in his day a converted clergyman was hard to find. When one scrutinizes the life of the clergy whose duty it was to watch over the spiritual interests of their parishioners, it almost exceeds belief that those in episcopal authority would

*One reason why the apostles and evangelists employed the Greek language was undoubtedly its extensive use. But there was another in its favor, as compared with the Latin, which was also widely prevalent. It may seem strange that Paul wrote in Greek to the disciples at Rome, but this is, in part at least, explained by the presence in the imperial city of many persons from the East who were familiar with the language. The strongest argument in favor of Greek was, however, next to its practical value, the facility with which it lent itself to the discussion of metaphysical and doctrinal questions. There was no theme which could not be readily handled in this tongue. The new religion needed a new nomenclature; and this could be most readily formed from the Greek. There existed in it a body of philosophical writings that made the discrimination of mental phenomena a comparatively easy matter. If new compounds were needed they could be easily and naturally formed. No language in use would have served the purpose so well, or nearly so well, as the Greek.

connive at the reckless courses generally led by these so-called shepherds of the people. The advent of the English reformers in the early years of the eighteenth century, among whom John Wesley was easily the chief, produced a state of things and aroused a popular interest that had many points in common with the first Christian centuries. The parallel need not be carried out in detail here; every one can do that for himself. The power of the government, both active and passive, was against the new sect; yet it grew and prospered because spiritual forces contended in its behalf. Victor Hugo wisely says that a prince is nothing in the presence of a principle. "The best of all is, God is with us" was a conviction destined ultimately to overcome all opposition. And it will always be so.

Experience proves that it is better for the Church that its membership should remain in the minority. So long as it continues to be a truly spiritual body its influence will not be measured by its numbers. If, on the other hand, concessions are made to give it numerical strength, as has so often been done, the same results will always follow that have gone hand in hand with the growth of Christianity from the time of Constantine to our day. Humanly speaking, no doctrine was ever proclaimed that had so little probability of success in its favor as Christianity when it was first promulgated by the apostles. Many times has it been asserted that Greek philosophy was a propædeutic for Christianity. It is very doubtful whether this view is correct. Greek philosophy concerned itself, as all philosophy does, with the search after truth. Its votaries sought to know the reason of things. It had no deep interest in fallen and miserable men. It might, indeed, indicate the ways and means by which men might become better; but it concerned itself little with the practical needs of their case. Philosophy often inculcates resignation; it may even in special instances lead the way to personal improvement; but it rarely goes beyond this narrow sphere. Philosophy sometimes teaches morality; but men need a morality touched with emotion to move them. In its controversial aspects Greek philosophy was, doubtless, not without its influence on the doctrinal form of Christianity; but this had little to do with commending it to the masses. Then, too, most of the adherents of the later Greek philosophy, those who called themselves philosophers,

were men whose lives were little calculated to win respect for the doctrines they professed. It is well known that the Romans, long before the time of the empire, looked upon them and their professions with contempt. Their conduct was in general deserving of no milder judgment. Ready to undertake anything that promised a temporary livelihood, they were only consistent in their utter disregard of any fixed principles. There were, it is true, some notable and noble exceptions to this sweeping condemnation, but they do not seem to have been either numerous or influential. Nearly all the philosophical schools began by despising Christianity when they came in contact with it, and ended with bitterly denouncing it.

Kant has said that men need a God who interests himself in them, a God who is not a mere abstraction or a being who dwells afar off. Such a God was brought to the attention of men by Christianity after they had gone far toward losing all faith in their traditional divinities. Science, mere abstract knowledge, is cold and unsympathetic. It lacks the warm pulse of emotion. It is one thing to know, and another thing to do. When we are sick we seek the services of the wisest physician. But if he merely tells us how we became sick, lectures us on the laws of our physical nature that we have violated, and takes no further interest in us, his wisdom will profit us little then and there. We shall fare better in the hands of one who, with less knowledge, interests himself in our condition and is willing to do what he can to cure us. A faithful and devoted nurse is of far greater value to a sick man than the most skillful physician who is indifferent or who has only a theoretical interest in us. Greek philosophy was, figuratively speaking, the skillful physician. It could diagnose the pathological condition of the human soul; point out clearly the cause of its diseases; but it did and could do little more. On the other hand, Christianity was the faithful nurse, interested in the patient though not in the cause of his disease. This being the case, need we wonder to which of them men and women would most readily turn for relief? Still, there were many who clung to the old religion because it embodied the faith of their ancestors. They practiced its rites mechanically and gave the subject no further thought. Others vagnely imagined that the existing order of things somehow depended on the observance of certain time-

honored ceremonies. Though some of these rites and ceremonies were gross and sensual in the highest degree, they were not objectionable to them on that account. To not a few persons these ceremonies may even have been a recommendation. Such a religion made no demands on the moral nature and left the worshiper to his own devices. It is sufficiently evident, from the writings of the apostle Paul, that even professing Christians were sometimes loath to give up wholly their idolatrous practices. To these they clung with a tenacity that may seem surprising. But it is not so when we look into the traditions and surroundings of the early converts.

It has often been said that the growth of Christianity, in its inception, was greatly accelerated by the decay of faith in the old gods. How far this was the case cannot be ascertained with any degree of accuracy. One thing, however, is certain—there is abundant evidence of the fact that the ancient rites at least were not interrupted. What Paul mildly commended in his address on Mars' Hill was deduced from wide observation. The Greeks were always careful in the external observances of religion. The apostles' experience at Ephesus showed the same state of things. Forms and ceremonies were still sedulously observed. The belief was widespread that in some way the regular course of nature was dependent upon them. The Christian apologists did not neglect to use the intellectual weapons that famine and pestilence put into their hands. They were fond of dwelling upon the emptiness of a faith in gods who deserted their votaries at the very time when most in need of their aid. When, then, it came to be more and more evident that the course of nature would not be interrupted with the cessation of the old rites, we may well believe that they fell into desuetude with increasing rapidity.

Christ was the first great teacher who insisted on the intimate connection between religion and morality. He would tolerate no divorce between them on the part of his disciples. No human beings have ever lived in a social state who were without a religion; there have been many, as there still are, who have only the faintest conception of practical morality. Not even the Greeks had to any considerable extent reconciled the relation existing between them. While many of the popular Greek maxims are not without moral import, they do not

bring the whole range of conduct within their sphere. The most advanced ethical doctrines of the Greeks exhibit conspicuous gaps that were filled up by Christianity. This aspect of the new doctrine certainly did not tend to make it rapidly popular, we may be sure, but it helped to make its growth steady and continuous. This connection between religion and morality is clearly foreshadowed in the Old Testament, and its rules of conduct are, perhaps, as rigorous as those of the New. Nevertheless many of its representative characters were guilty of base acts. There is an evident concession to the hardness of men's hearts, not made in Christian times. But every reader of the apostolic writings knows how constantly they insist upon the interrelation between creed and conduct.

There is a universal trait of human nature that pleads strongly for the maintenance of the ancestral modes of worship. Most men are averse to change. They shrink from the effort necessary to fit themselves into new conditions. This trait finds utterance in the familiar maxim, "Let well enough alone." The Roman empire had grown great under the tutelage of the ancestral gods. In the course of time it had come to recognize nearly or quite all the gods worshiped throughout its vast extent. Was it safe to discard them? Prudence said not. Though the condition of things might be in some degree unsatisfactory, would it be an improvement to venture upon radical innovations, most of all when these concerned so important a matter as the national religion? Prudence again uttered an emphatic "No." It is therefore not surprising that some of the best Roman emperors persecuted the Christians. The Roman religion was an integral part of the Roman State. The Eternal City was believed to have been founded under divine auspices. The empire was but an extension of the city, though it might embrace the known world. The obligation to see to it that the traditional religious rites were properly observed rested upon the magistrates as much as the discharge of their civil functions. The relation of the heads of families to the other members was similar, almost identical. The good father, the patriotic citizen, the conscientious public functionary, were all regarded as bound to pay careful heed to the will of the gods and to take proper measures for the due observance of long-established and regularly recurring religious rites. It is particularly true of the

later Roman commonwealth, beginning with the time when the republic began to verge toward the empire, that the mental attitude of the worshiper was regarded as a matter of entire indifference. We may well believe that in early Rome there were many whose worship of the gods was sincere. They were what we may call, by anticipation, genuinely pious. In the course of time, however, religion came to be regarded as a purely external matter. The gods were assumed to care nothing as to what the worshiper thought, provided he performed proper acts. Their favor was to be gained or their wrath appeased by the practice of mere perfunctory rites. While it may appear grotesque to us to see the commander of an army consulting and repeating auguries until the omens were favorable, this was frequently done; the Roman soldier failed to fight with his accustomed bravery only when this was omitted or when under the shadow of an unfavorable response. Such a repeated consultation of auguries would never fail to win over the gods to the side of the Romans; and this belief had undoubtedly much influence on the destiny of the Roman empire. It is always possible to cause a die to fall in any desired position if it be thrown often enough. This may occur at the first cast or it may require a dozen or even a hundred; but the desired result cannot fail. It was by similar methods that the Roman soothsayers invariably succeeded in procuring favorable omens. In view, then, of the entire lack of connection in the Roman mind between the subjective and the objective, between the faith of the worshiper and his act of worship, a patriotic citizen might be an infidel in religious belief and yet perform the traditional and customary rites with a certain measure of good faith. Refusal would readily be interpreted as a species of perversity bordering close upon treason, if it were not treason itself. There was no prohibition insisted on more rigorously by the early teachers of Christianity than abstention from every form of idolatry. The neophyte was required to make this renunciation first and foremost. Christianity was not a whit more tolerant of idolatry than was Judaism. The apostles foresaw with surprising clearness that a monotheistic creed was an indispensable condition to an upright life. Men must not be permitted to revere divinities who are capable both of committing and sanctioning immoral acts. It was an impos-

sible thing, an irreconcilable contradiction, that the same superhuman being could approve deeds that had diametrically opposite ethical qualities. The same fountain could not send forth bitter waters and sweet. The same God could not incite men to noble and ignoble acts. Wickedness was not due to an impulse communicated from without; it was the consequence of an evil heart within. It was men's own lusts that enticed them from the path of rectitude, not the inspiration of Deity. There is one God in whom all men live and have their being, and he is only good. He has implanted in all men the power to discern the moral quality of actions; and even the heathen are without excuse if they persist in doing what is wrong. It was in the relation which idolatry held to the State that it first came into conflict with Christianity. Here was a vital point on which the early Christians were open to the attack of anyone who chose to make it. The Jews regarded idolatry with feelings akin to those of the Christians. They were, however, not a proselyting nation. They looked upon their relation to monotheism as a peculiar national birthright, not to be offered to any chance comer. Many of them were scattered throughout the cities of the Roman empire, and until the deification of the emperors became a maxim of statecraft and their worship part of the national religion, they were generally unmolested though despised. The times and circumstances that brought persecution upon the Christians brought it upon them also; but its greatest severity fell on the former. They were regarded as the more dangerous of the two because of their proselyting zeal. It was impossible to foretell the ultimate effects of this zeal, and the government at different times felt constrained to resort to repressive measures.

The stress laid by Jesus and the apostles on the doctrine of personal immortality is another salient point of contrast between Christians and unconverted Greeks. This doctrine found practical expression in the care constantly shown for the dead by the former. If there is to be a bodily resurrection the corpse of a believer must not be treated with neglect; it is worthy of the tenderest solicitude. In what way this solicitude was exercised is sufficiently attested by the contents of the catacombs, though this evidence at present exists chiefly in Europe. That it was general is well known. The Greeks had for the most

part a vague belief in immortality, but it afforded little consolation to those who were burdened with the cares of this world. It promised no compensations in a future existence for the privations endured in this. And it is worthy of remark that the Greeks of to-day have, in the main, advanced but little beyond the belief of their heathen ancestors. They still have a vague terror of the state beyond the grave. They have always been, as they still are, strongly disposed to make the most of the present life, because of the uncertainty of the future. They are no longer supported by the vigorous faith of the early converts among their countrymen. Christianity has become a matter of tradition, and has ceased to be a matter of personal conviction. "Let us eat and drink; for to-morrow we die," has always been a popular maxim among them. It need hardly be said that this was a jejune creed for men whose earthly existence had but little to offer of that which they most desired.

We have thus rapidly sketched the salient points in the development of primitive Christianity. The general course of events is not hard to trace, and to the believer they offer nothing that is hard to comprehend. It is the growth of a divine religion constantly supported by the presence of the Holy Spirit. But to the materialist the case presents not a few serious difficulties. History furnishes no parallel to it. If any one had predicted in the year of our Lord 50 the triumphant course of a religion that had its origin among an insignificant and despised people he would have been decried as a madman or an enthusiastic dreamer. To suppose that the mightiest empire of the world could be conquered by spiritual weapons alone in the course of two centuries demanded a faith bordering on the sublime. Yet it was in this faith that the Church labored. What must have seemed to many an insane prediction was fulfilled. The worship of false gods was overthrown or continued a precarious existence in secret. The sad sequel to the touching story of the early years of Christianity is that, when it had gained the mastery over all opposition, it ceased to rely on spiritual weapons and resorted to force to secure the triumphs it had so gloriously won.

Chas. W. Super.

Art. V.—SOME CONDITIONS OF STYLE.

The great writers on style in writing have left little to be said concerning principles; but there is one part of the subject where some important details are wanting. Let us preface by saying that there are two purposes to be served by good writing—utility and art. By the first is meant the imparting of ideas in the clearest and most effective way. It includes all but one of the effects of good writing, as, for example, conviction and persuasion. The one effect not necessarily included in a useful style is artistic effect. Most persons are content to forego the art, as most persons are indifferent to the other fine arts, are content that a building shall be useful, and see no charms in pictures or statues; and yet art has its divine place in human life and will always be cultivated for itself. The art of writing artistically so as to satisfy the æsthetic sense, as a painter satisfies it—the building of style up into architectural grace—has been chiefly cultivated by poets; but in this prose century of ours the fine art of expression in words finds cultivators among the prose writers and has given us prose marked by the essential features of the best poetry.

This kind of literary art in prose works upon materials such as the poets use, and its more various measures lend to its music a dignity and breadth not often found in any but the highest poets. The artistic prose must be seen in examples if the point here made is to be appreciated. Take, therefore, a few lines from Walter Pater, the greatest of our living prose artists:

> Given the conditions I have tried to explain as constituting good art;—then if it be devoted further to the increase of men's happiness, to the redemption of the oppressed, or the enlargement of our sympathies with each other, or to such presentment of new or old truth about ourselves and our relation to the world as may ennoble and fortify us in our sojourn here, or immediately, as with Dante, to the glory of God, it will be also great art—if, over and above those qualities I summed up as mind and soul—that color and mystic perfume and that reasonable structure—it has something of the soul of humanity in it, and finds its logical, its architectural place, in the great structure of human life.

This sentence of one hundred and twenty-eight words, not one of which is a relative pronoun, is a piece of architecture as truly

as any sonnet is. It is not easy reading; the sentence is too closely packed with presentive words to be easily read; but lucidity and music flow through it. The sentence is the last one in Mr. Pater's article on "Style," printed in the *Fortnightly Review* for December, 1888. We reproduce it, not as an extraordinarily fine sentence, but rather as an example of prose handicraft and as an illustration of the special purpose of this essay.

We are now prepared to suggest some details of literary art. Just as the materials on a painter's palette must be thoroughly mixed, so the mechanical elements of the writer's art must be completely resolved and fused. The words in the sentence are no more like the sentence than crude paints are like a picture. Sentences are also pictures, and their value is given them by the double process of reducing the words to a species of fluidity in the mind and then molding them around the soul we have put into them. To drop figures: No man can be an artist in his style who cannot make a perfect analysis of his words. Of course, he must also have something to put into his sentences. Words may jingle and clang, but they will not play any noble tune. This analysis, this resolution of verbal materials into elementary condition, how is it accomplished? Or, rather, how shall one go about training himself in this handicraft part of his business? A light on the subject comes from the history of the best literary artists. They are invariably men trained by their education and by the habits of their lives to close and constant analysis of the elements of speech. They know the history of their words, the value of their particles, the metaphor fading off from them or developing in them, the trope to be forgotten all about, and the trope distinctly to be remembered; and no particle, in composition or working in single harness, is permitted to escape the molding hand of the master of the sentence. The answer to our question then is: the finished master in style is a product of much study and analysis of words. He must know to the bottom the material in which he works, as a potter works his clay or a painter his colors.

From fifty to sixty per cent of the words in a sentence are symbolic; that is to say, they present no distinct thing to the mind. With forty significant words the artist must combine sixty wanting distinct faces. The sixty are like the plus

and minus signs. Like them, they must be put in the right places, and, like them, must not be used at all in the wrong place or any place where they add nothing or subtract nothing. Much work, otherwise good, is spoiled by the useless *but*, *which*, *and*, *that*, *the*, *an*. The function of each of these particles being supplementary, like the tail of an animal, the artist will see to it that the appendage is both needful and proportional; he will get some usefulness out of his symbol. Nor is it a small matter that some particles are very much alive, as the demonstrative in "*that* man," and yet in other connections may have no life at all, as in "He said *that* he would come." Nine times in ten the artist leaves out the second *that*, not to imitate colloquial style, but to cut away dead flesh. Your *the* is a more various particle; it ranges through so much unobtrusive significance that only an artist's fine sense will manage it, as in

> And to watch, as *the* little bird watches
> When *the* falcon is in *the* air.

Each of these particles has a special value; and each is something more than a symbol. The relatives are the least manageable of the symbols still in use. Our fathers had some connectives of a worse temper, as *whensoever* and *whosoever*. Close study of the best writing will show that the artist omits the relatives when he can, and relies upon flat connections, aided by careful adjustment of clauses; and sentences of considerable length are reared up into cathedral grace without the help of the scaffolding of relatives and other connectives. No small part of the difficulty made for us by our Saxon relatives comes of their ungainliness. The French relative is more comely, or, rather, there is less of it, and it admits of vocal and even visible shortening; while our *who*, *which*, *whose*, and *whom* are symbols occupying considerable space and tolerating very little abbreviation in utterance. They resist the common law of symbolic words, and stand almost alone in their revolt from the rule that such words lose in composition a considerable part of their volume of sound. They stretch their whole bulk across the vision, and the mind cannot find relief in a musical reduction of the space they fill. Most significant words are capable of music; *Wabash* is an example, when it is spoken in

Chicago, where much use has crushed it into fluency. Yet after centuries of use our relative forms retain their unmusical notes and refuse to part with the least portion of their volume. The word *that*, now very rarely used as a relative, is susceptible of lengthenings and shortenings for its several functions and for fine musical effects, in cadences especially; and the rare instances of its relative use by Walter Pater are a homage to its fluent nature.

These facts in the nature of our relatives as sound and as visible speech probably explain why, in the history of fine writing, the use of the relatives has pretty steadily declined. Johnson's *Rasselas* contains twice as many in each one thousand words as are found in an essay of Walter Pater; and of the two the *Rasselas* is the more obviously an attempt at artistic composition. Lord Macaulay, about midway in time, is also nearly midway in the proportion of his relatives. The three authors give us the last and best century of our prose literature; Pater's practice shows the last furlong gained in our progress.

For reasons suggested we should have been happier in our English style if we could have gone on using *that* with the freedom of the sixteenth century. Our English Bible shows us how wide this freedom had become when English had just attained to elegance in prose letters. On the other hand, the sixth and seventh verses of the last chapter of Solomon's Song are constructed in much the same order of architecture as the sentences of Walter Pater. We had to part with *that* as a relative because the poor little word, with its three classes of duties, was sadly overworked. Not even the variety of its sound-volume and its musical elegance could entitle it to so many appearances on each page as were assigned to it by De Foe, Johnson, and Burke. When meaner artists seized the pen the poor word was so frequently employed as to positively weary the reader. The economy introduced by the best writers has, in fact, relieved *that* of much service in its offices of conjunctive and demonstrative—to such an extent that there is a tendency to increase its now very limited use as a relative.

We come back to the conditions of style imposed by symbolic words. In a good style these symbols fill a considerable part of every line. Some of them, as we have seen, stubbornly

resist reduction of their volume. It is plain that this group should be used as rarely as possible. It is plain, also, that the more or less significant symbols require great attention to secure to them accuracy of use and position, to be attained to only by a large amount of practice. Good art makes the dumb sing. The feebly vocal symbols add their small notes to the larger voices of the presentive words; the stubbornly dumb words, if they must appear in the line, should somehow be concealed from full sight and enunciation. Bad styles commonly display badly chosen presentive words and incoherence in their sequences; but a style may still be bad after all these errors are corrected. The secret of good style, of the best style, of literary art, lies in the management of the symbolic elements found in written language.

Emotion, or what Walter Pater calls soul, in writing usually banishes the ill-favored and ill-sounding connectives from the sentence. Any one may test this by picking out the elevated passages of a great writer; and the best writing must be characterized by emotional elevation.

Art. VI.—THE COMING HERO.

Great reformations have small beginnings. The leaven of truth has a marvelous vitalizing effect. The truth in a single heart, setting an intellect on fire with the zeal of a righteous cause, transforms civilization. Truth, embodied in a great man as its exponent, is always the dawn of a better day. Such men are epochal characters in history. They are the prominent mountain peaks of humanity. As the servants of great principles they are resplendent with a divine light that penetrates centuries of gloom. We call such men reformers. With prophetic vision they anticipate the demands of the future; with a sublime courage they believe in the progress of the race and the inherent possibilities of man more than in the conservatism of the past. Such men, possessed with great principles to which humanity responds, startle the nations with their statements of truth and become great teachers and benefactors. We bow before such men of inherent dignity and moral worth and adore them as the world's heroes. Looking back over the past, we behold the political hero arising out of the condition of the age and giving men better government. Each nation has its Washington, whom it venerates and immortalizes. We adore the hero in scientific and philosophical achievement who has broadened our intellectual horizons, and the religious hero who, breaking the bondage of caste and superstition, brings man to a greater spiritual freedom. These have all been forerunners of a hero yet to come. I believe this last hero of the human race will come in the twentieth century and fully establish the brotherhood of man under the law of love. His greatness will consist in the fact that he is a great servant.

Gathered in an upper room in Jerusalem on the eve of the most stupendous and far-reaching events of the world's history are twelve men of divers temperament and training, engaged in conversation with Him who has since been recognized as the Teacher of the ages. They have been planning the establishment of a great kingdom upon far-reaching reformatory principles. They have learned many sublime truths from their marvelous Teacher, have beheld visions of peaceful conquest by the power of new ethical truths, and are expecting some great

event as they face a mysterious future. In the shadow of uncertainty caused by the predicted and approaching departure of the great Teacher they are about to recline around the table at the paschal supper to celebrate a feast which to them was both historical and prophetical. In the social conversation preceding this feast they grew enthusiastic, even wrangling over the question who should be greatest in the expected kingdom. In the midst of the momentary excitement the Master, whose very wisdom and inherent dignity has made him great in their estimation, lays aside his outer garment, girds himself with a towel, and proceeds to perform a menial service, a service usually performed by a hireling or slave. He washes the feet of the disciples, according to a custom performed before the evening meal. The impetuous spokesman of that select body of men—spokesman only by age and temperament—objects to this seeming sacrifice of dignity and revolts against this revolutionary act of the great Teacher. One glance from that benevolent face with the simple statements, "What I do thou knowest not now; but thou shalt know hereafter," and "If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with me," silences the objector, and the beautiful lesson is continued by a remarkable explanation of a great truth which the world has been slow to reconcile.

This bold object lesson was the act of a reformer, and as such was revolutionary and subverted preexisting customs and notions. I am not surprised at Peter's protest. To him it seemed to be a servile act. It has taken the light and experience of nearly nineteen centuries to invest this act with its regal meaning. It is beginning to dawn on some minds that they can never rise so high as when they become great servants. In fact, the most honored men to-day have been such. Lincoln, Grant, Gladstone are striking examples among English-speaking people. What a contrast between these men and Alexander, Cæsar, and Napoleon! The world has had many ambitious, selfish heroes, whose genius flashed as a meteor across the world's horizon, leaving devastation, ruin, and bloodshed in their trail; while history recalls the deeds of but few benevolent, self-sacrificing heroes who have sought to exalt humanity by the investment of their lives in the defense of great principles. Yet the few have outlived in influence the many whose greatness was but gilded cruelty and selfishness; and

the few are crowned to-day in the world's thought as great benefactors.

The Philosopher and Philanthropist of Nazareth, in whom dwelt the fullness of the Godhead, was a great reformer whose statements of truth penetrated to the core of wrongs and customs which were hoary with age. The teachings and example of Jesus are making all things new, though the moral elevation has been slow; but in no age has his example been more potent nor his teachings more closely investigated with reference to present problems than at the close of this century. Dr. Peabody, Harvard's great preacher, in alluding to this beautiful example of Jesus in one of his sermons to the students, used the following language:

> This act of Jesus established a new order of nobility—that of great servants. Before, greatness had for its aim and token the acquisition or appropriation of wealth, title, power, service, or whatever else might be the foremost object of desire; and the greatest man was he who could most efficiently make others tributary to himself. Since, true greatness has had for its aim and token self-privation, self-renunciation, the bestowment of all that one has and is, for the good of his fellow-men; and he is the greatest who has the largest and most affluent nature to spend and sacrifice for his race and the most fervent desire to coin his whole being into uses and services.

I accept this as a terse statement of the important lesson which the great Teacher sought to impart, and would emphasize it now. Yet human blindness and unlawful ambition have revolted against this new order of knighthood and sought greatness in the lower lines of selfishness. The failure has been great—great upon the dwarfed and unsatisfied individual, and great in afflictions and hardships upon the masses.

It is said that "coming events cast their shadows before." These shadows are the conditions of humanity which claim attention and demand adjustment. Some one always arises to solve those vexed problems, and the conditions of to-day are prophetical of the coming hero. What are these conditions that demand great servants and are preparing the way for their coming? The unrest and conflicts manifested in commercial and industrial relations, in the discussion of political and economic questions, and also in the realm of theology and sociology indicate that we are in a transition period. Problems on every

hand are presenting themselves for solution. Past legislation seems to be ineffectual, and fails to meet the new conditions. The golden cord of our national and individual prosperity seems to be broken. Things seem to have a chaotic tendency. Our ablest financiers are perplexed, and thinking men of every class are looking for a solution of the many-sided problems now arising in our civilization. Some of the conditions which indicate the coming hero may be frankly stated.

The first condition is a want of confidence on the part of the masses in the leadership of those who aspire to political positions of trust and power. Once political exaltation meant that the man was a patriot, and his greatest success was attained in protecting the people's interests. But the strife for leadership in recent years, with its attendant corruptions, together with the betrayal of great public interests by men who have used their preferment and power for selfish purposes, has broken the confidence of the masses. They are "at sea" between the great political parties. They know the methods of the caucus and the convention and distrust the leaders, so that politics has become largely the strife of demagogues and their "heelers" for public patronage. Men are in politics for the money there is in it, and the big plums go to the men who have the largest bank accounts. The people are growing tired of this state of affairs, and are looking for great servants whose patriotism is unquestioned and whose lives will be invested in the service of pure government, based upon equity and justice to all classes. The handwriting is on the wall; the selfish politician is doomed, and the unrest of the masses means the coming hero—the great servant of the people's interests. The political methods of the last twenty-five years are failing. In the coming century the way to a throne will be along the line of patriotic and benevolent public service.

Again, the tyranny of wealth is disintegrating our social compact and breeding the elements of the commune. Nearly every town has its Shylock, who lives by his unjust extortions and upon unlawful interest, and who chafes because all men will not come under his thumb of oppression. The masses feel, perhaps unjustly, in some cases, that great wealth has been wrongfully gained and that in the prosperity of the last thirty years there has not been a fair distribution of the products of

capital and labor. During these years there has been but little legislation which has given full protection to the meager investments of the poor man in great corporations. He has not been permitted to have a place on the bottom floor of great industrial institutions. With no national comptroller to look into the affairs of industrial corporations and protect the small investors, such as is provided for by our laws in our national banking institutions, the poor man has been "frozen out," crowded to the wall, and is now dependent on these corporations and manufacturing institutions for a place to work, and upon wages alone. The age of steam and machinery has greatly hastened our civilization, but not without some disadvantages—disadvantages which ought not to exist and which are preparing the way for the coming hero. The industry of the world has been carried on under three systems: first, that of slavery; second, the feudal system, and, third, the wage system of the present age. It has been an upward progress, and the last stage is the best, recognizing, as it does, skill and intelligence. Yet the wage system as administered to-day is unsatisfactory. The masses resist the tendency toward dependence upon, or slavery to, great corporations. Labor organizations are but the exponents of this unrest. Here is a great problem for solution. The very conditions of this problem are prophetical of the coming hero, who, as a great servant, and upon the ethical principles of the golden rule, will find the solution, and when this is found and recognized we shall be in the dawn of the golden age of the highest individual freedom.

Again, in our larger cities and in many of our smaller ones the social cliques, based solely on wealth and diamonds—no other passport being required—are demoralizing public sentiment on many lines, debauching the public conscience in the awful haste to get rich, and alienating and destroying the brotherhood of man. There are places in this land where nothing less than one million dollars will admit a man to the social set. Brains, literary attainment, inventive genius, or great public services, none of these things equals wealth in the social estimation of our wealthy aristocracy, who ape an effete and degenerating royalty on other shores. The effect of this is injurious to our social compact, tends toward caste, builds up a hatred among the classes, and breaks that mutual depend-

ence that naturally exists between the capitalist and his skilled laborer. The social attitude of wealth has had much to do with the labor troubles of the last decade. Wealth means great responsibility, and should involve efficient stewardship in the discharge of public benefactions; but the general tendency, with but a few exceptions, is in the opposite direction, toward the tyranny of selfishness and toward a pharisaical exclusiveness and isolation.

The conditions of party politics, the exactions of industrial corporations, and the social tendencies of wealth present a boundless problem—almost as boundless as this country as described by the impetuous Fourth of July orator who said that "America is bounded on the north by the aurora borealis; on the east by the history of the past; on the south by the torrid zone, and on the west by the day of judgment!" Who shall appear to solve this problem, assume leadership conferred by the masses, still the noisy elements, and usher in a reign of peace built upon the right relations of all men? Not the theorist, who deals with abstract principles and knows but little of the practical side of life. Not the political economist, who deals simply with the acquisition and distribution of wealth, and who explains all the ills of humanity by protection or free trade, or monometallism, or bimetallism, or the Ricardo rent theory. Political economy as taught to-day from the books is on the rim of this great problem, and must go deeper and carry with it ethical principles to find the secret of a correct and peaceful solution.

The solution of the problem is not with the anarchist, who would level all things with torch and dynamite; nor with the socialist, who seeks by the ballot to make a community of goods; nor with the walking delegate of labor organizations, whose chief business is agitation. All these elements of discussion and interest are the indications and conditions of the coming hero who will give the world the solution and lead in the readjustment of a social compact based upon the brotherhood of man. His coming will be peaceable, it is to be hoped, because of the adherence of a free and sovereign people to his teachings; yet he may come while we are on the verge of chaos and in the midst of flaming torches and booming cannons, and out of the destruction and bloodshed make all things

new by ethical principles which shall shape and direct the application of economic principles.

It is now time to inquire after the characteristics of this coming hero, that we may recognize him when he does appear and hail him as the great servant of the twentieth century. I am sure he will be a noble man physically, intellectually, and morally. He will know himself, and all the active principles of his nature will be under perfect self-control, all working harmoniously together to exalt the supreme end of man. The body will be the servant of the mind, the mind the servant of the moral and spiritual natures, and the whole man radiant with nobility of character because he recognizes and obeys the laws of nature, heeds the voice of an enlightened conscience, and exemplifies the ethics of love in his conduct. His nobleness of character will not be spasmodic and made to order, but will be the outgrowth of his faith—faith in well-accepted philosophic principles, faith in the possibilities of human nature, faith in the ultimate triumph of right and truth, and faith in the ethics of the golden rule and the brotherhood of man. He will live not for self, but for others, and for the good he can do as a great servant. Stability of character will be a dominant trait of the coming hero, because he will be a man of convictions, and also have the courage of his convictions—not one thing to-day and something else to-morrow, in order to catch the popular favor. He will be a stable man. No one will doubt his consistency or question his manly convictions. His stability, like the rest of his character, will be the outgrowth of his belief in life's invisible forces. He will know that the visible things of this life are temporal and that the unseen forces are eternal. He will, therefore, anchor himself to the spirit forces of the universe, and, taking advantage of these forces as seen in gravity, in the passing breeze, in the sunbeam, in the electric current, in man's soul and in God's eternal presence and power, he will serve humanity as its last and greatest hero. The multitude will follow him because of his sincerity and disinterested benevolence. He will mold public opinion, and, by the voice of the people, he will be society's blessed lawgiver and benefactor.

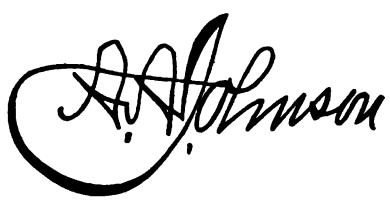
He will be an American patriot. The love of good and equitable laws, the welfare of men in harmonious social relations and public morals, will be dear to his heart. His patriot-

ism will be on the investment principle. He will save others by the sacrifice of himself and his own interest. In short, he will be the world's greatest public servant. He may be a rich man. If so he will not hesitate to wash the poor man's feet. He may be a poor man; but as a leader of the masses he will make many rich by a new order of things in the industrial world and by inculcating a better state of social and public morals. He will be a Christian statesman. The ethics of the New Testament will be his guide in solving the difficulties of the new economic questions and in directing the affairs of the State, national as well as international. The ethics of Him who has been the world's greatest servant will furnish this coming statesman with correct sociological views, expressed in wise legislative enactments, which shall give new peace and harmonious relations to society. As a statesman, the product of new conditions in civilization, he will rise above the party blindness and selfish ambitions which characterize the vast majority of public men to-day. Imbued with the spirit and life of Jesus Christ, he will ascend to a broad view of American conditions and become the statesman of the twentieth century. This hero will not announce himself. He will doubtless be unconscious of his mission until near the close of his life. Perhaps the laurel wreath will never be placed upon his brow but rather placed on his statue by grateful generations. He will be crowded into leadership by the masses, and so absorbed will he be in the solution of the problems of the hour and in serving the people's interests on the platform of American patriotism that he will be unconscious of the greatness and permanency of his lifework. Therefore we need to beware of the man who announces himself as the hero of the age and calls upon a restless humanity to do him homage before he has solved the difficulties of our present civilization.

But the reader objects, and says that I have portrayed an imaginary character—a hero who cannot arise out of selfish humanity as now constituted. Such a view, I apprehend, is pessimistic, and leaves God and his purposes out of the question. The forces are now at work to produce this hero. The storm clouds on our national horizon, illustrated in Governor Altgeld's pardon of the anarchists at Chicago as a bid for the votes of foreigners of the socialistic class; the manipulations of a foreign

political Church, who will doubtless soon ask that the pope's nuncio be recognized at Washington; the flagrant disregard of the wishes of the American people touching the sacredness of the Sabbath day by a covetous city and a still more selfish local management of the World's Fair—these are the forces demanding a hero and an American statesman. These danger signals, together with many other economic and social forces, are now at work to produce a hero, and the world is waiting for his coming and the very age is expectant.

Who shall develop this hero? From whence shall he come? Out of adversity, doubtless; a poor boy, perhaps, trained as was the "rail-splitter" by bitter experiences that he might be a nation's saviour in its darkest hour. No matter whence he comes, one thing is sure: in order to meet the conditions of the next century he must come through the college and our institutions of higher learning into those broad scientific and philosophical views which shall enable him accurately to grasp the conditions of the age. He must also come through the universal Christian Church, whose central theology is the life and spirit of Jesus Christ, into those broad ethical views which shall fully enable him to grasp the great facts of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. This very culture of head and heart will enable him to solve the difficulties which are now arising under the new conditions of our civilization.



ART. VII.—THE PAULINE EPISTLES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO EXTERNAL EVIDENCE.—PART II.

A VERY ancient account of the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* has come down to us in the form of a letter of the church of Smyrna. Its date is uncertain; but it was probably written not long after the death of Polycarp, which, it will be remembered, is supposed to have occurred A. D. 155. This letter is thought to have some spurious additions, but to be in the main a genuine document. In § 1 there is a quotation from Phil. ii, 4, and in § 2 Paul's version of Isa. lxiv, 4, is given very nearly as it stands in 1 Cor. ii, 9. In § 10 there seems to be a reference to Rom. xiii, 1, and to Titus iii, 1.

The *Epistle of Barnabas* is among the earliest Christian writings extant. Its date and authorship are uncertain; but it is generally agreed that it must have been written between A. D. 71 and 125. The writer appears to use Paul's epistles, but his references to them are not so pointed as to be very decisive. In § 13 Abraham is spoken of as a "father of the nations who believe, though they be in uncircumcision," recalling Rom. iv, 11. In § 19 there occurs what may be an echo of Gal. vi, 6. In § 6, "The habitation of our heart is a holy temple to the Lord," appears to be a reminiscence of Eph. ii, 21, 22, "A holy temple in the Lord; in whom ye also are builded together for a habitation of God;" and perhaps also of 1 Cor. iii, 16, "Know ye not that ye are a temple of God?" In § 12, "Jesus, for in him and to him are all things," resembles Col. i, 16, "All things have been created through him and unto him." There are seeming echoes of passages in 1 and 2 Thessalonians. The expression, in § 6, "He was about to be manifested . . . in the flesh," may be a reminiscence of 1 Tim. iii, 16, "He who was manifested in the flesh." "The Lord . . . who shall judge the quick and the dead" (§ 7) is the same phrase as is found in 2 Tim. iv, 1. On the whole, the allusions, such as they are, seem to be as much to the disputed as to the undisputed epistles.

In considering the testimony of Ignatius we meet with a very complicated and long-debated question. The letters of Ignatius to the churches and to Polycarp were written as he was on his way from Antioch to Rome, where he was to suffer

martyrdom under Trajan, probably, as already stated, "within a few years of A. D. 110." The letters, however, have come down to us in several different forms, and it has been questioned whether we have the real letters at all. Volumes have been written on the subject. The seven letters of the shorter Greek recension — those of the Middle Form, sometimes styled the Vossian letters—are defended as genuine by many very eminent scholars, such as Zahn, Harnack, Funk, Lipsius, Lightfoot, and others. On the other hand, some scholars still stand with Lardner, who said of this vexed question more than a century ago: "Whatever positiveness some may have shown on either side, I must own I have found it a very difficult question. . . . It appears to me probable that they are for the main the genuine epistles of Ignatius." But he adds, "Even the smaller epistles [that is, those of the Middle Form] may have been tampered with." * So also Charteris: "The point upon which we are not sure is the survival of those letters to our day in such a form that they can be used as evidence." † The value of the testimony of Ignatius may therefore be variously estimated by different persons. Let us now see what the testimony is, using the letters of the Middle Form.

Here, again, there is no express quotation from the books of the New Testament, but evident marks of acquaintance with both the gospels and the epistles. Ignatius, in his letter to the Ephesians (§ 12), says, "Ye are associates in the mysteries with Paul, who was sanctified, . . . who in every letter [or, in all his letter] makes mention of you in Christ Jesus." Some authorities, as Lardner, Ellicott, and others, think that this is a direct reference to Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians. Others, as Zahn and Lightfoot, think it refers rather to Paul's comments on the Ephesians in his letters to the Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, and 1 and 2 Timothy. According to the former view Ignatius bears witness to the Epistle to the Ephesians; according to the latter view, to several of Paul's letters. Among the examples of the use of Paul's writings by Ignatius is the coincidence of the phrase, "newness of life," in Ig. Eph., § 19, with Rom. vi, 4. More marked is the resemblance between Rom. i, 3, 4; and Ig. Smyr., § 1, "Of the race of David according to the

* Lardner's *Works*, vol. ii, pp. 76, 77. London, 1838.

† A. H. Charteris, *Canonicity*, p. xxviii. 1880.

flesh, but Son of God by the divine will and power." The phrase, "Shall not inherit the kingdom of God," 1 Cor. vi, 9, and Gal. v, 21, is used in Ig. Eph., § 16, and, slightly varied, in Ig. Phil., § 3. Also the words, "Yet am I not hereby justified," 1 Cor. iv, 4, are used in Ig. Rom., § 5. There seems to be evident allusion to 1 Cor. i, 20, in Ig. Eph., § 18; also to 2 Cor. xi, 9, in Ig. Phil., § 6; to Gal. i, 1, in Ig. Phil., § 1; to Eph. v, 25, 29, in Ig. Polyc., § 5; and to Eph. vi, 11–17, in Ig. Polyc., § 6. Compare also Ig. Eph., § 1, "imitators of God," and Eph. v, 1. Ig. Eph., § 9, echoes Eph. ii, 20–22. Ig. Mag., § 7, paraphrases Eph. iv, 3–6. Ig. Phil., § 8, "Do nothing through faction," is a reference to Phil. ii, 3; and in § 1 Ignatius uses the latter part of the same passage from Paul, "Nor yet through vainglory." Ig. Smyr., § 11, "As many as be perfect, be perfectly minded," is an allusion probably to Phil. iii, 15. Ig. Eph., § 10, "Steadfast in the faith," seems to allude to Col. i, 23. 1 Thess. v, 17, and 1 Tim. ii, 1, are reproduced in Ig. Eph., § 10, and Ig. Polyc., § 1. "Ye refreshed me in all things, and Jesus Christ shall refresh you. . . . May my spirit be for you and my bonds, which ye have not despised or been ashamed of; nor shall Jesus Christ . . . be ashamed of you," Ig. Smyr., §§ 9, 10, seems to be a recalling of 2 Tim. i, 16, 18. To all of Paul's epistles, in fact, except to 2 Thessalonians, even to that to Philemon, there are allusions more or less distinct. Those to 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Colossians, and Titus, however, are less marked than the others; those to 1 Corinthians and to Ephesians are the most pointed.

The *Didache* is a work whose date is uncertain. But many scholars assign it to a very early period—the latter part of the first century or the first part of the second century. It contains no precise quotation from Paul's epistles, but it is thought to allude to some of them. Harnack notices, for example, resemblances in Did. iv, §§ 10, 11, to Eph. vi, 5, 9, and Col. iii, 22; also in Did. xvi, § 4, to 2 Thess. ii, 1–12; and other verbal coincidences. Schaff, Lightfoot, and others trace resemblances which indicate probable use of Romans, 1 Corinthians, Ephesians, and 1 and 2 Thessalonians.*

The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* is an early fictitious

* Philip Schaff, *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, p. 92 and note, also p. 95. London, 1885.

work, purporting to give, in dying utterances of the sons of Jacob, moral and religious counsels and predictions of future history, especially of the events of Christianity. It was probably written by a Jewish Christian with the purpose of recommending Christianity to the Jews; and it, too, dates from near the close of the first century or the early part of the second century.* The writer, therefore, is as early a witness as the apostolic fathers, but a witness of a different type, in that he gives the testimony of Jewish Christians. As the *Testaments* purport to be words uttered before even our Old Testament was written, one should not look for quotations as such from the biblical books. Yet all the more striking, on this account, are the evident traces in it of the New Testament, which underlies its thought and crops out in its expressions. Professor Warfield has noticed that the writer makes use of thirty-nine words peculiar to Paul alone and found in no other Christian writer of his age; whereas only eleven are noted as peculiar to Paul and Clement of Rome, and only six peculiar to Paul and Polycarp. The greater length of the *Testaments* is not sufficient alone to account for this great difference.† In Levi, § 6, there is a clear borrowing from 1 Thess. ii, 16, in the words, "But the wrath of the Lord came suddenly upon them to the uttermost." Besides this passage many striking minor resemblances have been pointed out by Sinker,‡ Warfield, and others. Among them are the following: Ash., § 4, comp. Rom. ii, 13; Levi, § 3, comp. Rom. xii, 1; Benj., § 4, comp. Rom. xii, 21; Dan, § 5, comp. Rom. xv, 33; Gad, § 5, comp. 2 Cor. vii, 10; Benj., § 3, comp. Eph. ii, 2; Jud., § 14, comp. Eph. v, 18; Dan, § 5, also Reub., § 6, comp. Eph. iv, 25, 26; Naph., § 3, comp. Eph. v, 6; Benj., § 10, also Zeb., § 9, comp. Phil. ii, 6, *ff.*; Levi, § 14, comp. Phil. ii, 15; Levi, § 3, comp. Col. i, 16; Reub., § 6, comp. 1 Tim. i, 17; Dan, § 6, comp. 1 Tim. ii, 5; and Levi, § 8, comp. 2 Tim. iv, 8. The writer represents the dying Benjamin (§ 11) as thus prophesying of Paul, who was of the tribe

* Opinions concerning its date are the following: Dorner, A. D. 100–135; Wieseler, 100–120; Ewald, 90–100; Lightfoot, certainly after 70, probably before 135, "but may be later" (*Com. on Gal.*, p. 300); Sinker, "from late in the first century to the revolt of Bar-cochba" (A. D. 135); Warfield, 100–120.

† See *Presbyterian Review*, January, 1880, pp. 63, 64.

‡ Robert Sinker: *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.* Cambridge, 1869.

of Benjamin (Rom. xi, 1; Phil. iii, 5): "And one shall rise up from my seed in the latter times, beloved of the Lord, hearing upon the earth his voice, enlightening with new knowledge all the Gentiles, . . . and he shall be inscribed in the holy books, both his work and his word, and he shall be a chosen one of God forever." In the *Testaments* traces of acquaintance with all of Paul's epistles are thought to be discerned, except 2 Thessalonians and Philemon. But the use of 1 Corinthians and of Galatians is doubtful, and the allusions to Colossians and to Titus are faint. The most decided references are those to 1 Thessalonians, Ephesians, Romans, and Philippians; less marked are those to 2 Corinthians and 1 and 2 Timothy.

The *Epistle to Diognetus* is a work whose origin is hidden in obscurity. We have it; but we have neither date nor author nor attestation of it. It came down to us in but one manuscript, and that one now no longer exists, having been burned at Strassburg in 1870. Yet whoever reads the letter will agree with Semisch, that it is "a gem of Christian antiquity, which in spirit and style is scarcely equaled by any other writing of the sub-apostolic times."* From the contents of the letter scholars are generally agreed that the last two chapters are not by the author of the rest of the epistle. But in the effort to determine its date they differ so widely that the letter cannot confidently be cited as a witness of the first two centuries. Like the letter of Polycarp, it contains in proportion to its length a great number of passages and phrases apparently borrowed from Paul. The writer makes use of Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, and 1 Timothy.

The *Apology of Aristides* was addressed either to Hadrian or to Antoninus Pius, and its date probably lies between A. D. 125 and 140. Until very recently it was thought to be lost; but in 1889 a Syriac translation of it in a manuscript of the seventh century was discovered by Professor J. Rendel Harris in the convent of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai. A fragment of an Armenian translation of it had in 1876 been published by the monks of the Lazarist monastery at Venice. Just as Professor Harris was about to give to the world the results of his discovery Mr. J. Armitage Robinson, Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, who had read the proof-sheets of Mr. Harris's

* Herzog and Plitt, *Real-Encyclopädie*, Bd. iii, p. 611. Leipsig, 1878.

work, detected that the *Apology* coincided substantially with a speech incorporated into the *Life of Barlaam and Josaphat*, and thus that it was already extant in the Greek language, in which Aristides originally wrote it. The story of Barlaam and Josaphat had, before the thirteenth century, been translated into various languages, and the Greek text of it was published by Boissonade, in Paris, in 1832. Since the recent interesting discoveries of Messrs. Harris and Robinson the *Apology*, both in Syriac and in Greek, has been published by them.* There is some doubt whether the *Apology* was addressed to Hadrian. In the *Apology* there are, according to Mr. Robinson, "no direct quotations from the New Testament, although the apologist's diction is undoubtedly colored at times by the language of the apostolic writers." Instances of this sort from Paul's epistles are: Apol. i, comp. Col. i, 17; Apol. iii, comp. Rom. i, 25; Apol. viii, comp. Rom. i, 22; Apol. xi, comp. Rom. vii, 8; Apol. xiii, comp. Rom. vii, 12, 16, and 1 Tim. i, 8; Apol. xv, comp. 1 Thess. v, 18; and Apol. xvi, comp. 1 Thess. ii, 13. There are two or three other possible echoes of passages in Romans, 1 Thessalonians, and 1 Timothy. Thus Aristides appears to have been acquainted with at least Romans, Colossians, 1 Thessalonians, and 1 Timothy.

Justin Martyr's *Apologies* and his *Dialogue with Trypho* are admitted to be genuine works, dating from about A. D. 140–150. The *Apologies* were addressed to a heathen emperor, and the dialogue is with a Jew; consequently quotations from the New Testament are not to be looked for in great number. Yet there are many passages which show incidental correspondence with Paul's epistles. Zahn and others point out resemblances and coincidences between Justin's writings and the epistles to the Romans, 1 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Colossians, and 2 Thessalonians. Westcott says: "He appears to show traces of the influence of all St. Paul's epistles, with the exception of the pastoral epistles and those to the Philippians and Philemon."† Zahn, however, excepts likewise 2 Corinthians and 1 Thessalonians.‡

* *Texts and Studies*, vol. i, No. 1. Cambridge, 1891.

† B. F. Westcott: *The Canon of the New Testament*, p. 171. 5th ed., 1881.

‡ Theodor Zahn: *Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons*, vol. i, p. 565. Leipzig, 1889.

Zahn, Westcott, and others draw attention to the remarkable coincidence between his variations from the Septuagint and those of Paul. Some examples of this are the following: Dial., § 24, comp. Isa. lxv, 1–3, and Rom. x, 20, 21; Dial., § 27, comp. Rom. iii, 10–18 (here Paul has strung together various passages from the Old Testament, and Justin has in the main followed him); Dial., § 39, comp. 1 Kings xix, 14, 18, and Rom. xi, 3, 4 (here Justin's "'Lord, they have slain thy prophets and digged down thine altars; and I am left alone, and they seek my life.' And he answers him, 'I have still seven thousand men who have not bowed the knee to Baal,'" is condensed and transposed from the Septuagint like Paul's); Dial., § 39, comp. Psalm lxviii, 18, and Eph. iv, 8 (in rendering the passage "Gave gifts unto men," Justin follows Paul); and Dial., § 95, comp. Deut. xxvii, 26, and Gal. iii, 10, in connection with Dial., § 96, comp. Deut. xxi, 23, and Gal. iii, 13 (where the two passages are cited and applied as Paul uses them). A few fragments of Justin's lost works have been preserved in the writings of others. One of these has come down to us through Photius, who lived in the ninth century, and is found in his writings in connection with a fragment of a work on the resurrection by Methodius, who lived early in the fourth century. This fragment from Justin is interesting because in it he mentions Paul by name and clearly refers to 1 Cor. xv, 53–56.*

There is an ancient *Homily*, by an unknown author, which used to be ascribed to Clement of Rome and was often called his second epistle, although even Eusebius seems to have questioned whether Clement wrote it. But since the discoveries, in 1875, of the Greek manuscript and, in 1876, of the Syriac manuscript of this entire work there is no longer any doubt that it is a homily, and not by Clement, though by whom remains unknown. As to its date Funk conjectures that it was written rather before than after the middle of the second century;† Zahn, before A. D. 130;‡ Gebhardt and Harnack, 130–160;‖ Uhlhorn, not later than 160;¶ Lightfoot, about

* Theodor Zahn: *Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons*, vol. i, p. 575. 1889.

† *Opera Patrum Apostolicorum*, vol. i, pp. xxxviii, xxxix. 1881.

‡ *Geschichte*, etc., vol. i, p. 463.

‖ *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera: Clem. Rom. Ep.* Prol., p. lxxiii.

¶ Herzog and Plitt: *Real-Encyclopädie*, article, *Clemens von Rom.*

120–140.* Both Lightfoot and Charteris speak of its mode of quoting Scripture as an evidence that it is of earlier date than the last quarter of the second century. There are in it two plain instances of borrowing from Paul. In § 14 the author says, "I do not suppose ye are ignorant that the living Church is the body of Christ;" and he goes on to draw out the comparison, speaking of this as what "the books and the apostles plainly declare," referring, doubtless, to Paul's repeated use of this figure, as in Eph. i, 22, 23, "The Church, which is his body," in Eph. iv, 12, "The building up of the body of Christ," in Col. i, 18, "He is the head of the body, the Church," and elsewhere. Again, § 19, "We are darkened in our understanding by our vain lusts," is a quotation from Eph. iv, 17, 18, "As the Gentiles also walk, in the vanity of their mind, being darkened in their understanding." Besides these more pointed references, which, it should be noticed, are especially to "disputed" epistles, there are other reminiscences and reflections of Paul's letters. A few may be noted. Compare § 1 and Rom. iv, 17. § 8 is a borrowing of Paul's figure of the clay in the hands of the potter, Rom. ix, 20, 21. In §§ 11, 14 there are echoes of 1 Cor. ii, 9. § 9, "We ought to guard the flesh as a temple of God," recalls 1 Cor. iii, 16, "Ye are a temple of God," and 1 Cor. vi, 19, "Your body is a temple of the Holy Ghost." § 7 paraphrases 1 Cor. ix, 24, 25. § 13, "Let us not be found men-pleasers," shows a verbal coincidence with Eph. vi, 6, and Col. iii, 22. § 20, "To the only God invisible," is an echo of "The King . . . invisible, the only God," 1 Tim. i, 17. Two similar turns of expression in §§ 15, 19 are perhaps suggested by, "Thou shalt save both thyself and them that hear thee," 1 Tim. iv, 16. § 12, "We know the day of God's appearing," resembles expressions in 1 and 2 Timothy and in Titus. Thus there are in the *Homily* traces of Romans, 1 Corinthians, Ephesians, Colossians, and 1 Timothy. There are, perhaps, echoes of Galatians, 2 Timothy, and Titus.

The *Shepherd of Hermas* is an allegorical and mystical work of uncertain authorship, and dating probably between A. D. 130 and 150. It contains no quotation from either the Old or the New Testament. Charteris and Westcott notice one passage in 1 Corinthians, and two in Ephesians, which are perhaps

* *Apostolic Fathers: Clement of Rome*, vol. ii, p. 202.

alluded to in Hermas. Funk and, also, Gebhardt and Harnack notice other passages which are possibly echoes of Paul; but they are vague.

Tatian wrote his *Address to the Greeks* about A. D. 150 or 160. In it there are reflections of passages in Romans, 1 Corinthians, Ephesians, and 1 Timothy. Instances are the following: Chap. iv, "Him we know from his creation and apprehend his invisible power by his works," comp. Rom. i, 20; chap. xv, "Such is the nature of man's constitution; and if it be a temple God is pleased to dwell in it by the Spirit, his representative," comp. 1 Cor. iii, 16, and vi, 19; chap. xvi, "Being armed with the breastplate of the celestial spirit," comp. Eph. vi, 14, 17, "Breastplate of righteousness . . . sword of the Spirit;" and chap. xx, "The heavens . . . have perpetual day and light unapproachable," comp. 1 Tim. vi, 16, "Dwelling in light unapproachable" (the adjective "unapproachable," a rare word, is the same in both passages). Jerome says that, although Tatian rejected some of Paul's epistles, he yet believed that the one to Titus was by that apostle.*

Melito of Sardis wrote, about A. D. 170, an apology addressed to Marcus Aurelius, of which we have a fragment that shows apparent use of 1 Cor. i, 24, and of 1 Thess. iv, 15.

Of the works of Dionysius of Corinth there are only a few fragments preserved to us in the writings of Eusebius. They were written not far from A. D. 170. In one fragment (Euseb., *Historia Ecclesiæ*, iv) is an adoption of the phrase, "As an affectionate father exhorting his children," from 1 Thess. ii, 11.

A few fragments from Hegesippus have likewise been preserved by Eusebius and by Photius. They date from about A. D. 170. Some, however, assign a later date as the more probable.† These fragments contain (Euseb., *Historia Ecclesiæ*, iii, 32) the phrase, "Science falsely so called" (1 Tim. vi, 20), and one or two other expressions which are thought to be echoes of the pastoral epistles. A fragment preserved by Photius (*Bibl.*, 232) gives the quotation of Isa. lxiv, 4, in a very similar form to that of Paul in 1 Cor. ii, 9.

Athenagoras of Athens is another of the ancient writers

* Præf. in *Comm. ad Titum.*

† George Salmon: *Introduction to the New Testament*, p. 402. 3d ed., 1888. Salmon thinks that Hegesippus wrote "between 175 and 189."

whose history is obscure. Two works of his have come down to us, however, an *Apology for the Christians*, addressed to the Emperors Aurelian and Commodus, about A. D. 177, and a treatise on the resurrection. He uses the epistle to the Romans and the first to the Corinthians in his *Apology*, and there are besides perhaps allusions to Galatians and 1 Timothy. In *De Res.* 18 he cites from 1 Cor. xv, 54, as from "the apostle," combining with his quotation also one from 2 Cor. v, 10.

Theophilus of Antioch (died about A. D. 181) wrote the *Address to Autolycus* in three books, which we still have. His quotations from the New Testament are numerous and more explicit than those of the earlier writers, although he also often quotes from memory only. He distinctly quotes Rom. xiii, 7, 8, in Aut., iii, 14, and also 1 Tim. ii, 2, and introduces them as being from "the divine word." There are other passages which are plainly borrowed from Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1 Timothy, and Titus. But there is no distinct trace of the use of Galatians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, 2 Timothy, or Philemon.

In this survey of evidence notice should also be taken of the testimony of the early heretical writers, fragments of whose works have been handed down to us in quotations from them made by Irenæus, Hippolytus, and others. Hippolytus, Hær. Ref., vi, 14, gives from the Ἀπόφασις μεγάλη of Simon Magus (it was more probably written by a disciple of his) a quotation of 1 Cor. xi, 32. Hip., Hær. Ref., v, 7, 8, cites the Ophites (about A. D. 100) as adducing, in support of their doctrines, Rom. i, 20–27; 1 Cor. ii, 13, 14; x, 11; 2 Cor. xii, 2–4 (quoted as from "Paul the apostle"); Gal. iii, 28 (combined with vi, 15); Eph. ii, 17; iii, 5; iii, 15; v, 14. Hip., Hær. Ref., v, 12, quotes the Peratæ as adducing in like manner 1 Cor. xi, 32; Col. i, 19 (combined with ii, 9). Hip., Hær. Ref., v, 19, gives as from the Sethiani an exact quotation of Phil. ii, 6, 7. Basilides, who flourished about A. D. 117–138, quotes, according to Hip., Hær. Ref., vii, 25–27, the following passages: Rom. v, 13, 14; viii, 19–22; 1 Cor. ii, 13; 2 Cor. xii, 4; Eph. i, 21; iii, 3; Col. i, 26 (comp. Eph. iii, 5, 9, 10, and Rom. xvi, 25). Valentinus (about A. D. 140) and his followers are quoted by Hip., Hær. Ref., vi, 34, 35, as using Rom. viii, 11; 1 Cor. ii, 14; Eph. iii, 14,

16–18; Col. i, 26 (comp. Eph. iii, 5, 9, 10, and Rom. xvi, 25); also by Irenæus, i, 3, as using 1 Cor. i, 18; Gal. vi, 14; Eph. iii, 21; and as grouping together, as utterances of Paul, Col. iii, 11; Rom. xi, 36; Col. ii, 9; and Eph. i, 10.

Heracleon and Ptolemæus (about A. D. 160) belonged to the Italian school of Valentinians. Heracleon is, so far as we know, the first commentator on the New Testament. He wrote comments on the gospels of Luke and John, fragments of which have been preserved by Origen and by Clement of Alexandria. These fragments have been edited and published by Mr. A. E. Brooke.* The passages from Paul's epistles given by Mr. Brooke as having been used by Heracleon are Rom. i, 25; vi, 21; xiii, 4 (perhaps also v, 15); 1 Cor. x, 5; xv, 53, *ff.*; Gal. iii, 19; and 2 Tim. ii, 13. Ptolemæus wrote a letter to an "honorable sister Flora," which is given to us by Epiphanius. In it Ptolemæus quotes, as from "Paul the apostle," 1 Cor. v, 7, 8; he also quotes Rom. vii, 12, and Eph. ii, 15. From Irenæus it would appear that Ptolemæus also used Galatians and Colossians. †

Besides witnesses to individual epistles there are also witnesses in the second century to collections of books of the New Testament. The earliest *Canon* is that of the gnostic Marcion, dating from about A. D. 140. It contains ten of Paul's epistles—although they were somewhat mutilated—which, according to Tertullian, were arranged in the following order: Galatians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Romans, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, Ephesians (called by Marcion Laodiceans), Colossians, Philippians, and Philemon. *The Muratorian Fragment*, so called because it was discovered by Muratori in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, in a manuscript of the seventh or eighth century, was published by him in 1740. The date most commonly assigned to the original of the fragment is about A. D. 170. Its authorship is unknown. It contains a part of a canon of the New Testament, beginning in the middle of a sentence which relates to the gospel of Mark. In this canon thirteen epistles are ascribed to Paul, and are named in the following order: 1 and 2 Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians,

* *Texts and Studies*, vol. i, No. 4: *The Fragments of Heracleon.*

† See Westcott on the *Canon*, and Charteris, *Canonicity.*

Galatians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, and Romans. These form a class addressed to churches. A second class consists of those addressed to individuals: "an epistle to Philemon, one to Titus, and two to Timothy."

The two very ancient versions of Scripture—namely, the *Peshito*, or Syriac, version, used by the Syrian churches, and the Old Latin version, used by the African churches—are thought by many to date from the second century. But the date of neither of them is certainly known. They each contained the thirteen epistles of Paul; they each omitted certain books of our New Testament.

The works of the chief authorities have now been examined down to the period when it is generally admitted that our Pauline epistles were in existence. In summing up the facts drawn from the early Christian writers, the testimony of Barnabas, of Ignatius, and of the Epistle to Diognetus will be left out of account, as, for reasons previously noticed, some may distrust it, although with others it would have great weight. But, if included, it would not appreciably vary the result.

Summary. The epistles especially authenticated by the early Christian writers, in that they are mentioned or formally quoted by one or both of the two most important subapostolic witnesses, Clement and Polycarp, are 1 Corinthians, Ephesians, and Philippians. Possibly 2 Thessalonians, if Lardner's view is correct, is also to be added. Passages from 1 Corinthians are quoted as Paul's by both Clement and Polycarp. The author of the *Homily* couples together "the books and the apostles," that is, the Old and the New Testament,* and uses, as declarations of "the apostles," passages from Ephesians, and perhaps also from Colossians. A passage from 1 Corinthians is quoted as Paul's by Justin, and passages from 1 and 2 Corinthians as "from the apostle," by Athenagoras. Quotations from Romans and from 1 Timothy are called "the divine word" by Theophilus. Six epistles, then, namely, 1 Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, Romans, 2 Corinthians, and 1 Timothy, are expressly attested, three being of the undisputed class and three of the disputed. It may be that Colossians and 2 Thessalonians, also of the latter class, should be added. But of these six, 1 Co-

*Lightfoot: *Clement of Rome*, vol. ii, p. 245.

rinthians, Ephesians, and Philippians have much the strongest authentication, for the testimony of Clement and of Polycarp, who lived in the first century, is of course of more value than that of Athenagoras and of Theophilus, who lived near the close of the second century. Notice also that emphatic testimony is given to 1 Corinthians and to Ephesians by more than one witness.

The less formal references it is more difficult to classify and to grade. Still, in estimating them, too, the frequency, the clearness, and the date of the allusions give helps by which their value may be judged. All the early Christian testimony, taken together, then, and weighed as nearly as it can be, places the epistles, in respect to their external evidence, in somewhat the following order: 1 Corinthians takes the first rank, and Ephesians the next, not only on account of their early formal mention, but also on account of the frequency of their use. Philippians is, all things considered, perhaps the next best attested, as being expressly mentioned by Polycarp. Romans, however, and also 1 Timothy, are referred to by more authors than Philippians. These two take the next rank; but Romans takes precedence of 1 Timothy. Colossians, 2 Corinthians, and 1 Thessalonians make the next group. 2 Thessalonians (if not referred to by Polycarp) and Titus follow these. 2 Timothy, Galatians, and Philemon are the least attested. Of Philemon we might expect that there would be but few traces.

In the fragments from the early heretical writers we find evidence of the use of eight epistles, namely, the four called undisputed and four of the others. 1 Corinthians is used by seven of the authorities cited; Romans by five; Galatians, Ephesians, and Colossians each by four; 2 Corinthians by two; Philippians and 2 Timothy each by one. The witnesses to collections of books attest the genuineness of all the thirteen epistles, except that Marcion omits the pastoral epistles—an omission, however, which has the less force inasmuch as he is known to have dealt arbitrarily with other parts of the canon. An important consideration should be borne in mind, however, which has been left out of view in making the foregoing summary, that is, the great difference in the length and the character of the epistles. The four "undisputed" are the longest, while all the other nine taken together are only three fifths as long as

they. Again, epistles to churches, and especially prominent churches like those at Rome and at Corinth, would be more likely to be cited than letters to individuals, like the pastoral epistles. Indeed, it seems surprising that 1 Timothy is relatively so much used as it is.

In conclusion it need only be said that the facts which have been collected obviously do not fit well into the Tübingen theory. On the contrary, they are in direct variance with it. If the Christian witnesses of the first two centuries had foreseen the speculations of the nineteenth century and had chosen their extracts from Paul with a set purpose of confuting them, they could hardly have done better than they have. To several epistles which men at the present day "think to be less honorable" they have "given more abundant honor." Galatians, on the other hand, they have only very slightly noticed, although this epistle is the one whose Pauline origin is most confidently assumed by Baur, and whose contents furnish the main support of his hypothesis. The foregoing argument is not designed to confute those extreme critics, like Loman and Steck, who deny the genuineness of all the Pauline epistles. Such men can in their way evade the force of the testimony, conclusive as it may be to most. The argument, it must be remembered, is aimed at those who assume the genuineness of the first four epistles and deny that of the others. And the clear result is to show that this assumption is directly opposed to the historical evidence.

C. T. Mead.

EDITORIAL NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

OPINION.

In our editorial consideration of the Evangelical Church case, under "Current Discussions" in the present issue of the *Review*, we have desired and earnestly endeavored to deal as fairly as our best obtainable information makes possible with an aggravated, sensitive, and strangely complicated condition of affairs. We do not imagine our examination to be complete or our knowledge exhaustive; but we have received nothing from rumor, have listened to no partisan representations, and most assuredly have written without prejudice, no one of the actors in the strife being personally known to us. We are impressed that the courts, whose judgment has been invoked to settle critical questions arising out of the controversy, have labored with patient painstaking to search out the facts and consequent rights of the whole great struggle and to utter impartially the dispassionate, just, and equitable verdict of the law.

The matters which we have treated as facts have been so accepted only upon high and careful authority; and, beyond the facts, we have simply spoken of the impressions created and the questions raised in our own mind. We are aware that the condition of things is so highly inflamed and sore that it may, for aught we know, be almost if not quite impossible to touch the subject anywhere without causing pain and evoking protest. We certainly do not dwell upon this singular and prolonged conflict because we find delight in commenting upon the misfortunes and distresses of another religious body, any more than we should take pleasure in examining an ulcer. Surely the Church and the world will be none the worse—probably somewhat the better—if we, as well as the sufferers in the case, can discover and lay to heart any lesson of practical wisdom in their present grievous and lamentable experience. We have been actuated by no disposition to censure, but only by a desire to study and search out, to the end that we may learn.

We feel a sorrowful and wholly kindly sympathy for the worthy members of a denomination now so torn and rent asunder after a long and goodly record of usefulness. Looking upon the Evangelical Association in its history and in its present painful plight, all Christian bodies must deplore that such dissensions should have arisen to destroy the harvest of its prosperity and blast the blossoms of its promise.

A word to contributors. One of the long-standing customs of this office does not seem to be generally known. The rule which experience has made necessary is that the *Review* does not print any contributed article

which is a review of a book. Manuscripts in which the pages are filled across, no marginal space being left, are undesirable. Sheets written on both sides cause inconvenience and annoyance. No notes, corrections, references, interpolations, or anything else should ever be put on the back of a sheet.

We regret to be compelled to say that some of the compositions we receive are very discomposing to our compositors by reason of the careless and illegible chirography of the composers. Some manuscripts are such cryptographic puzzles that the work of deciphering the hieroglyphics and putting the article in type is tedious and costly. The acceptability of an article may sometimes turn on a point of this kind.

Is not a legible—we do not say elegant—handwriting as obligatory upon all persons in civilized, certainly in educated, society as good manners are? Has one any more right to make his writing a cause of trial, vexation, weariness, and expense to his fellow-men than he has to make his personal presence offensive and burdensome? Is this a mere technicality of etiquette, or does it amount to a question of morals? Is it lawful to put upon others the labor and pains we ourselves should take? Would it be proper to send to this or any other editorial office a contributed article written in Russian, Welsh, or Norwegian and requiring to be translated by us?

We are asked to furnish proofs of the statement, made on page 802 of the *Review*, that the seeming contradiction between Acts ix, 7, and xxii, 9, might be reconciled by reference to the well-known Greek usage of the partitive genitive. For a general discussion of the subject we refer our correspondent to Thayer's revised edition of Winer's *New Testament Grammar*, pp. 197–200, and also to Green's *Handbook to the Grammar of the Greek Testament*, pp. 208, 209. Green says of ἀκούω, that it is followed by both genitive and accusative, and that "the genitive of the thing probably inclines to the partitive sense." He then gives the two texts referred to above, explaining the former, "They heard of the voice, that is, its sound, but not what it said." Substantially the same explanation of the discrepancy is given by Alford, Hackett, Lange, Meyer, and others, although some of them think the mere distinction in the case of the noun is not so much to be leaned upon as the double meaning of the verb, to hear, which in the English idiom, as well as in the Greek, sometimes means to understand the significance of what is spoken and sometimes merely to catch a confused, unintelligible sound.

A SEASON of commercial distress, some two years old in England, and domiciled in this country for some months, is naturally enough coincident with the appearance of considerable literature having a distinctly pessimistic color. The most conspicuous English books of this complexion—we mean among those having a philosophical value—are probably those of Mr. C. H. Pearson and Mr. Walter Pater. Neither is avowedly pessi-

mistic, and they are as unlike as possible; and yet they have a common philosophical spirit in them. The first, under the title, *National Life and Character: A Forecast*, arrays a vast number of facts, showing tendencies unpleasant to vainglorious British pride; such as that the lower classes may soon predominate in England and the lower races rule the entire world at a period not distant. The suggestion of a philosophy underlying it all, that the restlessness and acquisitiveness of the English tribe must at length weary and exhaust it, is rather implicit than explicit. Mr. Pater's *Plato and Platonism* revolves around the republic of Plato as a philosophical, and yet more or less subtly practical, attempt to call the attention of his countrymen to the dangers of their fast and furious life of adventure, novelty, and enterprise. The spiritual content of both books is, not in terms, but in the deeper sense of them, a delicate and cautious criticism of the century just passed, which may, not altogether in caricature, be described as a century of "booms."

We need not array the proof that this newspaper word fairly describes the conditions and spirit of the hundred years behind us. It is not merely a condition of progress, of change, of new things and new forms in abundance, nor yet of invention and of scientific and mental triumphs; it is much more a fluid and mobile state of human society, with immense displacements of population and conquests and colonizations all round the world, with mill-building and city-building—all accompanied by the hopefulness and buoyant, not to say flamboyant, enthusiasms which mark the development of a "boom." The material and statistical facts are important enough; but more important is the impress this movement makes on human character. The common and, let us hope, the sound belief approves enterprise in all its swift processes of change; but there is something to be said for a sober and steadfast world. According to Mr. Pater the idealizing and speculative Plato said all that there is to say long ago, and said it with strict reference to the unsatisfactoriness of the "boom" as a spiritual element in the creation of character. For his Athens was as full of enterprise, movement, change, as it was possible for a small State of that age to be; and it lived in close touch with all the uncertainties of domestic and foreign politics, and delighted itself in great improvements "and new expansions of political privilege"—very much as the modern Englishman and American do.

Doubtless Plato was not alone in feeling that the centrifugal forces in Athenian life had death in them; the "boom" was sure to extinguish the nationality it kept in a fluid mass ready to be blown in any direction, especially in the direction of ruin. From this philosophical view of his own Athens—a view not so much expressed as implied in his scheme of an ideal republic—Plato turned to Sparta as a quiet, orderly, and steadfast land, where men grew up in bonds of inflexible discipline and, when grown, went on applying this perfect discipline to the next generation. There, never was a "boom" known; progress was such as we see in the growth of a tree, slow and orderly, without enterprise and without periods of panic and depression, and especially without a trace of the cor-

rupt politics of Athens and of our modern world. We cannot express sympathy with that Dorian life as a whole; but some part of its disciplinary spirit might be desirable. It would perhaps relieve us of the danger of having periodically to liquidate our booms at great cost and in much humiliation of soul.

The pessimist is never a success: Plato was not. He could not stay for a moment the inevitable collapse of the "boom" public and social life at Athens. Nor in our modern order can the philosopher of sorrows to come expect a large audience. We have, indeed, a successful type of political pessimist; but he succeeds by the "boom" method. "Everything," he tells us, "is wrong; but pass this little bill of mine, and the sun will shine again." He is much addicted to finding the causes of all evils in groups of persons—for example, in those who are so depraved as to lend him money—and not unfrequently starts a "boom" for some form of sectionalism. In short, this pessimist is an agitator, a peddler of novelties, and a part of the centrifugal forces which, if they were not checked by the Constitution of the United States, would as surely wreck us as they wrecked Athens.

The habit of change, the expectation of change, the desire of change—these three represent as many disintegrating forces. They may be successfully resisted by general confidence. In ordinary conditions they probably are effectively resisted. But there are signs that they must have their hour with us and that it cannot be a happy season for us. For example, we have scurried from the Atlantic to the Pacific with incredible speed, and we begin to perceive that presently we shall have no new country to boom. The fear of change in economic conditions is already expressed by more than one man with a scheme of legislation to suggest, and by a silent multitude who are asking in their hearts, "What are we to do for a new expansion of the republic?" The expectation of change arrests production or sets it spinning gayly along. We have seen both in the last three years, caused by tariff tinkering. The forecast all men in a "boom" civilization must make or suffer when change comes requires too much mental effort for the mass of men; and so our history revolves around the acrobatic financial feats of a few speculators in natural conditions and in human credulity. The habit of change imparts restlessness to youth, breaks the strength of maturity, and embitters age. So little can be depended upon to remain constant!

In spite of the increase of schools—some think in consequence of it—the disciplines necessary to the making of men out of boys are more and more relaxed and flaccid. We all sigh sometimes for a touch of the Spartan order in education—that is, in the whole rearing of men. We are as yet saved by the maintenance of older ideals about the rearing of girls; but even here the impatient spirit of our boom civilization is producing some effects unpleasant to look upon. Some minds have turned hopefully to military discipline as a possible remedy; but testimony concerning the moral effects of barrack life cuts off any hope in that direction. What human character needs is a discipline of the entire nature of man. That Sparta obtained;

but we have no relish for the whole result at Sparta, though the Spartan man commands our respect, and sometimes our admiration.

The only hope for us must rest somehow in our Christianity. In generations behind us our faith, as expressed in Puritanism and in other religious forms, did yield a sober and patient discipline. Nothing Spartan commands so much of our approval as the best aspects of Puritan character and life; and there is no intelligent critic of that life, however hostile, who will affirm that our life is, on the whole, higher and nobler than that of the Puritan. Whoever believes in Christianity as divine knows that our health will surely come out of our faith. We cannot be pessimists—things are not at the worst; we have our religion and its glorious history to assure us. The "boom" civilization must pass, but a Christian discipline as strong as the Puritan, but wiser and more refined and more affectionate, will come to give us a better good than Sparta had, a more rational tranquillity, and an order of life in which the human affections are recognized and cultivated and wherein freedom is reconciled with obedience. A sounder philosophy of order and stability, of culture and peace, than Plato dreamed of lies fully revealed in our New Testament. When the "boom" civilization "accomplishes its mission" we shall doubtless find grace given us to apply that philosophy to American life. And it is certain that "new light may break out of the word" for an exhausted and distressed people, whose mobility has shattered itself against the limitations of the natural world. A perfect order, restful, strong, and tranquil, lies in our religion. They are foolish who dream that we have exhausted it; for we have not as yet fully applied it to the springs of individual life by a systematic Christian discipline.

The evils of our overhasty and rashly speculative civilization have their roots in the weak side of human nature. Our society is not mobile—a society on wheels, as we would flatter ourselves—merely because we are enterprisingly impatient to make the world a blossoming garden spaced out with stately and proud cities, or merely because we delight in achievement and honor it without measure; but mainly because self-indulgence and phenomenal acquisitiveness produce restlessness and impatience, break down self-discipline, and incapacitate us for disciplining our children. At this point the old Spartan held himself down, so to say; for if his discipline was harsh toward others it was at least equally harsh toward himself. Nor has any one ever charged that that nobler Spartan, our heroic Puritan, dealt more mildly with himself than with his children or his servants. Christianity attacks the roots of self-indulgence. But its more effective work appears when the mobile enthusiasms over earthly achievements are supplanted by stern principles of conduct and by profound faith in a judgment day and immortal blessedness. Our mobility attaches to our worldliness and our obscured vision of the world to come. The perilous tendencies of it may be checked by a large system of spiritual culture, through which the heroism of endurance and the tranquillity of assurance may be combined with a higher measure than the world has ever known of productive energy and economic thrift.

CURRENT DISCUSSIONS.

THE DISSENSIONS IN THE EVANGELICAL ASSOCIATION OF NORTH AMERICA.

WHATEVER happens in one religious body, even were it the least, is matter of interest to all other bodies so far as it affects the credit of religion and the moral and spiritual welfare of mankind. The Evangelical Association, though not large, can hardly be regarded by us as an unimportant body. With the grave dissensions which for some time have disturbed, distracted, divided, and threatened almost to destroy it we cannot help feeling a deep and peculiar concern, inasmuch as it is in reality, though not in name, a branch of the Methodist family, and the natural sympathy we have with it because of blood relationship makes us especially lament to see its prosperity clouded, its usefulness impaired, and its fair record blotted. In origin, spirit, organization, government, doctrine, and history it has been strongly Methodistic. Looking back from the present upon its origin, it seems to us to have been auspiciously born. Abating what seem to us some errors of judgment, we cannot help regarding with respect that earnest gospeler, Jacob Albright, a Methodist exhorter, who, being filled from God with anxiety for the conversion of his German brethren, began independent religious labors among them in true missionary spirit at a time when the Methodist Episcopal Church, busy with other tasks, had not yet to any considerable extent trained German preachers or entered upon its German work, which has since grown to creditable proportions both in this country and Europe. Possibly if Albright and his fellows had remained with us the work which he undertook would have been taken up earlier by our own Church; nevertheless his was a noble impatience, and he went forth to become the father of a new denomination known at first as "Albright Methodists" and "German Methodists." In the ninety years since its organization that Church, which was then purely German, has become partly English, while ours, which then had no German Conferences, has now eleven. Albright began his work in the closing years of the last century, preaching in the German tongue with great power through Pennsylvania and parts of Maryland and Virginia. There being no provision for the religious nurture of his converts in their own language in the Methodist Episcopal Church, he and they moved off into independency by force of circumstances, and with the conviction that in such freedom they might better carry on their particular work than under the control and direction of a body less eager in that special line of labor.

First organized in Berks County, Pa., in 1803, it has spread over this continent as far north as Canada, as far south as Texas, west to the Pacific coast, as well as into Switzerland and Germany, and has grown to twenty-five Annual Conferences: East Pennsylvania, Central Pennsylvania, Pittsburg, Atlantic, New York, Canada, Erie, Ohio, Indiana,

South Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Dakota, Iowa, Des Moines, Kansas, Nebraska, Platte River, California, Oregon, Texas, Germany, and Switzerland. It now numbers over 2,000 churches, 1,250 preachers, and 150,000 members. It has been marked throughout its career by Wesleyan fervor and evangelistic zeal; for which reason the measure of its service to the cause of truly spiritual Christianity has not, in proportion to its numbers, been small.

Our interest in the strange events now and for some years transpiring in the Evangelical Association is increased by the fact that they occur under a system of organization and government very like our own, and one which has been supposed to be, by reason largely of the few respects in which it varies from us, less liable to such disturbances than ours. These occurrences start in our minds the query whether proceedings so singular are under our own system more possible, less possible, or possible at all. The Methodist Episcopal Church is not only the mother but the prototype of that denomination. The plan of its ecclesiastical organization is modeled closely upon ours, with certain variations which its constructors adopted because they considered them improvements. Retaining our system of Quarterly, Annual, and General Conferences, superintendents or bishops, presiding elders, an itinerant ministry, denominational and church boards, with other things general and particular, it differs as follows: Its bishops are elected, not for life, but for a term of four years, and are not ordained or consecrated, but receive a term license from the General Conference, signed by the chairman and secretary; the following persons, if elders, are *ex officio* members of the General Conference: the senior book agent, editors of the official church papers, magazines, and Sunday school literature, the corresponding secretary of the Missionary Society, and the bishops, when not in the chair; in the Annual Conferences the presiding elders are elected by the Conference, and the pastoral appointments are made, not by the bishop, but by the presiding elders and the bishop coordinately; the transfer of a preacher across Conference boundaries by a bishop requires the consent of the preacher and of the Conference to which he is transferred; in each society the class leaders are elected. The above are some of the more important differentiations which mark the evolution of this denomination from ours.

All the judicious must grieve, none but groundlings can laugh, and only the wicked rejoice, when any religious body is so rent by differences it cannot compose and quarrels it is unable to quell that it is obliged to resort to the civil courts as the only authority left with power sufficient to command respect and enforce decisions. When any denomination or society by noise of angry brawling and bitterness of wanton strife is guilty of disturbing unnecessarily the peace of Christendom there should be some way of haling it before a supreme court of Christian judgment for censure, compelling it to give bonds before it is allowed to go under penitent promise of good behavior. There may be strifes that bring to the religious world humiliation, sorrow, and scandal, not less, but more, than the fanatical murderous Moslem attacks upon Christians in Damascus in 1861

or the bloody conflicts between Hindoos and Mohammedans in Bombay and Rangoon in 1893, since these were the crimes of unchristianized populations, while those to which we refer are the warring of brethren whose common Master, patient, meek, and lowly of heart, forbids them to fight.

The troubles of the Evangelical Association seem to have arisen out of jealousies, oppositions, and controversies of the bishops among themselves, or, if not this, then in their acts and utterances relative to certain existing quarrels, in which we behold how great a matter a little fire kindleth, and how fraught with danger are the beginnings of strife. After fermenting, spreading, and intensifying for several years these conflicts first came to official denominational notice at the General Conference in Buffalo in September, 1887, at which charges of having carried an official journal into episcopal contentions by making it the advocate of the views and attitude of Bishop Dubs as against Bishops Bowman and Esher, were preferred against the Rev. H. B. Hartzler, editor of *The Evangelical Messenger*, the English-speaking organ of the Church. The trial concluded with a verdict of guilty and the removal of the editor, which also cast the shadow of its condemnation, by implication, across the course of Bishop Dubs. The discussion and vote in this case had the effect to commit most of the voters to one side or the other of the episcopal conflict, and to divide the denomination in sentiment into two hostile camps upon the merits of the dispute. The proceedings of the nineteenth General Conference only aggravated the soreness and sourness, and when it adjourned its members dispersed from Buffalo to their homes in unamiable temper, some of them bent on involving the entire Church in the struggle, and ready to exhaust all resources of belligerent action. Thus the contention went abroad throughout the Evangelical Association, dividing Conferences and congregations, and appearing presently in the civil courts of many States in lawsuits brought to determine the legitimacy of rival claimants to various pastorates and the valid title to church properties claimed by opposing factions in certain societies. One such suit was brought by persons resident in Reading, Pa., before the proper local tribunal, and the judgment of the duly appointed master and examiner, Mr. Louis Richards, a Presbyterian, indorsed by the court, Judge G. A. Endlich, a Lutheran, has been published by those in whose favor decision was rendered, in order that by its circulation their vindication by that court, with the reasons therefor, may be known to the general public.

The simple point at issue and submitted in the bill filed November 27, 1891, in the Court of Common Pleas of Berks County, Pa., by the Rev. Augustus Krecker and others, plaintiffs, against the Rev. Jonas H. Shirey and others, defendants, was whether Krecker and his party or Shirey and his party had legal claim to the pastorate and property of Immanuel Church in the city of Reading; but as the lawful occupancy of said pastorate and premises depended on previous regular and disciplinary appointment to such pastorate by qualified authority, the court, in order to render just decision upon the particular question, was com-

pelled to trace authority to its source and to test its sanctions, which necessitated an examination of almost the entire history of the troubles that have disturbed the Evangelical Association for the past six or eight years; so that judgment is also passed, expressly or implicity, on most if not all of the questions involved in or raised by the denominational contention. Thus the court not only renders formal judicial decision on the specific point as to the pastorate of the church in Reading and the legal status of the opposing parties therein, but also utters its opinion as to the rival claims to authority of the two majority and minority bodies into which the East Pennsylvania Annual Conference split itself in 1891, and, further, as to the legal standing of each of the men, Dubs, Bowman, and Esher, formerly bishops, now claimants; and, further still, as to the composition, constitutionality, and authority of the two alleged General Conferences which met in October, 1891, the one in Indianapolis and the other in Philadelphia.

The rulings of the Berks County court, which constitute the first decision of a Pennsylvania court upon the Evangelical Church controversy after report of a master and full argument, are in substance as follows:

1. The trial of Bowman in 1890 was lawfully conducted, and its sentence of suspension was operative until action by the succeeding General Conference.

2. The previous exculpation of Bowman by three elders was utterly lacking in disciplinary requisites, and, therefore, wholly invalid.

3. The East Pennsylvania Annual Conference, presided over in 1891 by the Rev. C. S. Ryman, was the only lawful and regular East Pennsylvania Conference, and its ministerial appointments the only valid ones; consequently J. H. Shirey is lawful pastor of Immanuel Church, Reading.

4. The action of the trustees and congregation of Immanuel Church in excluding Krecker was legally proper and justifiable.

5. The assemblage in Indianapolis in October, 1891, was not the lawful General Conference, because the place for holding it had not been fixed in accordance with the directions of the Discipline, the power to do which belonged in the circumstances only to the oldest Annual Conference, the East Pennsylvania.

6. The assembly at the same time in Philadelphia was not the lawful General Conference, for the reason that it lacked a constitutional quorum.

7. If the Indianapolis body had been lawful its action on the case of Bowman was invalid because not rendered in accordance with disciplinary requirements or the common law governing judicial procedure.

8. The trust declared in the deed of conveyance of the premises on which the Sixth Street Church, Reading, is built is lawful and valid. These rulings, it must be noted, are at variance with the judgment of some court or courts in other States, and may be overruled by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, to which the defeated plaintiffs have appealed the case.

The court incidentally passes criticism on ecclesiastical codes and methods of procedure as they appear in the light of the canons of civil

jurisprudence. As is frequent in civil tribunals, the incompleteness of church law and the insufficiency of constitutional and disciplinary provisions come under notice and excite judicial remark. The Berks County examiner characterizes certain proceedings as "a travesty upon even ecclesiastical jurisprudence." He remarks that civil courts are obliged to be liberal "in overlooking the eccentricities of ecclesiastical judicatories;" that most ecclesiastical codes are adapted to conditions of harmony rather than of contention, to times of peace and not to epochs of revolution, and, construed as systems of law, are found to be silent or ambiguous upon many points where it were desirable they should be explicit and distinct; that in ecclesiastical disputes it is common for partisan contentions to take eventually a personal character, which we affirm to be no more usual in Church than in State; that quarrels in a Church are proverbially bitter and irreconcilable. He is of opinion that a rule which permits accusers to select examiners and examiners to summon triers is not well calculated to insure an unprejudiced judgment. He comments upon "the latitude of interpretation of their own rules habitual with religious bodies," rules and forms being looked upon by them as of "little importance compared with the furtherance of the Church's spiritual mission." Examiner Richards says that many zealous and estimable clergymen who would go to the stake in defense of their systems of faith are not strict constructionists in respect to ecclesiastical rules, but that when civil courts get hold of ecclesiastical codes they are obliged to hew to the line in giving them interpretation, and that "a great many matters are transacted in ecclesiastical assemblies which, though gross departures from form, receive the general approval and pass without question."

Incidentally the Berks County examiner refers to various points which have been permanently settled for religious organizations by decisions of secular courts, among which are rulings embodying the general doctrine that the ecclesiastical, like the civil governments, are restrained and controlled by their own constitutions and laws, which they will not be permitted to infringe to the prejudice of the rights or privileges of any of their clergy, laity, or associated membership; that no Church can be allowed to maintain an ecclesiastical despotism to the detriment of any rights of which the civil authority can take cognizance, and that equity will interfere to prevent any act which is contrary to the law of the land or of the body itself; that if the officiary of a Methodist Episcopal society refuse to receive a preacher appointed by the bishops it is an act of insubordination to the Church and a violation of its Discipline, and the civil courts will issue a peremptory mandamus commanding the officers, even though backed by the entire congregation, to admit the bishop's appointee; that the intention of the founders of any Church or institution is the polar star which must guide in deciding as to the constitutionality of any questioned actions therein; that where a Church is founded as a Calvinist Church no person who does not receive and preach the entire system of theology taught by that faith has a right to occupy its pulpit, and a court of equity will restrain such person from officiating.

Incidentally the master and examiner turns preacher, holds up to the Christian body whose contentions are before the court the precepts of its great Master, admonishes for disobedience thereof, rebukes the superfluity of naughtiness, and suggests repentance. In particular he comments upon the addresses of Bowman and Esher before the Indianapolis assemblage as approximating in spirit "the diatribes of the ancient Hebrew prophets" toward their enemies, although "their phraseology is much more strongly suggestive of the harangues of the modern political convention," especially in denouncing "the wicked plans of the opposition," whom they described as enemies of the Church, foes unprincipled and desperate, mutineers who should be put in irons or thrown overboard. The civil tribunal suggests that "that charity which is so large an element of the faith of both parties, and which is said by one of the apostles of their religion to be the greatest of all Christian virtues, ought before this to have brought about a reconciliation." It points them to their own Discipline, which declares that strife and litigation are contrary to their duty, and which exhorts them "to avoid all manner of violence, tyranny, and unmerciful or rash treatment, whereby they or others might suffer either in body or in soul, such as quarreling, brawling, and hatred, brother going to law with brother, recompensing evil for evil, rendering railing for railing." Noting that Christian perfection is one of the accepted tenets of their faith, it satirically hints that the road by which some of the combatants expect to attain this high grace must be indicated in the words of their Discipline, "Some, indeed, say that this cannot be attained until we have passed through purgatory."

The Evangelical Association presents such a spectacle as has seldom been seen in ecclesiastical history; a spectacle which, if the Pennsylvania court is right, would be substantially duplicated in the republic if opposing parties had so embroiled civil and political affairs as to produce a situation where there was in the nation no lawful and recognized president, no lawful and respected legislative or judicial body, and in various States of the Union rival governors and rival legislatures all claiming for themselves the sole legality. As the trouble began with the bishops, or, at least became serious by their interference, so, also, the subsequent disturbances have circled around their attitude and action, and have had episcopal participation and leadership.

The singular course of events as described in official records suggests a few reflections, first of all this: We see here a system failing to secure the very thing which it was a particular design of its construction to insure. The Evangelical Association seems to have been born with a dread of episcopal power, and while, by force of inheritance and education, as well as by a perception of the advantages of the episcopal form of church government, it was led to adopt that form, its episcopophobia moved it to reduce the office of bishop to the minimum of importance, influence, and dignity, and to lace it so tight within inelastic limitations that it scarcely had lawful room to breathe. It is somewhat anomalous that from an episcopacy so systematically and severely minimized there should break forth the

most astonishing display of arbitrary temper and reckless audacity in official action; so that the examiner feels provoked to remark that a successor of Jacob Albright may set up as pope and that in Albright's church, as aforetime in the Romish, there may even be a pair of popes. If such unseemly episcopal behavior had occurred in the Methodist Episcopal Church somebody in the Evangelical Association would undoubtedly have pointed it out with an "I-told-you-so" tone as due to the life tenure and corresponding comparative independence of our bishops, as a fulfillment of their prophecies of disaster in our system of administration and in proof of their superior wisdom in narrowly limiting the powers of a bishop, reducing his authority to a minimum, and especially in making the office elective for a four years' term—a plan specially invented and supposed to be infallible for the purpose of keeping bishops on their good behavior. But the record is that our episcopacy, which the fathers of the Evangelical Association regarded with apprehension, and which they endeavored, when forming a new church, to reduce to a mere shadow and nominality, has never made such a shameful show of itself or brought our Church into such confusion and strife. Along this line lies long historic cause for thankfulness as well as extended evidence of the soundness of Methodist Episcopal policy. The weakness and peril they allege in our system have not appeared; the strength and safety claimed for theirs seem conspicuously wanting. We do not perceive anything in the events now transpiring in that denomination calculated to incline Episcopal Methodism to withdraw its objections to a quadrennial and every way belittled episcopacy. It is not impossible that the course of these bishops of the Evangelical Association should raise in the mind of some spectator the question whether a larger share of responsibility put upon them by the Church for the creditable conduct of affairs might not have a tendency to promote a greater sense of responsibility, with consequent increase of becoming dignity and needful sobriety.

The record of episcopal conduct in the Evangelical Association during recent years suggests a doubt, to put it mildly, of the personal fitness of the bishops for their office and of the wisdom of the association in selecting those men. Some of their actions make them appear unworthy of even that modicum of power with which the denomination grudgingly intrusted them. If the association had been as cautious in choosing its bishops as it was in safeguarding the office certain strange chapters of history would not have been written. No organization can get the benefit of personal power and administrative ability in its highest officers without allowing scope for the exercise thereof; and while authority and its functions must be clearly defined by the body which confers it and carefully observed by him who receives it, the greatest security after all for a wise, safe conduct of affairs will be found in the man himself, in his pure intention, sound sense, self-control, and executive capacity, without which no amount of statutory limitation can possibly provide for judicious and competent administration. A sane man at large is safer for the neighborhood than a lunatic in a straitjacket.

Without underrating the value of a well-constructed system of government with powers so equitably distributed and parts so fitly coordinated as to run smoothly like a perfect piece of mechanical engineering, the history we are now contemplating impresses us anew with the overshadowing importance of the personal factor in administration. Everywhere manly quality and capability are the things that tell. "There's more in the man than there is in the land" is one of Sidney Lanier's dialect poems. Farragut, at the beginning of the war, was prejudiced against ironclads, and objected to commanding one, saying, "No, give me a wooden vessel and put the iron in the men." Victory is always more in the men than in the machine. An ignorant, inattentive, self-indulgent, or rashly venturesome captain will run upon the rocks the finest steamship ever built. Once in a Methodist Conference a member of it arose and said to the presiding officer, "Bishop, I had pleasure in voting for you in the General Conference which elected you. I hope you are not about to compel me to repent of my action." The minister's apprehension proved unfounded; but it would seem that many of the delegates to the General Conference of the Evangelical Association, which met in Buffalo in 1887, must long since have regretted the votes by which they elected three men to the office of bishop. If the comments of the Berks County court are correct it would seem that there was among the bishops no ecclesiastical lawyer, no one acquainted with the common principles of law or even mindful of the explicit directions of their own Discipline, nor one properly endowed with discretion, though Bishop Dubs comes nearer to it than the others, who in the heat of partisanship lost whatever senses they had, and rushed madly into methods certain to thwart, if nothing else did, the very purposes they were determined at all hazards to accomplish, methods so thoroughly unwarrantable as to invalidate all acts performed thereunder.

The Church of God suffers mortification and dire injury when a bishop, instead of being calm and dispassionate, is excited and passionate; instead of maintaining impartiality espouses the cause of a faction, training in its ranks or even beating a drum at the head of a party column; instead of healing strife foments dissensions; instead of being careful, clean, and moderate in speech indulges in intemperate, vulgar, or abusive utterances which a civil court excuses itself from repeating because they are "too offensive to be reproduced;" instead of showing observant respect to all proper forms, precedents, and laws disregards them in a manner little less than revolutionary.

What kind of a bishop is he who, being found guilty and suspended by what a civil court decides is a duly constituted Trial Conference, conducted in strict accordance with the Discipline, gives himself a certificate of innocence, ignores the order of an authoritative church court, and continues to exercise all the functions from which he has been suspended, denouncing his accusers as liars and all questioners of his authority as rebels? What shall be said of a bishop who supposes that he can withdraw less than one fourth of the members from a Conference num-

bering ninety-two and organize that small minority into a Conference on the steps outside the front door of a church edifice within which the majority, including all the presiding elders, is in session under a duly chosen president, having refused to recognize the bishop because they understood him to have been regularly suspended from the functions of his office; who thinks he can constitute a less than one-fourth minority into the legal East Pennsylvania Annual Conference by his mere decree, with the approval of that minority; and who with this fictitious flat Conference, declaring the more than three-quarter majority to be in revolt, proceeds to create presiding elders, assign pastors, and transact all business as if there could be any validity in such transactions? That the same Bishop Bowman, at Des Moines, in 1890, retired with only six ministers to his room at the hotel and there transacted the business of the Conference is not surprising. How are bishops to be characterized who imagine that they have power to blow an Annual Conference into everlasting nowhere by the mere breath of their mouths, as Esher and Bowman did in 1890, when they announced officially to the Church that the Platte River Conference had ceased to exist, simply because, for reasons which it believed to be legal and obligatory, it would not have one of them to preside over it? But astonishment passes all bounds when we find by the history that these acts and proceedings of the bishops have been pronounced lawful and regular by a body claiming to be the General Conference, and made up of delegates from twenty-three Conferences; and that the same body ordered that ministers by the score, in full membership and good standing, should be expelled from the Church as outlaws without any citation, form of trial, or opportunity to face charges and make defense or answer, thus violating the fundamental maxim of the common law that no man shall be condemned without a hearing, and mangling and mutilating the Church of God by a sort of maniacal hacking and hewing.

As between the bishops, after sentence of suspension had been pronounced, the course of Dubs seems to have been wiser than that of Bowman and Esher. If the latter had respected that sentence as Dubs did, biding the disciplinary time and leaving the entire matter to be decided by the next General Conference, each Annual Conference meantime transacting its business under an elected president, as it was entirely qualified to do, and the place of meeting of the General Conference being fixed without participation of the bishops by the oldest Annual Conference in the disciplinary way, there might have been an indisputably lawful General Conference in 1891 competent to consider all the questions at issue, to settle those things which were in suspense, and to arrive at discreet decisions by methods and majorities which would be in harmony with the Discipline of the association and the principles of common law, and would likewise be so correct and weighty as to command the respect of all law-abiding and order-loving ministers and members and oblige the malcontents to keep silence or withdraw. As to the present legal condition of the episcopacy, if the conclusion of the Berks County Common Pleas be correct it is an office without any incumbent, the suspension of the

three bishops in 1890 being valid until the succeeding lawful General Conference; and no such body having met in 1891 nor up to the present time, the Evangelical Association since 1890 has been without bishops, and remains so until a properly constituted General Conference shall assemble—an event which seems no more probable for any future time than it was for 1891.

In reading the opposing decisions of different civil courts upon the merits of this denominational dispute one regrets to observe what is natural enough but by no means gratifying or confidence-inspiring, namely, that most of these decisions are in agreement with the predominant sentiment in the locality where they are arrived at and announced—a fact which, in spite of all averments of impartiality, tends to raise in disinterestedly unbiased minds a suspicion that examiners and judges, even when honest in intention, may have been unconsciously influenced by local atmospheric pressure. So human are men even when loaded by responsibility as heavy as their ermine is light that there is always danger of their absorbing automatically into their blood whatever quality permeates the air they breathe. The planchette, even under honest fingers that do not mean to push, obeys a force which originates within the man, and is moved and guided by a muscular pressure which must proceed from a subconscious volition. Are we saying that no human verdict or conclusion is ever fair, pure, impartial, and just? By no means; but only that there are always subtle elements, as powerful often as they are secret, which work to the imperiling of a perfectly balanced and equitable result.

It strikes us as peculiar that both at Indianapolis and at Philadelphia the body calling itself the General Conference omitted to examine the record of the findings and sentence of the Trial Conference in the case of each bishop whose course it approved, and in contrast did read and examine the record of the Trial Conference, in the case of each bishop whom it disapproved, deposed from office, and expelled from the denomination. When either of these pretended General Conferences intended to set aside the suspension of a bishop it proceeded to do so on his defensive statement simply, without looking at the record which contained the evidence on which he had been suspended by a Trial Conference. On the other hand, when either of these assumed General Conferences meant to condemn a bishop and support the action of the Trial Conference which had suspended him it produced and read the record of the evidence by which his suspension had been, and his deposition would now be, justified. This looks as if each of these two bodies did what it wanted to do, and admitted only such proofs as favored the course it was bent on taking. If this be true there was nothing judicial in the temper or methods of either body.

A long series of technically irregular proceedings through which it appears impossible to trace any logical or constitutional connection that can be a conductor for the currents of disciplinary authority has produced a situation which from a strictly legal standpoint is one of utter chaos, all true validity having been vitiated; no government possible any

more save by the right of might and by arbitrary self-certified authority. The pulling and hauling of five or six years have produced a snarl so complicated and knotted as to admit of no disentanglement upon the correctness of which tribunals, ecclesiastical or civil, can agree. The amount of vituperative and minacious malediction, and also of vindictive and retaliatory action, is so great as well as so intense and extreme as to put out of sight the probability of reconciliation or of the recovery of a pacific temper.

A comparison of resources between the parties to the strife may be made as follows:

ASSETS OF THE BOWMAN-ESHER PARTY.—1. The larger number of civil court decisions in their favor, various courts in Ohio, Oregon, Illinois, and Iowa having sustained their course and position to a greater or less extent. 2. The larger number of Conferences; complete control in eighteen of the twenty undivided Conferences, and a minority following in each of the five divided Conferences. 3. Two thirds of the episcopal board. 4. All the *ex officio* members of the General Conference, that is, missionary secretary, official editors, and senior book agent. 5. Control of the various treasuries of the association. 6. Most of the denominational press. 7. Representatively about three fifths of the entire membership, say ninety thousand.

ASSETS OF THE DUBS PARTY.—1. Opinions in their favor from Judge Pleasants and Judge Shaw, of the Court of Common Pleas in Illinois, Judge Beale, of a similar court in Nebraska, and the Berks County, Pennsylvania, court already mentioned. 2. The solid support of two of the twenty-five Conferences, with a majority in each of the five divided Conferences. 3. One out of the three contending bishops. 4. A preponderance in their favor in each of the four largest and strongest Conferences, the East Pennsylvania, the Central Pennsylvania, the Pittsburg, and the Illinois. 5. Representatively about two fifths of the entire membership of the denomination, say sixty thousand.

This comparative statement, if not absolutely exact in particulars and complete in the total, is at least approximately correct.

As to the future, the ownership of each piece of church property which has been put in litigation will be, of course, determined by the civil courts having jurisdiction over its locality. Beyond this it seems probable that the Bowman-Esher party, by force of superior numbers and the *de facto* control of the general offices, treasuries, and property of the Association, will take all law into their own hands, and, in general, affirming their own regularity and competency, "hold the fort" to the exclusion and disregard of those whom they have branded as wicked rebels and expelled. To an outsider the denomination seems hopelessly divided, and we see nothing for the minority but to withdraw; in which connection there can be no impropriety in our suggesting, without covetousness or proselyting, that their return to the mother Church from which the Evangelical Association of North America sprung would not be unnatural and might be for them a happy issue out of all their troubles.

TRUTH AND FALSEHOOD IN RAILROAD AND OTHER AFFAIRS.

"COMPLETE truthfulness is one of the rarest of virtues." Herbert Spencer is an accepted authority on this point to those who consider that exhaustive, world-wide, and lifelong studies qualify him to make the assertion. Judging from the conduct of many who are conspicuous in human affairs, they prefer the truth where it answers their own purposes best, and falsehood where it does not. The end is held to justify the means. The New York daily newspapers of August 16, 1893, give prominent place to the process whereby one of the great railroads of the country was placed in the hands of receivers, one of whom was the president of the company owning it. This action was said to have been at the instance of creditors, stockholders, and bondholders, and also of a powerful trust company as trustee of the mortgage. It was said that the company, recognizing the wisdom of the proceeding and the necessity of preserving the unity of the property and of continuing the operation of the property for the public convenience, had submitted to the inevitable, and had not opposed the application for a receivership, but had practically joined in it to secure the protection of the courts from the possible assault of creditors and the consequent dismemberment of the railroad system. The best interests of stockholders and creditors, with the conservation of the enormous properties involved, were the ends consulted.

Not a word need be said against these forthgoings on the assumption that they accurately represent the truth. But how can denial by the president, made on the preceding Saturday, August 12, that papers were being drawn up for a receivership, be regarded? This denial is alleged by the *Tribune* to have been couched "in the most unequivocal and emphatic terms." On the 14th it is said that one of the directors was assured by the president that the company was beyond danger of a receivership. Not only that, but on the 16th a vice president of the corporation was quoted as stating that it was perfectly solvent. A holder of large securities also declared that he had been repeatedly assured by the officers of the safety of the company at a time when papers for the receivership must have been in course of preparation, even if they were not completed. One thing is certain, and that is that the president either knew or did not know that efforts were being made to place the railroad in the hands of receivers. If he did not know it, then his ignorance proves his utter unfitness for the presidency of so large a corporation; if he did know it, then his "unequivocal and emphatic" denial equally proves his unfitness to be the chairman, or even one of the board of receivers, much more to take the management of affairs into his own hands. If he did know what was going on, if he were a consenting party to what was to be done, then by what brief, sturdy, Anglo-Saxon term shall his unqualified and strenuous denial be characterized?

The whole transaction, in the view of the Christian ethicist, widens out into a field of observation covering all of worldly time and space, and

suggests lessons upon character and conduct that may be of sterling service to all who are willing to receive them. Putting the worst construction (any other seems to be inadmissible) upon the solemn statements of the railway magnate, it is matter of deepest regret that he is not a solitary instance of that lack of regard for the truth which debars the speaker from approaching within appreciable distance of it. "You know, gentlemen, why I cannot attach my name to that report," said the Methodist secretary of one of the most famous—and infamous—railroad corporations within the State of New York. "O, well, we don't ask you to violate your conscience," was the uneasy reply. But they had virtually asked him to do so, and because he refused they vacated his position under the flimsy pretext that temporary illness incapacitated him for the further discharge of onerous duty. He would not lie. That false reports, perjured statements, and untruthful representations are not uncommon in railroad circles is generally believed, and the belief is too often justified by demonstrated facts. To say that such corrupting and direful phenomena are quite as common in the cliques managing industrial stocks, the directorates of banks and trust companies, the dealers in dividend-paying and speculative securities, the operators on all the natural and manufactured produce exchanges—nay, even among importers, jobbers, wholesale and retail dealers in merchandise—does not help the case in the least. One wrong or ten million wrongs can by no possibility make one right.

Railroad kings are often compared to great military monarchs. The likeness is remarkable in respect of knowledge of affairs, practical wisdom, administrative ability, and, alas! of that peculiar diabolical genius which doles out truth, or half-truth, or fractional truth, or untruth in such measure and in such guise as in their judgment is most likely to compass contemplated aims. "A false report, if believed during three days, may be of great service to a government," is a political maxim ascribed to Catherine de' Medici. A false report, believed for two days, may be of great pecuniary service to railway and other managers by enabling them to sell their stocks and bonds to a confiding public before the inevitable cataclysm occurs. False reports of utter ruin to the properties involved and of destitution of recuperative power in such properties may further depress prices in the sequent panic and empower the guilty concocters to fill their safes with securities purchased at much less than their real value. "Between solid lying and disguised truth," writes Disraeli in his *Curiosities of Literature*, "there is a difference known to writers skilled in 'the art of governing mankind by deceiving them.'" While the commercial and financial classes of the United States contain many men of truth, probity, and public spirit, men essential to the perpetuity and prosperity of the republic, men of genuine Christian profession, it must be admitted sorrowfully that they contain other men whose skill in solid lying and in disguising truth is fully abreast of any that Machiavelli or Metternich ever displayed.

The virus is spread throughout the body politic. In party politics "forgers prefer to use the truth disguised to the gross fiction." Debates

on bimetallic questions, and on manufacturing, farming, and industrial interests, furnish ample material for illustration. Whether false reports, disguising the real condition of affairs, may "serve to break down the sharp and vital point of a panic," and to save the public "from the horrors of consternation and the stupefaction of despair," is scarcely worth a second thought in view of the fact that wilder panic and more stupid consternation follow the discovery that imposition has been practiced by those whose words were accepted as of solid truth. The panic-stricken are in danger of sacrificing sterling, as well as spurious, securities.

Recent history, especially of siege, battle, and military maneuvers, is rarely to be depended upon. The history of our late civil war in nearest approximation to complete truthfulness is not likely to be written within the next hundred years. There are too many individual and family reputations at stake to admit free and full utterance of all the facts. In war and in peace some men seek through published falsehood to reach their ends as architects in constructing arches support them with circular props and pieces of timber until they are closed and support themselves; then the props are thrown away. What is true of military, naval, and political lying is also true of professional, fiscal, and business falsehood. "There we may trace the whole art in all the nice management of its shades, its qualities, and its more complicate parts, from invective to puff, and innuendo to prevarication. We may admire [or be shocked at] that stupendous correction of a lie which they had told by another which they are telling, and single to triple lying to overreach their opponents."

Railway properties are strongly affected by this prevalent vice. Railroads have done more to develop the wonderful resources of this country than all other means of locomotion combined. They have changed the wildernesses of the West into fruitful fields, nutritious pastures, and blooming vineyards. They have opened the strong boxes in the Rocky Mountains and brought forth their singularly valuable metallic treasures. They have established fisheries, manufactures, trade, and commerce. They have diffused the blessings of education and abundance of earthly good. They have unified the nation and brought it into close proximity with older civilizations. They have been and are of priceless worth. They should be guarded with the most jealous and scrutinizing care. Had their directors and officials always been truthful, just, and unselfish, the benefits conferred could not well have been overestimated. Eternal, wise, active vigilance is the price of liberty. Without it what may be of untold benefit may become of unexpected injury. Railroad managers, in many and portentous instances, have infused the spirit and practice of falsehood into State and national legislatures, defied the administration of justice, partitioned the territory of the republic among themselves, built up wealthy monopolies, condemned thriving industries to decay and death, seized arbitrary and irresponsible power, exemplified the evils of luxury and of wealth illegitimately acquired, caused "speculative fevers and crises of maddening and universal ruin," discriminated unjustly in freight and passenger rates, given secret rebates, issued inflated stocks,

manipulated contracts, used subsidiary corporations to divert profits from the pockets of shareholders into their own, and have thereby unjustly enriched themselves. The welfare of the commonwealth imperatively demands that they be held to the strictest accountability.

In every department of ordinary social life the suppression of truth and the expression of fractional truth, of truth itself so as to produce the effect of a lie, or of positive falsehood issue from the faultiness and weakness of human nature and from the perversion of some of the finest qualities in it. The desire to please, to be on good terms with others, to profit by association, are all commendable provided they work with consistent regard to truth. Herbert Spencer quotes the ancient Egyptian Ptah-hotep as declaring that "he who departs from truth to be agreeable is detestable." Collective humanity reprobates flattery, and individual humanity, for the most part, lives in the application of it. Public speakers in legislative halls, judicial courts, and religious pulpits are often the subjects of insincere eulogy. Precocious children are complimented by bored visitors, beautiful girls by friends whose eyes are keen to detect moral deformities; books, poems, vocal and musical performances, works of painting and plastic art, by those whose judgment condemns the praise they bestow. Flattery crawls to win its goal by constant agreement with another person's opinions, and converts the flatterer into what Emerson distinguishes as "a mush of concession." Contemptible moral flabbiness is often revealed in testimonials to persons whom some of the parties thereto would gladly see lodged in a State prison. The recent case of a former railroad president is a probably pertinent illustration. Love of truth is not in all this, nor the desire to stimulate to worthy discharge of duty and fulfillment of all worthy obligations.

Of the fibbings, conventional falsehoods, and white lies disfiguring and vitiating social intercourse and common commercial transactions, it is enough to say that they are in jarring discord with the purity and beauty, the probity and healthfulness, of pure Christianity. Lies of the larger class—larger because their malign influence extends more widely through communities, civilizations, and the world—lies governmental, political, and diplomatic; lies mercantile and fiscal; lies corporate and managerial—impair private and public confidence, undermine faith in the veracity and beneficence of public men, wither prudent frugality and all the homely virtues, incite to wasteful extravagance, and vitiate the public conscience while they harden the public heart and spread the deadly malaria of moral rottenness wherever they go.

Lying is no new phenomenon. It is as old, or nearly so, as the Adamic family. In the devil—liar and "murderer from the beginning"—it made its first earthly appearance in Eden. Satan is the father of it, and has many children. He "abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him. When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own: for he is a liar, and the father of it." In mankind generally the love of truth for truth's sake, without reference to ends, is comparatively small and weak. In nothing does depravity, native or acquired, more painfully

exemplify itself. Numberless statements of assumed facts are wildly and willfully made that are wide of the truth, both in substance and color. Selfishness, seeking gratification, without thought or care for the rights and interests of others, is the sappingly corrupt source from which these noxious emanations spring. It is a versatile nuisance. Here it desires to inflict injury, and hesitates not at false witness; there, to gain unjust advantage, it purposely suppresses truth; and elsewhere it cringingly curries favor by saying what is not true in order to please. It is commonest—Herbert Spencer affirms—where people are subject to despotic, coercive rule, and where existence is aggressive and militant. On western prairies and Central Asian steppes, in Fijian islands and among contending African tribes, and quarreling aborigines of many lands, it is not regarded as wrong, but as a legitimate though cunning convenience. Among the ancient Hebrews it was more or less rife, but was never approved by Jehovah or his servants. Spencer does not overlook the "fact that in the writings of the Hebrew prophets, as also in parts of the New Testament, lying is strongly reprobated." Had he said *all* parts of the New Testament, his confession would have been commensurate with the record. As scientists and as Christians, looking over the whole field of phenomena, fact, and force, we penetrate deeper into the spiritual world for the causes and occasions of these morbid manifestations than the limited scope of his inquiries will permit. Men who submit to Apollyon's rule run aggressive and militant careers in the life which they construe as a pitiless struggle of each with all for survival and happiness.

Some tribes of savages, living in absolute tranquillity, or free from chronic hostilities with neighbors, are reported to be truthful; others, subsisting under conditions of militancy, are said to be quite veracious. With the first there are few, if any, provocations to deceit; in the second no irresponsible tyranny compels evasion or falsehood. Translation into modern social relations is said to evoke like modern traits. The ancient Greeks, whose mental and moral life cannot but be extremely influential upon the plastic spirit of youthful students, were nearly always, and the Cretan section of them "always liars." Grote, who had studied them exhaustively, declares that they "were liars through all grades, from their gods down to their slaves." In the Middle Ages the majority of men thought "perjury but a form of speech, not of crime." The later French aristocracy "were without truth, loyalty, or disinterestedness. Neither life nor character was safe in their hands."

The eminent missionary, Dr. Livingstone, remarks that "untruthfulness is a sort of refuge for the weak and oppressed," and particularly when they are enslaved. The force of this generalization is obvious to students of modern times. The Russians are remarkable for extreme untruthfulness—a vice, among many others, that dissolves the cohesion and menaces the durability of their colossal empire. Egyptians pride themselves on successful lying. Hindoos perjure themselves in courts of justice without emotions of shame. How far removed from primitive savagery, from mediæval militancy, from phosphorescent—because

putrid—Greek morals, are crowds of newspaper reporters, "practical" politicians, astute lawyers, exchangers of values, and forsworn officials of every class? "'I said in my haste, All men are liars,'" read a Scotch clergyman from his pulpit, and added, "Aye, Davie, hed ye lived where I do ye might ha' said that at yer leisure." This ancient story voices the sinking of heart, the weariness of spirit, and the bitter grief of godly men in presence of the world's hollowness and fraudulency.

The first liar wrecked the first human lives by persuading man into the belief that God was not truthful, that coveted advantage would accrue from setting at naught his prohibition, and that the threatened harm would not result from disobedience. Eve and Adam quickly and remorsefully discovered that God is true, that the devil is a liar, and that lying, however fine the art thereof may be, is evil and ruinous only, and that continually. Admitting moral freedom, responsibility, and immortality to be attributes of mankind, and that its highest possibilities can be wrought into reality only through perfect adaptation to the changeless laws by which all things are governed, and which "make for righteousness," then truth is an end to be pursued independently of seeming utility. "To be truthful and to do good," as the virtue required of each and all men, is not only the saying of Pythagoras, but is, in substance, that of Him who is "*the* Truth," and who does what the wise philosopher could not do, namely, points out the way by which perfect being and doing are attainable. The Lord Jesus Christ—God manifest in the flesh—the Infinite revealed under forms of the sinless finite, climax and crown of the Adamic race—and brother to us all, imparts knowledge of that all-perfect will which is the expression of all-perfect nature, endues the truthful soul with power to adapt itself to law, and through patient continuance in well-doing to lay hold on glory, honor, and eternal life.

This all-perfect will, expressing the unalterable order of the universe, is the basis of moral obligation. Actions, morally right, are done from sense of duty. Kant is right when he "insists that action done from affection or desire, or as the outcome of any constitutional instinct, is pathological and not moral." Bowne is no less correct in asserting that "in the moral intercourse of a normal life truthfulness is an absolute duty; and to the truth we have a right. Let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay. This is the ideal of social intercourse. Whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil and tendeth to evil. Language itself presupposes truthfulness; for without it speech would be absurd." Normal moral order is the postulate of American society. Therefore, as Paley affirms, "a lie is a breach of promise; for whoever seriously addresses his discourse to another [as in the case of the railroad magnates under discussion] tacitly promises to speak the truth, because he knows that the truth is expected." "It is the willful deceit that makes the lie, and we willfully deceive when our expressions are not true in the sense in which we believe the hearer to apprehend them."

Lying, in all its Protean forms, is sternly forbidden to all responsible beings as irreverent and rebellious toward the Almighty (Lev. xix,

11, 12), as abominably evil, opposed to the solidarity of believers (Eph. iv, 25) and to the welfare of the liar (1 Peter iii, 10), and as certain of exclusion from heaven. "Without" in the burning lake (Rev. xxi, 8) is "whatsoever loveth and maketh a lie" (Rev. xxii, 15). In the realm of what is avowedly fiction nobody is deceived by language appropriate to it. In abnormal relations such as those existing in actual warfare, contact with madmen, murderers, and thieves, opponents have no right to the truth which they would only use in prosecution of their own fell designs. But in profound peace, under the government of wise, just, and equal laws, and in relations which imply and demand mutual confidence and benefaction, every man ought to speak the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, with his neighbor. Not to do so, but to do the opposite, is a crime against God and against society.

Knowing and doing the truth to the extent of personal ability is essential to freedom from ill, to possession of good, to symmetrical and complete development of individual and social life. False reports, crooked accounts, clandestine combinations for selfish ends, and deceitful assurances are inimical to the whole welfare of men, individually and collectively. So keenly is this felt that we find falsehood sternly reprobated by nineteenth century civilization, and that "the social disgrace which follows convicted lying has powerful effect in maintaining general truthfulness." Veracity is the measure of civilization, and civilization in its best forms is the child of Christianity. The latter enjoins not merely the avoidance of falsehood, but forbids unnecessary concealment of essential facts, and positive unverified assertions. Its spirit and dogma aid the growth of industrial art and commercial exchange, while creating the conditions that favor their expansion. Veracity becomes the first virtue of the moral type, and no character is regarded with approbation in which it is wanting. It is made, more than any other, the test distinguishing a good from a bad man. We find, accordingly, that "even where the impositions of trade are very numerous the supreme excellence of veracity is cordially admitted in theory, and that it is one of the first virtues that every man aspiring to moral excellence endeavors to cultivate." In this virtue lies the chief moral superiority of nations pervaded by strong industrial spirit. Lying, and official lying in particular, is deadly to industrial, fiscal, and material progress.

Truth-loving men love truth for its own sake, and seek knowledge of it as indispensable to attainment of highest good. Their spirit is "one of the latest flowers of virtue that bloom in the human heart." Sincere love of truth implies earnest, conscientious, and unfaltering pursuit of it and acceptance of results as certain to work naught but good to those who love and serve the God of truth. Thus only, through the intellectual activities attendant upon fearless pursuit, is moral status raised by the Spirit of truth, and that magnificent and complicated organism termed civilization advanced toward possible and intended perfection, in which railroad management and reports, among other things, will be entirely truthful—or at least veracious.

PROGRESS OF CIVILIZATION.

ANTHROPOLOGY is a fundamental study. Whatever attention is given to those branches of inquiry which relate to geologic structure, or inorganic life, or stellar phenomena—and these are valid and honorable lines of investigation—it is necessary to know man before we can know the world. His supremacy in the creation; his racial distinctions and peculiarities; his military, literary, architectural, and religious achievements are the key to the story of mundane life. History is a limp and lifeless thing unless he be kept in sight as the central character upon the stage; we care nothing for the genealogical records or the daily routine of mollusks and pachyderms. Poesy seems almost a jingle of empty words when we forget the brain that gave the rhythmic measures birth. Invention deteriorates to a mechanical arrangement and rearrangement of wheels and levers unless we remember the human agency that conceived these mechanisms. Music, the science which has its application in celestial scenes as also upon the earth, degenerates to a chance combination of harmonic sounds if we forget the personality of the composer. In a sense all life centers about man; and to know him better is better to know the universe. There is no tribe of the remotest past in which the student as a consequence is not concerned; there is no individual for ages mixed with mother earth to whom we should not delight to turn as to an object lesson in the great story of humanity. The old aphorism of Pope, that "the proper study of mankind is man," is instinct with eternal fitness of application. Anthropology, in a word, is the window through which the scholar looks out upon an intelligible and harmonious world.

Corresponding also to the need of anthropological study is its fascination. The charm goes hand in hand with the necessity; the great volume of human existence, albeit it is a serial not yet ended, never grows wearisome. We are always at home with the men whose traits we study. In the tropical forests, along the battlefields of Syria, among the Norse explorers; with warrior, priest, and potentate, we feel a sense of fraternity and find in their thinkings and doings some new teaching on the traits of universal man. Indirectly all lines of investigation followed in the schools are a species of anthropological study. Anatomy, psychology, philology, ethnology, political economy, ethics, are all but branches of the great pursuit. And that man is ever the subject under scrutiny, and the agent in the field of performance, gives new zest to our inquiry. For the time being we are even more interested in him than in the angels. His cowardice or his bravery, his clumsiness or his skill, his irreligion or his piety are not only responded to by the answering voices of our own souls, but help in the formulation of those universal laws we seek touching human life. So it is that men are always on the alert for archæologic discoveries. The exhumation of a new group of mummied Pharaohs in Egypt would be quickly telegraphed round the world. Every arrow head turned

up by the plow point has a welcome in the scientist's cabinet. Every Indian mound is a center of instruction. From all sources we are ever glad to learn of man; for man is the interpreter of himself, of life, of destiny.

FROM the Eastern world comes the ominous baying of the dogs of war. To say nothing of the martial demonstrations in Europe, trouble seems brewing along the Chinese-Russian frontier, involving indirectly the ownership of valuable territory and directly the superiority of these two great nations in the Orient. However remote the contest may be, should there come the actual clash of arms it will not be the strife of pygmies upon a petty stage. The two nationalities involved stand out with conspicuousness before the gaze of men. Each has its history of exploit and growth through accumulating generations. Each treasures its traditions of ancestral prowess, and hears the call of the departed from the heights to maintain the ancient standards. Each is fortified for war and, despite its musty traditions or archaic customs or despotic form of rulership, has millions of sturdy warriors to throw into the fray. Cossack and Mongolian, hesitant and sluggish, Greek-Christian and Confucianist, they sit opposite one another in vigilant sentinelship prepared for defense or assault. Yet the increasing disagreement between Russia and China not only claims our notice for itself—involving as it does the northern and western Chinese territories now in possession of the Russian staff. and the ownership of other vast Asiatic tracts—but for the important principle justifying warfare which is involved. Why, in other words, should Russia covet Asia? What justification has the Cossack for invasion, attack, massacre, or pillage in the land of the Chinaman? Is a nation, more than an individual, justified in envy of its neighbor's territory and in forcible disruption of those boundaries which time and the consensus of existing governments have granted to another? These inquiries suggest their own refutation. The moral law gives no license to nations which it does not grant to individuals. Governments are not irresponsible, if sometimes they seem conscienceless, agents in the commission of crime. Not all wars are justifiable. The unwarrantable appropriation of neighboring teritory, though under the ukase of emperor, is simple and unmitigated theft. The wanton devastation of grain fields, or the burning of cities, is wicked mischief. The slaughter of noncombatants is open murder. How the great Judge of the earth is to visit punishment upon nations, beyond the chastisements of the present that sometimes fall from his hand, is not a matter of knowledge. But governments, which are but an aggregation of individuals, are under the moral law. Whatever Russia might be justified in doing under sufficient provocation, she is not excusable if in cold blood she march eastward toward the China coast. The claim that she needs additional seafront is not a sufficient reason for invasion of the Mongolian empire. Granted that all great governments must have a seaboard; that the Baltic, the Black Sea, and the Caspian are inadequate exits to the great deep for the Russian navy;

and that, as a thirsty hart pants for the water brooks, this interior kingdom, with its growing ambition, thirsts for the boundless ocean—yet in this is not a sufficient excuse for unprovoked invasion and theft on the part of Russia. If her location is in some measure inland she should rather be thankful for so much of the seacoast as fate has bestowed and make the uttermost of her opportunities. National grandeur does not inhere in wide boundaries. When will the nations learn that true greatness rather lies in freedom, industry, sobriety, education, morality, religion?

THE national Senate at Washington, in the special session now holding, has fairly outdone itself in inactivity. It is true that the charge of indifference to general interests is at all times easy, and possibly it is sometimes unjustly made by that watchful Cerberus over public affairs, the secular press; yet in the present instance the toleration of newspaper criticism has been unusual and far beyond the desert. Like every institution on the earth, the Senate must consent to be judged by its fruits. For rank and stilted conservatism, for unswerving loyalty to the old traditions, for the maintenance of a ridiculous magisterial dignity which is out of harmony with the times, and for persistent and masterful inaction history does not furnish a superior instance since the first Senate of Washington. Necessarily well aware, at the head center of information, of the financial stringency that has oppressed all sections of the land, of the languishing industries of our great manufacturing districts, and of the suffering of unemployed workingmen, their answer to the demand of the nation for speedy action upon the silver question has been a gathering up of the robes of senatorial dignity, an almost sardonic belittling of the gravity of the issue, and a prolix exhibit of wordy oratory for which the nation has neither time nor patience. The not unfamiliar question has, under the circumstances, all the freshness of a new inquiry: Is not the quality of statesmanship depreciating? If in other days there went into our legislative halls those whose skirts were stained with venality, intrigue, or undue ambition, their number has certainly not decreased. With a proper understanding of our legislative history from the beginning, and with the remembrance of the jobbery and sale that have sometimes profaned our Senate chambers, we must confess our belief in the deterioration of the present. The exceptions to the rule do not save the criticism. In general the pseudo-statesmanship of the day is a grotesque exhibit. We have nurtured and called forth a brood of puerile politicians. Statesmanship seems gone to seed as the nineteenth century closes! What is wanted is not altogether an increase of intellectual force—though the best brain is needed to grasp the abstruse national problems of the day—but a renewal of the good old quality of patriotism. Statesmanship means the burial of personal interests fathoms deep for the common weal. Wherever in history a recognized statesman is found this has been his prime characteristic. Shades of the great departed, inspire those who play at legislation to the imitation of your virtues!

THE ARENA.

METHODISM AS AFFECTED BY RECENT BIBLICAL CRITICISM.

THERE can be no question but that many who are imbued with the evangelical spirit are very anxious in regard to the outcome of current discussions in theology. The Presbyterian Church, most conservative in points of doctrine, and thoroughly committed to a defense of the Christian faith, has been quite seriously disturbed because the gauntlet of daring criticism has been thrown down within its own communion, to be taken up by some of the ablest advocates of its recognized orthodoxy. Fortunately for Methodism, it has not been perceptibly jostled by these recent movements. It is not probable that the conflict, whatever the final issue, will permanently retard that phase of gospel aggression which strives to reform men's lives and character.

Methodism is evangelical, but it is liberal and progressive, and has never hampered itself with cast-iron *dicta* on matters to be determined by the scientific study of facts and phenomena. In present controversies the Methodist people are deeply interested in so far as the truth and reality of spiritual Christianity may be assailed; but the dispute, except in the temper of some destructive critics, does not immediately affect any of the principles which the Church preeminently promulgates. She has produced sound and able thinkers, who plunge into the thickest of the fray on their own responsibility; and their work will not be in vain. All progressive disciples will take personal delight in the investigation, though it is their chief business to induce the unregenerate to appropriate those revealed truths which scholars cannot question. It is better to suck the honey of the Gospel than to engage in a wrangle about the age and formation of the flowers from which the sweets are gathered.

One party in recent criticism has been endeavoring to show that some of the doctrines which the faithful cherish were uttered under other circumstances and recorded by other writers than those heretofore accepted. The facts and their importance are not denied, but merely the conditions under which they were revealed. While some distinguished scholars betray a lamentable ignorance of the experimental essence of the Gospel, and others are far from comprehending all the gracious possibilities of evangelical faith as taught and exemplified by the Methodists, many with whom the mass of the Church do not yet agree are deeply pious. They insist that the cardinal doctrines of the Bible are in nowise imperiled. Indeed, they place themselves on the Pauline and Methodistic platform of teaching Jesus, only differing in employing high-sounding scientific terms, and claim that the faith must be Christocentric.

The Wesleyan bodies are second to none in their defense of the inspiration and authority of the Scriptures in points of doctrine which affect the individual in his relation to Christ. In other matters, as, for example, in ecclesiastical polity, great freedom is allowed. The narratives in

both Old and New Testaments furnish valuable lessons, and, in whatever light they are viewed, are worthy of respect and credence for instruction in life and manners. The substance of revelation remains the same, no matter what were the names of the chosen prophets. The Grecizing of Schwartzerd into Melanchthon did not materially affect the essential features of the Reformation. A critical change in the order or number of the kings of Judah need not be revolutionary to the most orthodox conception of our Lord's Messiahship. Methodism has prudently sought to lay the foundations of its faith on eternal principles rather than on the incidents of historical relations.

We are often alarmed as well as annoyed when some of the processes and conclusions of our thinking are discovered to be faulty or erroneous. We much dislike, after a matter has received prolonged consideration, to be anticipated in our statements, and perhaps be required to modify established impressions. A state of uncertainty in matters that pertain even to dogmatic theology is to many minds distasteful. If opinions with reference to the outer structure on further examination are liable to change, may we not fear that the citadel itself is not impregnable? Yet we are not to distrust the infallibility of truth because our perspective of its external and temporary illustrations may be subject to alteration. If Methodism is to be distinguished for its life rather than its creeds, it will not be affected hurtfully by a scholarly investigation of the sacred records. An evangelical system lives in the present and holds the keys of the spiritual kingdom. The facts of practical regeneration, the comfortable witness of the Spirit, and the blessed privileges of a life fully sanctified are not staked on matters that scholars alone can solve.

Greencastle, Ind. JOHN POUCHER.

DR. STRONG'S POSITIONS MAINTAINED.

THE matter is hardly worth a prolonged discussion, but the writer in the last "Arena," while substantially admitting my main point, has fallen into several inadvertencies and inaccuracies on my subordinate one.

1. My *addendum* was explicitly stated to be merely designed to obviate an impression liable to be derived from a remark in my main article, that Mrs. Adams's poem must be scanned as iambic measure, although I had not expressly said so, but only that it was probably intended as such. In that case it frequently substitutes a trochee for an iambus, and this not "in the first foot" only, but throughout the lines. This is anywhere acknowledged to be a "poetic license," and that of an extreme sort, because it utterly confounds the accent, which may be accommodated in reading or reciting, but cannot be adjusted in singing; and it ought therefore to be eliminated in a correct church hymnal. About this, it seems to me, there can be no reasonable question in scholarship, art, and good taste. "Blank verse," not being intended for music, is irrelevant to the subject. In no case can such violations of prosody constitute "pure iambic," nor did I use that term in this instance, but precisely the contrary.

2. I stated that the poem *might* be scanned as dactylic, and I adduced in proof the tune set to the words in our church book, which exactly tallies in its bars to the measure, thus: "Néarer, my | Gód, to thee, | néarer to | thée;" being three dactyls and an additional or catalectic syllable, a perfectly legitimate though rather infrequent meter; precisely like that of the hymn beginning, "Sóund the loud | tímbrel o'er | Égypt's dark | séa." This is equally certain and scholarly; nor does it "leave the fourth syllable hanging in the air," in any irregular or superfluous sense. The hymn beginning thus: "Brĭghtest and | bést of the | sóns of the | mórning, | Dáwn on our | dárkness and | lénd us thine | áid," of analogous measure, has alternately two (a trochee) and one such added syllable. Many other specimens occur, consistently carried out through the entire composition, even in other species of verse. It is, in fact, a well-established principle in prosody, not only convenient, but pleasing.

New York City. JAMES STRONG.

A HINT TO METHODIST JOURNALISTIC ENTERPRISE.

THE glory of Methodism has been her connectional institutions. These have enabled us to carry the cross to every part of this vast country, until it is a remarkable thing to find a county where the Gospel is not preached under Methodist auspices. But for the strong "tire" the great "wheel," with its rapid revolutions, must inevitably have gone to pieces. So we must never cease to thank God for our system of general superintendency, our General Conference papers, our publishing houses, and other connectional agencies. They have been indispensable in the past, and they will need no radical change for many decades in the future. Other denominations occasionally criticise us openly, while in their councils and under stress of exigent occasions they secretly envy us our plans. When we consider how much has been said in praise of our connectional system it seems only necessary to indorse the past and turn to something else.

Something more should be done to build up strong local churches in our denomination, or at least to strengthen and give prominence to the great local churches we already have. Here are some reasons why we think so: 1. There is a very apparent tendency in the population of the United States to centralization. 2. The life of this age is more studious and the thought of this generation is more intense than any preceding. The institution of to-day stands or falls by the character of its local representative. The high-school graduate, unlike the frontiersman of half a century ago, will not bear any kind of local preaching and make up what is lacking in contemplating the general glory of the denomination's enterprises. Ezekiel Jones's weekly ministrations in Centerville Church are far more important now than that Methodism produced by Wesley, Whitefield, Asbury, and Simpson. 3. The Scriptures are especially strong in their emphasis of the local church. The epistles of Jesus to the seven churches in Asia, sent by John the Revelator, show clearly that he is looking upon the great and small congregations, and is holding each respectively re-

sponsible for its character and work. 4. It cannot be doubted that there is a strong feeling in the ministry of our Church that our connectional offices are particularly elevated above the pastorate in position and honor. This we believe is largely due to the disproportionate attention of the press to these officials. There are hundreds, and ought to be thousands, of local churches in Methodism where the qualifications for pastor should be as high as those for bishop or missionary secretary.

In view of these and other facts we would like to see the attention of the Church, through her periodicals, especially centered upon the local church interests of Methodism, and connectionalism left to take care of itself for a while. Of course we mean more than mere local church items and announcements. Our Church periodicals have not been niggardly with space for such things. But we mean a systematic exaltation of the local church, and with it the pastorate. To our notion here opens a rich field. There is something in a great congregation's history, the architecture of its buildings, its distinguishing characteristics, its special enterprises, that would greatly stimulate the Church at large. Then the pastors who have been instrumental in gathering these large congregations and holding and directing them have such measures and varieties of gifts that the Church would be the richer for knowing them. And it is not only due these pastors, who have made the pastorate their lifework and have built up these phenomenal moral and religious centers, that the Church and world should know them; but it would be a strong incentive to younger men to qualify themselves for like great service.

We are not at present a pastor, and cannot be accused of any self-interest in these suggestions. We hope the above hint is not offensively strong, and not so elaborate as to deprive some enterprising member of our editorial staff of the credit of originality should he attempt to espouse the cause of the local church in some special way. In case, however, our press does not within a reasonable length of time meet this great want, let the idea above imperfectly elucidated be considered copyrighted by the author.

Albuquerque, New Mexico. CHARLES L. BOVARD.

WHAT LIGHT HAVE THE HEATHEN?

ALL nations at some time in their history have had supernatural light sufficient to have guided them aright; and if they are without it now it is because they have lost it. This view, we are aware, is contrary to the generally accepted opinion of the Christian world. It is violently assailed by modern evolution, which holds that the present race of men are the product of blind natural law from rude protoplasm, through an infinite series of lower orders of animals requiring millions of ages for their development. This may be set down as rank infidelity simmered down to its lowest essence. The view held by most Christian Churches, that the heathen nations of the world are in possession of all the supernatural light they ever had, is a most dangerous concession to atheistic infidelity. It is a serious reflection on the goodness and justice of God to concede

that he withheld necessary supernatural light from three fourths of the race and conferred it upon the other little fourth, who were probably less needy than the unfortunate majority.

We are so constituted mentally that, if the alternative is to be set before us of a partial supernatural revelation to the race such as the major part of Christendom concede to be the fact regarding the heathen world, or to accept the atheistic doctrine of evolution, we must become an agnostic or an atheist without delay. But we are as certain that God has not been partial in the giving of supernatural light to all nations at some time in their history as we are that the Bible is a divine revelation to the nations that have it to-day. This proposition is, in our humble opinion, as susceptible of proof as that the Bible is a divine revelation. For several years in our early ministry we were on the borders of skepticism regarding this opinion of the moral state of the heathen so commonly accepted by the Christian world, and it was while on heathen ground in the years 1856–58 that our perplexing doubts were perfectly solved, to the great joy of our aching heart. But of course in this department of the *Review* there is not room for the discussion of our proposition, but only space for a modest challenge touching this interesting inquiry.

Spokane, Wash. W. S. TURNER.

PRESCIENCE OF FUTURE CONTINGENCIES.

THE question of God's foreknowledge of future possibilities, notwithstanding all discussions, seems to be yet very far from a settlement satisfactory to all orthodox thinkers. Dr. Miley, in Volume I of his *Systematic Theology*, deals cautiously and conservatively with Dr. McCabe's theory of nescience, but still clings to the theory of divine omniscience.

In his treatment of man Dr. Miley maintains that God desired that Adam should not sin. He denies that it was the purpose of God to create such a being as would ultimately furnish a basis for the scheme of salvation. But we are not informed how the omniscience of God can be consistent with his desire for a free being who would not sin and with his failure to create such a one.

Suppose the theory of omniscience to be true. Then it follows that God knew that the creation of an infinite number of beings, similar to Adam in holiness and freedom, with like environments, would result in the fall of every one. Or he knew that there would be one, at least, who would not sin. According to a true method of science, if every one of an infinite number broke the law of God it would be inferable that they were created with an inclination so to do. If this is rejected as an implication against God it must be accepted that God knew that one, at least, would not sin. Why, then, did not God create that being?

The only way out of this difficulty, the only way which does no injustice to the character of God, seems to be by way of the theory that the future volitions of Adam were unknown to God.

Lincoln, N. Y. H. C. BURR.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

THE MINISTERIAL STUDENT—GOING TO COLLEGE.

WHEN a youth has decided to take a full course of collegiate and professional study, and has made the requisite preparation, the next step is to decide upon the institution which he shall attend. On this point advice must necessarily be general; but, writing for Christians and those intending to be Christian ministers, some suggestions may be in place. The college should be a decidedly Christian college—not merely one that tolerates Christianity, but one that supports it. It sometimes happens that under the name "Christian" there is veiled a sentiment of antagonism to the peculiarities which mark an aggressive Christianity. A professor who sneers at sacred things, who treats with contempt the opinions of the fathers, whose religious convictions are counter to the formal acceptance of the general principles of Christianity, is not a suitable teacher for a youth about to enter on classical or scientific study. He lacks the convictions necessary for the best influence. The young men who intend entering the ministry are already Christian young men. They should continue to have the kind of Christian influence which will strengthen their faith and impart to them a vigorous, healthy Christianity. It is not desirable that they shall be placed in the midst of influences which will lead them to study their religion afresh; that is, to see whether they will accept it or not. They have already done this. The college should increase, not diminish, the strength of their Christian, and the intensity of their religious, life. By this it is not meant that the general tone of the institution should be narrow, bigoted, or intolerant, but that it should be decidedly Christian.

Furthermore, he should select a college which is known to give thorough instruction. The competition on the part of our American colleges in this respect was never more intense than at present. By greater facilities for practical experimentation, by enlarged curricula, and by increased faculties of picked men they are holding out inducements to the candidates for collegiate education. The quality of the scholarship imparted and insisted upon is the main point. The fame of the institution is not half as important as the quality of the work which is done. Its fame as an institution will finally rest upon the work accomplished and the kind of men and women it sends forth into the world. Some of the most successful men in every department of scholastic work have come from colleges unknown to most people until it was announced that these men received their education there. It is also desirable that the college shall maintain to a good degree the old curriculum, including Latin, Greek, and mathematics. We are not considering here whether Latin and Greek should be pursued by all scholars or, indeed, whether a thorough education may not be obtained without them. The advice here given is in view of the fact that those to whom reference is made are preparing for the ministry

of the Gospel, and will have it as their chief business to expound the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. The New Testament should be studied in the original, and the foundation of the Greek should be well laid in the college course.

The environment of the student, both as to spiritual life and the kind of training received, is very important. This is in these regards emphatically the formative period. His tone of thinking is formed largely at this time. Some favorite professor, some valued friends among the students, shape and mold the life. The twos and threes who gather in each other's rooms to pray, to study, to argue, or to criticise are making each other's destiny. It is, therefore, far more than the mere question of scholarship which is to be considered in the selection of a college. Still more important is the question of religious, moral, and general intellectual environment. Hence the choice of a college is of the utmost importance.

THE STUDY OF ORIGINALS.

It is as important for the preacher to pursue the best methods of study as it is to select wisely the subjects which shall demand his attention. The methods vary in their adaptation to each individual, so that no general or absolute law can be laid down. They may have to do with the procedure in actual study or with the order in which studies or books are taken up. Modern critical books—indeed, modern books on important topics in general—are usually accompanied by the most important literature on the subject. The amount of reading necessary to compass this literature with thoroughness is appalling, and many shrink from the effort in despair. In their bewilderment the students ask: Shall we study many books or few? Shall we read the ancient or the modern writers on a given subject?

The answer to these questions will depend largely on the subject under consideration. If it be a purely scientific subject, old books are generally antiquated and can render comparatively little service; but if it be on a question of history or of thought, the older may be much the more valuable. And even in science the study of facts as they are found in nature is more instructive than the discussion of them, even by those best qualified to describe them. It is safe to say that the student should study originals as far as possible. He should study the earth's crust, in geology; the earliest philosophers, in philosophy; the originals of the great poetical and prose works. History, too, should be read in the original documents rather than in the revisions and adaptations of successive historical writers. The actual work of excavation in Greece and Rome is more fruitful of information than the study of many volumes describing what has been found there.

Of course, personal study in many departments is impossible, except to a few; but in history, in philosophy, and in theology the study of the great authors who have practically made their respective sciences is of the utmost importance. The study of Xenophon's *Memorabilia of Socrates*

itself, showing the methods of the great philosopher, will better repay the philosophical student than the study of the commentaries which have been written about it. There is no work on Bible history at all comparable to that contained in the Old and the New Testaments; no life of Christ so clear and full as that to be found in the gospels; no theology that, for clearness, force, and logic, can supersede the Epistle to the Romans. In an appendix to a discussion of the philosophy of Comte there is given a catalogue of works which are to be studied in connection with it. It is urged that these works be read without notes. There is something that is lost in the translation of great works, and also in the comments that are often made upon them. Mr. Froude, in his inaugural lecture at the University of Oxford, said of the method by which he had been educated: "For men who wished to improve themselves I believe it to have provided as good an education as was ever tried. We had certain books, the best of their kind and limited in number, which we were required to know perfectly. We learned our Greek history from Herodotus and Thucydides, our Latin history from Livy and Tacitus. We learned our philosophy from Aristotle, and it was our business to learn by heart Aristotle's own words—everything—every one of them; and thus the thoughts and the language of these illustrious writers were built into our minds, and there indelibly remain."

If this is the true method in the study of history, as one of its great authorities maintains, is it not especially true in the study of the Scriptures? They are written in Hebrew and in Greek. These languages are not difficult to master, or, at least, the difficulties are not insurmountable. The time spent in mastering the languages in which the word of God has come down to us is more than repaid by the enjoyment of drinking from the very fountains of truth and by the rich treasures of spiritual thought that can be found nowhere else. This also applies to the studies of any of the versions of the Scriptures. A special study of our English version, reading and rereading it, will be more helpful than any number of paraphrases and commentaries. Dr. Beck, in the introduction to his *Commentary on Romans*, says: "Even a commentary becomes a snare when the reader, instead of using it as a help to his own study of the Bible, seeks chiefly to know what a commentator says. The commentator is most successful when he writes so that his own words are forgotten and the sacred text only, but with greater clearness, remains in the reader's mind. . . . A man who has only an English Bible, but endeavors with all his powers to grasp its meaning, will do better than one who has the best commentary, but is too idle to think for himself."

"ALMOST," OR "WITH BUT LITTLE."—Acts xxvi, 28.

(*Continued.*)

A passage so important as the one here under consideration should be considered not only linguistically but contextually, so that the fullest light may be thrown upon it. There are some texts where the original

language is so clear that there can be no mistake in the translation. Where there are differences as to the proper rendering we must resort to the context, so as to ascertain what was probably in the mind of the writer. Such is the text now under consideration. The translation of the Revised Version differs so widely from the Authorized that some explanation must be found for a rendering which has held its place so long, and which it is now proposed to set aside.

It has been shown already that the rendering "almost" is linguistically tenable. It is also consistent with the contextual and historical relations of the text. Festus and Agrippa, before whom Paul was brought to answer, represented different modes of training and of thought, although they were both in the service of the Roman government. Festus, a Roman, ignorant of Jewish modes of thinking and also of Jewish history, rejecting with scorn the idea of a resurrection, would naturally receive Paul's wonderful account of his conversion and of the resurrection with amazement. It was a line of thought which to him would be not only peculiar, but absurd. It was language which, in the view of the philosophical and scoffing Roman, no sane man would utter. Hence he said, "Paul, thou art beside thyself. Much learning hath made thee mad." It is easy to account for the impression of Paul's speech on Festus. Agrippa, on the other hand, was familiar with Jewish thought and Jewish history. To him the vision on the way to Damascus would involve no absurdity. It was in strict harmony with what had taken place before. He probably remembered the story of Moses at the burning bush, of the Hebrew children, and of Daniel. This would be to him only an added instance of God's manifestation of himself to his people. Hence, to Agrippa, Paul's address would come with force, and would awaken thoughts of God and duty which had long been dormant. It was to be expected that a man trained under the influences of Judaism would have received Paul's address in a far different spirit from one whose life had been environed by pagan thought. This would justify us in expecting him to answer as in the text, "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian." Further, Paul's answer to the exclamation of Agrippa is evidence that he was conscious of having made an impression. Was it not the belief that he had touched the intellect, if not the heart, of the Jewish ruler that led Paul to exclaim, "King Agrippa, believest thou the prophets? I know that thou believest." It was this belief that led him to add, "I would to God, that not only thou, but also all that hear me this day, were both almost, and altogether such as I am, except these bonds." Paul was not unaccustomed to addressing hostile audiences; he knew by the countenances of those whom he addressed the impression he was making, and he felt sure that Agrippa, worldling though he was, believed the prophets.

The response to Agrippa's declaration is such as would appropriately follow the rendering of the Authorized Version. The whole incident, so far as the relation of Paul and Agrippa was concerned, was one of seriousness. We must also take into consideration Paul's oratorical powers. He had, on other occasions, powerfully impressed his hearers; why not at

this time? As before stated, it was far more likely that Agrippa should have been impressed than Felix, not only because the arguments of the apostle were calculated to impress him more, but because, in this case, it was a born Jew who had been converted speaking to one of Jewish training and antecedents. It is not strange, then, that Agrippa should declare, not with depreciating irony, "With but little," or "With little argument," but with genuine earnestness, "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian."

STUDIES FOR THE QUADRENNIUM.

(*Continued.*)

THE constant demands upon ministers to preach and to deliver addresses on a great variety of subjects require a great diversity of knowledge and a thorough training of the intellectual faculties. The studies of the Conference Course have wisely anticipated this need and provided both for philosophical and for practical studies. The training of the voice is placed in the first year; logic and rhetoric in the second; psychology in the third; the philosophy of theism in the fourth. In addition, a written sermon or essay is required each year. In the department of practical work, while nothing is of small importance, we may emphasize the culture of the voice, the attainment of a good English style, and the development of the reasoning faculties.

Elocution is now regarded as very important. Its value consists not in following the method of any particular teacher, but in mastering those general principles which are fundamental to all correct speaking. This assumes the training of the voice and such general instruction in manner as will correct manifest defects. Its object should be the destruction of that which by habit has become a second nature and the restoration of the natural qualities of tone and methods. Some voices are harsh; they repel by their very mode of enunciating most important and valuable thought. Other voices are smooth, flexible, and pleasing. A rough voice may not be completely changed by study or training into a smooth one, ungraceful movements may not be transformed into graceful ones; but both may be much modified and greatly improved. Sweetness and melody may not be attained, but harshness and rudeness, as proven in many cases, may be removed by a successful teacher or by self-practice in accordance with well-attested rules.

The attainment of the art of expressing one's thought in fitting words and in a good English style is of the utmost importance. "A poet is born, not made," is a familiar adage; but that is not true of the writer. A good style only comes by culture and practice. Of course this can be attained much more readily by some than by others; but the accomplished writers have acknowledged that they became such only after great effort. The choice productions of our great authors have been written over and over, revised and corrected down to the minutest points. The study of rhetoric will lay the foundation; but the study of the mas-

ters of style and the most painstaking care are necessary to produce the required results. This is equally true of sermons as of purely literary productions. It is a mistake to suppose that the refinements of style are lost when employed in a sermon. The same thoughts are much more effective when presented in a pure English style than in loose and disconnected sentences. John Wesley's published sermons are many of them specimens of choice English, and may well be studied as specimens of English style. South has often been recommended to preachers for this purpose. Not that any writer should be servilely studied; but such writings serve to improve the taste and show the way to the improvement of one's own style.

The study of logic is also insisted on. Logic is the schoolboy's terror, and there seems to be a widespread dread of it. It is regularly buried by the students of some great institutions with stately ceremonies. It always comes to life only to be buried again or burned at the close of the academic year. It endures in spite of its unpopularity, because it is so necessary. Like mathematics, it is recognized by instructors as essential to a liberal education. But of what advantage, one asks, is the study of logic to a preacher? We answer, much every way. It produces the logical habit. It reveals the processes of the human mind. It shows that men reason, whether they are conscious of it or not. Logic is not intended to convey information, but to reveal the laws of the movements of the mind from one step to another. Assuming that a certain fact or principle is true, it shows that another fact or principle must be equally correct. The student of logic is the student of the laws of human thought and reasoning. It is a very effective training of the preacher in the analysis of his sermons. One who has been trained in logic is not only enabled to present his thoughts in the natural order, but he is able also more readily to detect in the Scriptures the train of thought of the sacred writers. The habit of consecutive reasoning which has been formed by this study will show itself in his sermons, giving to them at once progress and unity.

Assuming that the preacher knows the word of God, these practical studies will be of immense advantage in presenting it to the people. There is great power in voice; witness the voice of Whitefield, which produced such marvelous effects upon his vast audiences. There is power in style; witness the charm with which the pen of the late Dean Stanley invested his discourses. There is power in analysis; witness the outlines of the sermons of Adam Clarke and Bishop Butler. Whoever would be at his best in the pulpit should not neglect this practical portion of the preacher's studies. He must be a student along these lines as in other respects. The time has gone by when the cruder methods of earlier Methodism are practical or valuable. The time has passed by, if it ever was, when wordiness, rant, boisterousness, platitudes, inanity, sniveling, or "the holy tone" is of avail as means to the great end sought by the preacher of righteousness. In all lesser matters, as well as in the greater, he must be "thoroughly furnished" for the highest results.

FOREIGN RÉSUMÉ.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

PROFESSOR DR. CARL KNOKE, OF GÖTTINGEN.

It would be interesting to give here the critical views of Professor Knoke concerning New Testament questions. But, since with him the practical is more weighty than the critical, we set him forth as he is. However, we cannot allow the occasion to pass without calling special attention to the fact that, although he is a thoroughly critical scholar, unfettered by tradition to such an extent that he feels at perfect liberty to reject the Pauline authorship of some of the letters usually attributed to him, yet he does not write for critical ends, but for practical. But of his practical views we can only have space for those upon church order as found in 1 Timothy and Titus. The Church is the congregation of the saints; but the Christian is still a human being, and his fellowship with the saints is a fellowship with human beings. Hence the necessity of external ordinances. This is not in contradiction to the freedom of the Gospel. But with circumstances ordinances must change also. Hence, it may not at once be assumed that the ordinances even of apostolic times are binding to-day. The bestowment of ecclesiastical offices has to do, not with the granting of dignities, but with the securing of proper servants of the Church. Yet the spirit is the same in all ages. Paul's commands concerning church order were self-consistent. The introduction of a mere novelty not demanded by circumstances renders all church order insecure and injures the usefulness of the ministry. This result is to be guarded against, not only in legislation, but also by giving to all ecclesiastical officers a clear idea of their official duties. Some of these thoughts are weighty in the extreme. We live in a day of ecclesiastical tinkering. Few church legislators are fitted for the profound study requisite to an understanding of the needs of the times. There is not the patience, especially among Americans, necessary to the growth of institutions. Ecclesiastical arrangements leave too much the impression of being a hodgepodge of the pet ideas of men who by their eloquence are able to command a majority. Especially does the hasty legislation of our own General Conference during its expiring moments give evidence of this lack of profound study and consistency.

ALBERT KLÖPPER.

A leader Klöpper has been ever since, in 1882, he gave to the world his great work on Colossians. His views of the book and its author will therefore be of special interest. After the most thorough investigation of the arguments for and against the Pauline origin of the letter he takes up the hypotheses which would divide the honor of its composition between Paul and certain unknown interpolators, and reaches the conclusion that the book has never been interpolated, but is a unit. Accept-

ing the Pauline origin of the book, he finds it written in the latter part of the first or during the second year of the Roman imprisonment, and the occasion for its composition in the representations of Epaphras concerning the doctrinal errors which were beginning to appear at Colossæ. These errors he characterizes as follows: The false teachers belonged to the Jewish-Christian party, and held firmly to the Mosaic law and its ritual of circumcision, festivals, etc. But they widened the law to include a rigorous asceticism or abstinence from the enjoyment of wine and meat—an asceticism, in fact, to which the ideas of clean and unclean, allowable and unallowable, in the law furnish no parallel. To this they added a form of angel worship, an intercourse with supersensuous beings, which we do not meet in such specific and extended form in the old Jewish theology. This angel worship and this asceticism are in organic connection with each other, and this connection is the result of a similar one in the later Jewish theology, and especially of the sect of the Essenes. To this Christianity naturally tended, on account of the ascetic practices of John the Baptist and of the permission to fast after his departure given by our Lord to his disciples. And in fact Klöpper finds generally prevalent in the early Church an ascetic tendency which is encouraged by Paul in 1 Corinthians and elsewhere. Indeed, it is this presence of Essenic asceticism in the early Christian Church which leads him to believe that Paul may have seen in the Colossian Church just such phenomena as are described in Colossians, and hence wrote the letter. In other words, the false doctrines were not later than Paul, as the opponents of the genuineness of the letter say.

KARL JOHANNES NEUMANN, OF STRASBURG.

NEUMANN has distinguished himself chiefly by his researches into the relations which existed between the Roman State and the Christian Church. And the principal service he has rendered pertains to the persecutions and to martyrology. His views relative to the trustworthiness of the *acta sanctorum* and other records of the martyrs will exhibit his thoroughness and at the same time illustrate the proper method of critical research. In order to get at the facts and test for himself the trustworthiness of the records he went carefully through the entire sixty-two volumes of the *acta sanctorum* and compared their contents with all other sources of information on the same subject. He thinks that the records during the early persecutions are generally correct. The Christians took pains to record the confessions and sufferings of the martyrs, and also the cowardice of those who denied Christ under persecution. He does not, however, assent to the truth of all that is recorded. In order to be trustworthy it is not only necessary that some of the expressions employed in them be those technically employed in the processes at law in the supposed period, but also that what is recorded shall not contradict well-attested history as found in other sources. This is a far-reaching principle. First of all, it requires that every such source of information

should present both positive and negative evidences of its trustworthiness. Again, it would exclude the exceedingly improbable miraculous stories so common in martyrologies. But it would not necessarily follow that in every case the whole story was invented; and Neumann allows that there are some records, whose details cannot be trusted, which still afford us much information concerning the sufferings of the martyrs. And even where the records are embellished with imaginary incidents they are not wholly valueless, since they afford an insight into the ideas and customs of the Christians of the period. For example, all the utterances of the martyrs were regarded as inspired by the Holy Ghost, because of Mark xiii, 11. Neumann holds, with most investigators, that there was no systematic purpose to destroy Christianity for more than two hundred years after Christ, and that then the Church had grown so strong that it could successfully resist even the almost unlimited power of the Roman State.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CHRIST'S DEATH FOR HUMAN SALVATION.

This work continues to be the most important one in theology. In this old question Professor Dr. Ernst Kühl treats the subject from the standpoint of biblical theology. He begins with a study of the doctrine of the divine righteousness in the pre-Christian period. This he does chiefly by the aid of New Testament utterances. He finds that God's dealings with the race prove that his righteousness did not demand punishment for sin as a consequence of sin itself. The patience and mercy of God prevailed even when, according to his justice or righteousness, he must have punished. His final conclusion is that in both the Old and New Testaments the righteousness of God, as to its form, is that attribute of God according to which he acts consistently with reference to a fixed rule of conduct. As to its contents, the righteousness of God is his adherence to the rule which he has chosen for his own judgments. It will be seen that, according to this, the righteousness of God as revealed in the Bible is not absolute but relative. As to the anger of God, he denies its permanency. It is not an attribute of God, but a temporary manifestation. His permanent attitude toward man is love. The significance of the death of Christ is, first of all, in the irresistible influence upon the hearts of men when conceived as the highest revelation of his love. Because of this God could graciously accept it as an atonement for sin and guilt; as the redemption of a race amenable to punishment; as having a vicarious significance; and, finally, could graciously declare the law of works abolished and establish in its place the new law of faith, in order to give to him who repented of his sin the possibility of a new life—a life which is only in those who have the assurance that their sins are pardoned and their guilt washed away. We have here some new ideas concerning sin, atonement, and righteousness. He does not accept the old theories, yet he rejects their form rather

than their contents. And often it is the form of statement which, by its implications, fails to satisfy. He who can frame a definition of the atonement which shall at once hold fast the truth necessary to the heart and yet satisfy the reason will prove a benefactor to the Church.

A HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN PUBLIC WORSHIP.

A WORK in English like this by H. A. Koestlin is much needed. It takes up the forms of worship in the different ages and branches of the Church and traces their origin, development, and significance. The author begins with the principle of worship in the apostolic age, which he defines as that of edification, order and propriety, reverence for tradition, and Christian fellowship. It is natural—the spontaneous result of the new life within—not the product of reflection. The subject of the worship is the congregation, not the apostles, and the object of the worship is the Lord himself. In the post-apostolic age there is very little change; but what there is points to the radical revolution which characterizes the form of worship in the period of the old Catholic Church. Even during this period, however, the principles of the apostolic age prevailed for a time, though they were finally and completely suppressed. The new principle which rose to the supremacy was the unscriptural idea of the priesthood of the clergy, which was nourished by the other equally false idea that worship was a sacrificial act, having worth in itself. This gave the worship largely into the hands of the clergy, and in so far repressed the activity of the congregation. As the Lord's Supper came to be regarded as an act of sacrifice the custom arose of dismissing all but the faithful prior to its celebration, with all the attendant modifications of belief as to grades and value of church membership. The Roman Catholic worship is not so much distinguished from primitive Christianity by its wealth of liturgical forms as by its inner principle. Primitive Christianity lays the stress upon worship as an expression of the feelings of the heart. Roman Catholicism places the chief value upon the forms of worship themselves. We cannot afford space to trace further the history of the changes of form and spirit in Christian worship. What we need for practical purposes is to clearly conceive and firmly maintain the primitive principle. But it would certainly be a mistake to suppose that nothing can be added to that principle or that no forms of worship may be employed except those in use in apostolic times. Those interested in church history give too little attention to these internal features of ecclesiastical development.

THE NEW TESTAMENT OF CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA.

RECENT investigations into the history of the canon of the New Testament make interesting the following points in the above-named work, by Dr. H. Eickhoff. The word "Scriptures" meant to Clement the Old and New Testaments. He distinguished both between the old and the new covenant and their respective records. The records of the Old and New

Testaments both fall into two parts: in the Old, the law and the prophets; in the New, the gospels and the apostles. The gospels are the traditional four; but the expression "apostles" includes a large number of apostolic and nonapostolic writings, chief among which are the writings of Paul, Peter, and John. The ideas of "apostle" and "apostolic" have a much wider range with Clement than they had later, and include Luke, Clement of Rome, and Barnabas, since he desired to make the traditions of the Church as thoroughly apostolic as possible, on account of the strength this gave the Church in its struggle with the heretics of the time. The ecclesiastical tradition concerning the Scripture, at Alexandria, even went beyond the idea of the apostolic and included such works as the *Shepherd of Hermas* and the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*. Although the canon of Scripture was yet uncertain in the time of Clement it included nothing which was not supposed to have been written in the apostolic age. Since the idea of the apostolic was not clearly fixed Clement felt free to use as Scripture such works as were not known to the Alexandrian Church, but which were known to the Church in neighboring countries. To Clement the canon was fixed, and he attempted to defend it against doubt, the very simplicity with which he speaks of the canon giving us the assurance that it reflected the current belief. That Clement proceeded along traditional lines is evident from the fact that he used a series of Old Testament apocrypha in close connection with New Testament documents. In all probability these stood alongside of his "apostles," and together with them formed a loosely connected whole. We have not space for comment.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

ROMAN CATHOLIC CLERICAL EDUCATION.

A HISTORY of ministerial education, in the widest sense of these words, we cannot here give. We must content ourselves with a general outline of the progress of clerical education in the Roman Catholic Church. In the Carlovingian period the priests were only required to know by heart the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the prayers of the mass, and to be able to read well the gospels and the epistles of Paul. But while these were the requirements we know that there were those who had reached higher stages of learning, as Scotus Erigena and Alcuin. So far as philosophy was concerned the authorities of the Church were slow to accept the doctrines of Aristotle so long as they came through the channels of the Arabian philosophers. But as soon as the Greek copies of Aristotle fell into their hands they began to employ his methods for the development of the scholastic system. However, while we must respect the scholastic products of the Middle Ages, we dare not imagine that the educated men of that period were scholars in our sense of the word. They knew almost nothing of the Christian literature of the second and third centuries. They had no insight into the historical development of

the Church. A knowledge of the Hebrew was rare, and of the Greek unusual. Thomas Aquinas, the greatest teacher of the Middle Ages, confessed that he did not know Greek. The introduction of a thorough knowledge of language into theological education was brought about by the growing contact of the West with the Orient and with the Spanish Arabs. The more general study of the Greek language began with humanism, toward the end of the fifteenth century; and at the same time the influence of Platonic philosophy and of historical criticism began to be felt. The publication of the Greek New Testament by Erasmus and Ximenes gave the first impulse to a true biblical philology. Subsequent to the Reformation theological education in the Roman Catholic Church took a wider range. More attention was paid to positive theology; the history of the Church was more carefully studied, especially the antiquities of the Church; and the science of biblical introduction sprang into existence. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the historical and theological sciences were developed by a more careful study of the best methods of research and by a collection of materials necessary to a proper understanding of the same. This complete change in the theological curriculum led to the adoption of a new plan of study, which was first brought about in Austria and Germany. In 1752 Archbishops Trautson and Debiel projected a plan of study which included higher (dogmatics, Hebrew, ecclesiastical law), lower (ethics and casuistry), and middle theology (the various forms of biblical study, church history, polemics, and homiletics). In 1788 the course of study, which had continued four years, was reduced to three, and the first year was given up to the study of the Bible, church history, and patrology; the second year, to dogmatics and ethics; and the third to pastoral theology and canon law. It will be seen that that which is really new in the plan is the introduction of church history, of the history of ecclesiastical literature, and of biblical introduction. But even to this day the lectures on church history are not so prominent as to give a proper view of the development of the Church, even according to the Roman Catholic conception of it. Students of theology at Roman Catholic universities are also required to hear a certain number of lectures on philosophy. But it is ever kept in mind that the purpose of education is to fit the youth for the office of the priesthood. This is at once wise and unwise. It is wise because it trains men directly for their future work; it is unwise because it narrows their education and is liable to lead to the rejection of truth which cannot fit into the system they are to advocate and represent. The idea can only be safely carried out when a thoroughly liberal education has been granted prior to the beginning of the clerical education. Properly speaking, clerical education only includes those branches which have to do with the clerical profession, such as homiletics and pastoral theology. All other so-called theological studies, as Hebrew and Greek, church history, and dogmatics, belong in a preparatory course. They should be mastered under the most scientific instructors and be followed by the professional training proper.

SOCIETY FOR GERMAN CHRISTIAN NATIONAL EDUCATION.

THIS association of Christian people held its eleventh anniversary in Rheidt on June 1. During the year a large number of addresses were made and patriotic and church celebrations held in the interest of the work of the society. Small publications to the number of 196,778 were distributed, making a total during eleven years of 2,467,983. Among those printed during the year the titles of the following will enable the reader to understand somewhat of the scope of the work carried on: *The Christian Family a Fortress of Faith, a Spring of Love, an Abode of Hope; German Women and Maidens, Help; In Memory of Sedan; Trust in God —He Helps in Time of Need; The Self-evidence of Faith and the Self-contradiction of Unbelief in our Day; A Mighty Fortress is our God; To Us a Child is Born, to Us a Son is Given; The Redeeming Work of Christ a Fact; Social Democracy and Christianity; Come, Holy Ghost; To Arms against the Dangers which Threaten our People.* The society resolved in favor of a reduction of the number of saloons and a limitation of the right to sell on Sunday, in view of the growing tendency to observe Sunday as a day of rest from daily toil. Were they to argue like those who advocated the opening of the World's Fair on Sunday they would let the saloons alone and put the laborer back to his Sunday toil. They also advocated the necessity of frequent entertainments for all classes under Christian auspices and greater care on the part of teachers and parents to provide good reading for the young.

INCREASE OF THE DRINK HABIT AMONG ENGLISH WOMEN.

THE frightful increase of drunkenness among English women is supposed to be due to the fact that grocers are allowed to sell wine, beer, and spirituous liquors. During the twenty years since license has been thus granted the demon of strong drink has crept into many honorable homes, and the results are seen almost daily in the police and divorce courts. It is believed that the only preventive for this evil is to withdraw the license from the grocers. Many women who now purchase liquors without attracting attention and carry them home to drink would hesitate to enter a public house for the gratification of their appetite for liquor. It is said that the English government will bring this question to the attention of Parliament.

THE TURK AND THE CHRISTIAN.

THE Moslems feel instinctively that the growing influence of the Occidentals, with the widening network of railroads, the introduction of the telegraph, and other means of communication known to modern civilization, and especially the advance of Christian missions, threaten the very existence of their outlived and ossified institutions. Hence all manner of attacks upon Europeans and Americans living in their country. The sultan is unable to preserve order because he himself is opposed and denounced by those who oppose Christianity. Only when the representatives of a foreign government insist upon reparation for wrongs done its

subjects is he compelled to take cognizance of offenses against foreigners. Such was the recent instance at Marsivan. There a girls' school was burned down because on the walls revolutionary placards had been posted. It was done without the slightest attempt to ascertain whether the school authorities were responsible. The American consul examined into the facts and discovered that the chief of police of the city had with his own hand secretly attached these ominous placards to the school walls in order to excite the populace against the Christians. The consul secured the removal of the officer, and will probably secure financial reimbursement for the school. But vigorous measures should be taken by our representatives in the Turkish Empire, in order to deter the violent Turks from injuring our subjects and to guarantee them their rights in all particulars.

THE SUICIDE MANIA IN THE GERMAN ARMY.

It is announced from Berlin that out of one hundred and twelve deaths in the German army during February last twenty-two, or about twenty per cent, were the result of suicide. The vast increase in suicides among the soldiers during the past year is attributed to the severity with which they are treated by their superiors. Yet it appears that the military authorities impose but mild penalties upon officers who mistreat their subordinates. It is not likely, however, that the suicides can be rightfully attributed, in the majority of cases, to mistreatment. It is a part of the general situation in regard to self-murder in Germany. The barracks may, indeed, be the breeding-place for all manner of vice, but the cause lies deeper than this. The prevailing unbelief concerning the future, the pessimism which sees no hope for a betterment of earthly conditions, the effects of a civilization which, at its height, fails to bring happiness—these are the causes which lead to suicide in Germany among civilians and soldiery. He who can inspire hope in the masses of the Fatherland, both for the present and the future, is the one who can check this mania.

A COMMENDABLE FORM OF HOME MISSIONARY WORK.

In all European cities it is quite common to find considerable numbers of foreign females, attracted by the prospect of a livelihood as governesses or as servants. Particularly is this true of German girls, who are found in all the principal cities on the Continent. Nor is it unusual for such to find themselves out of employment for a season, and, as a consequence, without a home. That they may not fall into temptation "homes" are provided where they may temporarily reside at a merely nominal cost. Such "Homes for German Girls" have recently been opened in Florence and in Brussels. This work is not left to be done at haphazard, but is one of the regular departments of the German "Inner Mission" work. These "homes" are usually presided over by a deaconess, who takes all possible pains to provide employment for those under her care. It is one of the most blessed of all efforts for the rescue of those in danger and need. As a form of Christian endeavor it is far more popular with Romanists than with Protestants in America.

EDITORIAL REVIEWS.

SPIRIT OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

In national finance, according to the aspect of the times, it would seem as if "money answereth all things." Nor can the intelligent mind deny the influence of a stable or fluctuating currency on a civilized people. Great results must be anticipated from the contraction, on the one hand, or the expansion, on the other, of the circulating medium. The experiences and apprehensions of the past few months justify, if they do not compel, profound solicitude for the future of our country. We have been brought face to face with a monetary crisis that would involve evils of no common magnitude. The facts make their appeal, not alone to the political economist and astute statesman, but as well to the thoughtful citizen in whatever position. The President of the United States, in view of the critical condition of affairs, has called together an extra session of Congress, and, in direct and forcible language, and with argument of such weight as should have borne down all opposition, discharged the obligations that his office imposed. When the excitement of the nation was such as to affect all classes and conditions of society, as if to produce a panic came the intelligence that Great Britain was closing the mints of India to the free coinage of silver. The reason given for this course was that "silver had fallen till the money of India, which is silver, had depreciated more than one third." The daily journals have freely discussed the situation, and the prevailing trend of thought shows itself in the ablest periodicals of the land, whether secular or ecclesiastical. The *North American Review* for September discusses "The Silver Problem" in two articles. The first, "A Word to Wage-earners," by Andrew Carnegie, presents the subject under the three heads: "First, what has happened; second, why it happened; and third, the remedy." The latter he believes to be the adoption of a single standard of value. The second article, "The Present Crisis," by Sir John Lubbock, advocates the same policy. The *Yale Review* for August, in "Comment," discusses "The Present Commercial Crisis" and "The Chicago Silver Convention." The *Andover Review* for September contains an editorial on "Congress and the Financial Exigency." May we not hope that true statesmanship and ardent patriotism will manifest themselves in the final action of Congress, and save the nation from evils which all parties should alike deplore and endeavor to prevent?

The *Presbyterian Quarterly* for October presents a series of papers which are worthy of the closest thought: 1. "Illogical Methods in Biblical Criticism;" 2. "The Importance of the Tenet of Jure Divino Presbyterian Polity;" 3. "Sanctification the Necessary Consequence of Justifi-

cation;" 4. "God's Method in Divine Revelation;" 5. "The Church and Schools and Caliphs." The first article is by Edwin Cone Bissell. Its logic should carry conviction to the mind open to the impressions of reason. He clearly shows that those who "advocate the newer views of the Bible" do not reason "in harmony with the accepted rules of logic." In his view the critics of this class cannot support "their often asserted claim to be scientific." He boldly asserts that "Christianity and its true friends are the friends of free inquiry," and emphasizes the fact that the intelligent believer is such by virtue of the exercise of that freedom. He gives in the reasonings of the higher critics the fallacy of their "illogical assumption." When he shows that the criticism considered "fails to meet proper scientific tests" the sweep is so broad and the stroke is so deadly that candor can see but one result, the utter rout of the higher critic. The fourth paper, by Dr. J. E. Spilman, exhibits the divine wisdom displayed "in the great scheme of human redemption." That God did not "give to the world a complete Bible when he made the first announcement of a Deliverer" is explained by the fact "man needed a preliminary education." He needed experience to show his weaknesses and his wants. "Types and symbols" were the rudimental means of showing "vicarious atonement for sin." Yet no suspicion is allowed that the slow progress in revelation was the result of immaturity in the mind of God as to the redemption that is in Christ Jesus. The delay was from man's lack of readiness to receive a full revelation of the divine plan. Before the philosophers of Athens St. Paul considered it no disparagement of the Gospel he preached to say, "And the times of this ignorance God winked at; but now commandeth all men everywhere to repent."

THE *Yale Review* of August contains: 1. "Comment;" 2. "Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner;" 3. "The Historic Policy of the United States as to Annexation;" 4. "Edward A. Freeman;" 5. "The Tendencies of Natural Values;" 6. "The Behring Sea Controversy from an Economic Standpoint." In the second paper Professor George P. Fisher reviews the *Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner*, by Edward L. Pierce, and presents a clear and discriminating estimate of the characteristics and achievements of Sumner. His "undeniable merits" are fully recognized; but, in replying to his opponents in the debates of Congress, Professor Fisher thinks that he "uttered phrases which might better have been left unspoken." A letter to Theodore Parker, written just before Mr. Sumner's speech on Kansas, shows, however, that it was not his wish to eschew such phrases, for he says, "I shall pronounce the most thorough philippic ever uttered in a legislative body." Mr. Sumner first wrote his orations and then committed them to memory. "As compared with Everett his style was pedantic as his culture was less correct and finished." Nor did he "succeed in giving to his delivery that close resemblance to naturalness which Everett was able to attain." "He never, or hardly ever, could be entirely simple and natural. It was natural to him

not to be natural. In other words, he was rhetorical to the core." The reviewer says, "With no wish to depreciate the merits of Mr. Sumner it is only just to say that he lacked the solidity and balance of judgment, the firm but temperate tone of Chase, the tact and humor of Hale, and the sagacity and somewhat excessive, yet often serviceable, prudence of Seward." Yet, says Fisher, "When all proper deductions are made the spotless purity of Mr. Sumner's character, his superiority to the allurements of flattery, his freedom from selfish dreams of ambition, and his unswerving faithfulness to the cause of human liberty, through good report and through evil report, entitle him to honor." The article is written with the candor of the true critic. The other papers of the number show the ability we expect from this quarterly.

THE *New World* for September has a fascinating paper by Dr. C. A. Bartol on "The Boston Pulpit: Channing, Taylor, Emerson, Brooks." He says: "Channing was in stature short and thin. Never had a figure so slight a presence of more weight. He was the center of gravitation for every company he was in, not by monopoly of the conversation or from being forward to speak, but because of a latent power and the expressive look with which he waited for what others, however humble, had to propose." In contrast he presents Father Taylor, the Bethel minister, who was "restless, quick, and playful as a boy, although in liberality with Channing twin." He was supple in body, alert in mind, impetuous in nature, and prompt to every recognized duty. He held every faculty in check at pleasure, but when the time came he would let "the stream of words . . . burst forth in a mellowness equal to its might." "The manner of Phillips Brooks was no less peculiar and distinct. Planted firm, not moving, but like a pillar on his feet; from every lineament and gesture and pore of his skin he poured out his message with an astonishing rapidity, his tongue like a bubbling spring." "Channing was a reflective, Taylor an imaginative, and Brooks an emotional man. Like the sundial, Channing numbered no hours that were not serene. He said that Taylor had Plato's idea of wings. Rather what Taylor had was the actual wings." "For native ability among those I am celebrating," says Dr. Bartol, "Taylor ranks first," and he adds, "The land has not borne a genius more rare nor listened to an eloquence more real and pure. In the sphere of religion he bore the palm." "A sailor says he has been where the United States had not been heard from, but not where Father Taylor was not known." The contrast between Taylor and Emerson was very sharp. "Emerson scarce stirred in his posture and was never at white heat. He sprinkled water on his forge and used the flame for the substance that he wrought." Space will not allow us to do more than to deprecate the influence of the article in this same number, "The New Unitarianism," by Edward H. Hall. Our knowledge of the earlier Unitarians of this country made them dear to us, and we are sure were they living they would mourn the position that the New Unitarianism assumes.

The other articles are: "Ernest Renan," by James Darmesteter; "A Way Out of the Trinitarian Controversy," by James M. Whiton; "The Relations of Religion and Morality," by Wilhelm Bender; "Jesus's Self-designation in the Synoptic Gospels," by Orello Cone; and "The Rôle of the Demon in the Ancient Coptic Religion," by E. Amelineau.

THE *Andover Review* for September contains: 1. "The Supernatural;" 2. "Historical Presuppositions and Foreshadowings of Dante's *Divine Comedy;*" 3. "An Elizabethan Mystic;" 4. "Sunday in Germany;" 5. "Recent Theosophy in its Antagonism to Christianity." In the first paper Dr. Chauncey B. Brewster would eliminate from Christian terminology the word "supernatural," as not found in Scripture and as not necessary in our teaching of truth; but where is there a substitute? Is religion as an experimental fact, or vital religion as required of God, in nature, or is it above nature, and in the *divine?* And are miracles and prophecy the product of man or of God? Is heaven higher than earth, or is being "born from above" any more than being born of flesh and blood? Accommodations to prejudice can never be allowed at the sacrifice of *truth.* And there is much terminology not found in the Bible that, because of the thought it best conveys, wise ecclesiastics and thoughtful men should be slow to abandon. The fifth paper exhibits Madame Blavatsky as the high priestess of theosophy. Certainly there is little in her history to give influence to her teaching. For the breadth of its information and the force of its reasoning the article is one to command the thanks of all Christians.

BESIDES the articles before mentioned the *North American* contains: "The Political Situation," by ex-Speaker Reed; "England and France in Siam," both from English and French points of view; "Polar Probabilities of 1894," by General Greely; "The House of Lords and the Home Rule Bill," by the Earl of Donoughmore; "The Wealth of New York," by Mayor Gilroy; "Christian Faith and Scientific Freedom," by Rev. J. A. Zahn; "Playwriting from an Actor's Point of View," by W. H. Crane; "Counting Room and Cradle," by Marion Harland; "The Lesson of Heredity," by Dr. H. S. Williams; with shorter articles upon "The South Carolina Liquor Law," "The Briggs Controversy from a Catholic Standpoint," and "Needed Prison Reforms." This is a varied and attractive list which will speak for itself.

THE *Fortnightly Review* for September devotes considerable space to European affairs. The silver question in England and British interests in Suez and on the Persian Gulf are discussed in three articles, and a contrast of French affairs in 1793 and 1893 is presented by Albert D. Vandam. We especially note an article entitled "Immortality and Resurrection," which infers that burial is the result of a belief in the resurrection of the body, while cremation anticipates its annihilation. "Passages

from an Autobiography" consists of quotations, with comment, from the manuscript life of Humbert Thompson, who was a Presbyterian minister in Ireland during the close of the eighteenth century.

Our Day for August and September. This "Record and Review of Current Reform" lacks neither purpose nor point. The contents of these issues show vigor of mind and determination of purpose, and are not without those attractions of style that hold the thought to the theme discussed. The first article in the September number, "The Divine Program in the Dark Continent," by Joseph Cook, is a thoughtful and weighty exhibition of facts that must make a powerful appeal to the Christian, the philanthropist, and the statesman. The problem in which providence must have so large a place will find its solution in a way that the present may not predict. The "Editorial Notes" should be wisely pondered.

THE *New Jerusalem Magazine* for September. In this we see the earnest spirit to advance the "New Church" that expresses the conviction of a mind full of its subject. Sincerity is a power. Where we differ we can admire. Goodness, whenever found, exerts its influence, and true love to God and souls will find its reward.

THE *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* for September. We could wish to dwell on some of the many interesting and vital subjects presented in this number. Such are: "Singularity," a sermon by John H. Goodman from the words, "So did not I, because of the fear of God;" "The Doctrinal Uses of Church Discipline;" "Methodism in the Middle of the Century;" and "'Theology in Transition' and the Bible in 'Suspense.'" "Good-bye to the Editorship" is a pathetic paper. He who, following such able men as Joseph Benson and Thomas Jackson, retires after a service of twenty-five years, must justly feel all that he expresses in his farewell issue. It is stated that the late Dr. Peabody said, when he gave up the *North American Review*, after what was deemed a very successful editorship of several years, that "he had made as many enemies as he could endure for the rest of his natural life." That the retiring editor of the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, Dr. Gregory, should have filled his responsible post for so many years must be the strongest evidence that his conduct has made many lifelong friends.

THE *Missionary Review of the World* for September and October. This periodical is devoted to the grandest cause that ever enlisted the human heart and brain, the salvation of men. It is at once a means by which missionary seed is sown and the missionary growth and harvest are reported. We commend the conduct of those having charge. Its "Editorial Correspondents" make such contributions as meet the wants of all who seek to advance the cause of missions.

THE *Homiletic Review* for September and October brings together many articles of variety, beauty, and weight. The devout minister must find in these numbers that which cannot fail to be of great value to him in his preparation for the pulpit. In the September number "The preacher and the Lecture Platform" furnishes Bishop Vincent an opportunity of which he makes royal use.

THE *Methodist Magazine* for September contains much that instructs and pleases. The titles of the following articles suggest how interesting they are: 1. "Tent Life in Palestine;" 2. "The Sea of Tiberias;" 3. "India: Its Temples, its Palaces, and its People." Helen Campbell writes a very helpful article for the Christian beset by difficulties, entitled, "Light in Dark Places."

FOR varied matter, interesting themes, and adaptation to cultivated taste the *Chautauquan* for October exhibits its accustomed excellence. We can hardly examine this issue without admiration for the skill of its editor and the bountiful supply of living subjects.

THE *Nineteenth Century* for September contains much that is invigorating to the mind. In "'Protestant Science' and Christian Belief" Canon Knox Little protests against the effort now being made to stop the teaching of the Apostles' Creed in English schools. "A New Stage Doctrine," by Hamilton Aïdé, and "Poaching," by L'Aigle Cole, deserve attention. A glance at "American Life Through English Spectacles" instructs, for we "see ourselves as others see us."

THE *Treasury of Religious Thought* for September. Here the *spirit* as well as the "thought" is "religious." The heart is in the work, and the subjects commend themselves. It is, indeed, a "Treasury" upon which the Christian minister or layman may daily draw to quicken his intellect and enrich his moral nature.

Worthington's Illustrated Magazine for September. This "Monthly Journal for the Family" accomplishes what it attempts. In depicting human nature it is vivacious and pleasing. The ninth of a serial of ten papers appears in this number, entitled, "In 'Ole Virginny'—Fifty Years Ago." The title explains the article, and the paper gives insight into the conditions that make up the Virginia of to-day.——The *Biblical World* for August. Among the many papers of deep import we note especially "The Hebrew Doctrine of Future Life," by Professor Milton S. Terry. He states that while in their fullness life and immortality are brought to light through the Gospel, yet we find in the Old Testament enough to inspire confidence in the supreme bliss of a future state.——The *Contemporary Review* for September has, among its many weighty subjects, "A Reply to Herbert Spencer," by Professor August Weismann, entitled "The All-Sufficiency of Natural Selection." It is learned and convincing.

BOOKS: CRITIQUES AND NOTICES.

AMONG THE HEIGHTS.

THE graduate of Oxford who wrote *Modern Painters*, preparing once for crossing the Simplon Pass, put into his carriage M. Viollet-Leduc's *Massif du Mont Blanc*, and, riding slowly upward in the rain, shut in by clouds among mountain pines with films and shreds of white mist braided and tangled among their dark branches, he read. Finding the book full of false confidence, conceit, and fallacy in its theories of the construction of the Alps, he threw it wearily aside and took up Cary's Dante, which, he says, "is always on the carriage seat or in my pocket—not exactly for reading, but as an antidote to pestilent thoughts and things in general, and store of mental quinine—a few lines being usually enough to recover me out of any shivering marsh fever fit brought on among foulness or stupidity." He read on eagerly in the great book with the result of a rescued mind and a pacified spirit, until the close clouds broke apart and strong light poured through the carriage windows into his face so bright that it waked him like a new morning from his Dante's *Paradiso* trance, and he looked out to behold through the alternate arch and pier of glacier galleries the view of the southern side of the Bernese range from the Simplon, which the pen that is a painter's brush thus describes: "The whole valley below was full of absolutely impenetrable wreathed cloud, nearly all pure white, only the palest gray rounding the changeful domes of it; and beyond these domes of heavenly marble the great Alps stood up against the blue, not wholly clear, but clasped and entwined with translucent folds of mist, traceable, but no more traceable than the thinnest veil drawn over St. Catherine's or the Virgin's hair by Lippi or Luini; and rising as they were withdrawn from such investiture into faint oriflammes, as if borne by an angel host far distant; the peaks themselves strewn with strange light, by snow fallen only that moment—the glory shed upon them as the veil fled—and intermittent waves of still gaining seas of light increasing upon them as if on the first day of creation." And there between the double sublimities of the great mountains and a great book, among the heights of the mind and of the earth, he recovered tranquillity from the perturbing effects of the insolence of pretentious ignorance and the folly of dogmatizing pedantry.

From most human habitations the Alps are far away, but the humblest library may have some of those sublime immortal books which loom and abide like mountain peaks. To dwell lifelong with some such books is the first necessity—to build one's *chalet* on their sheltered slopes, to climb the sheer steepness of their Jacob's ladders, to creep on hands and knees along their dizzy, sharp *arête*, to scale the last splintered *aiguille* that farthest pricks the sky and take there, breathless with awe and thrilled with ecstasy, the vast vision that lies within the stretched horizon, till we fear and hope that the heavens are about to claim us and the earth is letting

us go. After the imperative and perpetual need of such great books the thing of second importance is some acquaintance with the literature of the hour, the newest books, whose permanence no man can yet determine, but which give the world's freshest thought; such, for example, as *Verbum Dei*, by R. F. Horton; *The New Era*, by Josiah Strong; *The Life of Catherine Booth*, by F. De L. Booth-Tucker; and *A Short History of the English People*, by J. R. Green.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Theology of the Old Testament. By CH. PIEPENBRING, Pastor and President of the Reformed Consistory of Strasburg. Translated from the French, by Permission of the Author, with Added References for English Readers, by H. G. MITCHELL, Professor in Boston University. 12mo, pp. 361. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. Price, cloth, $1.75.

If it be true, as we thoroughly believe, that each generation must write its own books in pretty nearly every department of human thought and learning, then most emphatically in the department of biblical study is there call for fresh contributions to our library shelves. Changes and progressions of thought go forward as the Bible, and especially the Old Testament, is viewed from new standpoints and studied in fuller light—light which cannot discredit the Book, although it may alter some theories and interpretations; for, when all possible light has been turned on, the holy volume will only be the more clearly seen to stand stable and unmoved. The theology of the Old Testament has undergone various writings and re-writings by scholars in successive centuries, and our own generation, like its predecessors, tries its hand at an improved reconstruction, which is held by many to be necessary, and which doubtless in every age will be possible, since, while the Bible is of God, the theologies built upon it are of men, and the thoughts of men may widen with the circling of the sun. M. Piepenbring makes his attempt with the design of satisfying those who are anxious first of all to have the exact truth, and next to have this truth so presented and guarded against misconception that it shall not disturb the faith of the Church, or impair that supreme reverence for the sacred book which it would be the greatest of all calamities to lose. The author, while clearly apprehending his duty as an impartial historian to set down the precise facts just so far as the most thoroughgoing scientific and historical investigation shall disclose them, has also kept steadfastly in view the interests of faith; and he takes special pains to show that, though a strictly historical method must be rigidly pursued if we would avoid erroneous views, nevertheless the religious value and authority of the book will not be thereby impaired. He shows a constant care to avoid that lamentable divorce of faith from truth which would degrade the former into superstition and link the latter with unbelief. His claim is that only a false faith, that faith which is the product of Jewish rabbinism and unintelligent dogmatism, can be injured by accepting all the facts which the most critical study brings to light. True faith, faith in the Bible sense, he declares is not "faith in

the sacred letter, but faith in the manifestation of God in history in his interference in the world with a view to the salvation of humanity, faith in the living word inspired by the divine Spirit in the prophets, faith in the holy mission of these men of God." And this faith, which is founded on evident and undeniable facts, cannot, of course, be injured by them. He believes that the Bible has a human side, as well as a divine, perfect, unchangeable, eternal side. He recognizes that the one exists as well as the other, and treats the volume accordingly. The results of this method of treatment, if it be applied by capable and evangelical scholars in the proper devout and reverent spirit, will more and more justify themselves to all truth-loving minds. This book is remarkable for the clearness of its style and the symmetry and convenience of its arrangement. The work is divided into three periods. The first reaches to the beginning of the eighth century B. C., and is characterized chiefly by Mosaism. The second extends from the appearance of the oldest prophetic books to the end of the exile, and is marked by the predominance of prophetism. The third, from the exile to the first century before the Christian era, is the age of Levitism, when the written law and the priesthood had such extraordinary influence. In each period are treated the questions for the time being most prominent; and thus when the treatise is concluded a complete survey of the theology of the Old Testament has been presented. Among the topics discussed are: "The Idea of God," "The Names and Attributes of God," "Creation," "Providence," "The Covenant of Jehovah with Israel," "The Manifestation of God in the World," "The Nature of Man," "The Dignity of Man," "Origin," "Extent," and "Guilt of Sin," "The Messiah," "Angelology," "Demonology," "Death and the Future Life," "Forgiveness," "Atonement," "Ethical Life." On all these and many other subordinate subjects the author exhibits a scholarly endeavor to fairly interpret the Scripture texts and, without reference to the bearing of the conclusions on theological systems, impartially to set forth just what were the ideas of the ancient Hebrews and the more modern Jews. Evidently a work of this kind is indispensable alike to the Bible student and the theologian, since biblical theology has the closest possible relations with both exegetical and systematic theology, and is the foundation of historical theology as well. Professor Mitchell has done the Christian thinkers of America good service in introducing to their notice this excellent volume in so admirable a translation. We shall await with interest the companion volume on the theology of the New Testament which is promised. For it is around the New Testament mainly, around the person and teachings of Jesus Christ, that the chief battle of the ages has hitherto been fought and still must be waged.

The Bible: Its Origin, Growth, and Character, and its Place Among the Sacred Books of the World; together with a List of Books for Study and Reference, with Critical Comments. By JABEZ THOMAS SUNDERLAND. 12mo, pp. 299. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price, cloth, $1.50.

We are genuinely sorry that we cannot give this book by any means unmixed commendation, for with much that there is in it we feel full

sympathy. A great deal of truth that needs to be uttered is set forth by the author with wonderful clearness and force, for he has gathered up, carefully digested, and packed into small compass the ripest results of the researches of the ablest scholars of the present generation, both in the Old Testament and New Testament fields of study. A portion of the book is worthy of all praise, but the other portion must just as emphatically be censured. For the writer goes over so distinctly to the extreme rationalistic side of the biblical controversies, and is so decidedly destructive rather than constructive in his tendencies, that we must deplore what will unquestionably be the evil influence of the volume as a whole. Its dedication to Wellhausen, Kuenen, and other similar spirits somewhat prepares the reader for what he finds in many of its pages. The Bible is regarded as merely one of the six or eight sacred books of the world, in no respect distinguished in kind from the rest, although, of course, having a higher degree of excellence. Everything that is supernatural is summarily, if not flippantly, ruled out as mere legend and myth, to be classed with the similar stories that cluster around the beginnings of all religions. The Bible is not regarded as containing inspiration or revelation of any different sort than is found in other books of both ancient and modern days. Nay, Jesus himself is considered to be simply "the best moral and spiritual product of that old world from which all our great religions have come;" "the race has produced but one Jesus." The "birth stories" and "wonder stories," as they are called, which Matthew and Luke relate, are classed with "similar stories which have gathered round the birth of so many other great characters of history." And the miracles are treated as mere representations of a credulous age. Jesus was merely a man, according to Mr. Sunderland. His "simple humanity," which is found depicted in the earliest of the gospels, Mark, has become exalted into "something superhuman" in the gospel of John, which is supposed to have been written by some unknown person with a polemic purpose far down in the second century. "The journey of Jesus from man to God," remarks the author, "does not end until the Council of Nicæa in the year 325; but by the time the fourth gospel is written it is far advanced." This will suffice to show the thoroughly rationalistic standpoint of the book. Its writer is an uncompromising, not to say unscrupulous, foe to supernaturalism, and hence, of course, to truly Christian scholars must remain a wonder and an aversion. The book is dangerous to the average reader, because it slips in so slyly very much that it seems reluctant to state openly, and because, while it avoids frightening by blunt and coarse attacks, it certainly insinuates, and logically leads to, conclusions utterly destructive to all faith in Jesus Christ. It avows itself a friend of the Bible and of religion and morals. It claims that all its blows against the supernatural are given in the interests of virtue and truth. We are not disposed to sit in judgment on the motives of the author; but the adroitness with which a great deal more is suggested than is plainly printed, and the skill with which much is implied which he evidently feels the reader may not be fully ready to have boldly declared, do not impress us favorably.

He professes to be actuated simply by a desire for truth. "Men are obliged to believe that two and two make four," he says; "they cannot believe differently, no matter how much they may wish it." Very good. We say the same most emphatically. But we distinctly note the fact that he has not given us any theory of Jesus or of Christianity from a purely rationalistic basis which succeeds in explaining the admitted facts. We have a right to complain of him for thus ruthlessly tearing down and showing no concern as to building up. We are justified in declaring that on his theory he cannot explain the appearance of Jesus or the rise of his religion. No one has ever been able to do it, and we are confident no one ever will; and until somebody does it—until somebody tells us how it came about that such a being as Jesus, confessedly unsurpassed in these nineteen centuries, came out of that obscure Galilean village as a product of that rude age, and how it came about, if he was only a crucified Jewish carpenter never rising from the dead, that his pierced hand has so turned the course of history from its channels, and that from his cross he has so ruled all the subsequent years—we shall hold to the old Gospel and believe in the old faith. It is all very well to assert that two and two must make four; but it seems to us like saying two and two make five for Mr. Sunderland to tell us that some nobody, about the year 140, or later, more than a century after Jesus died, evolved from his own inner consciousness, as a mere battle-ax in a theological dispute of that age, the marvelous discourses that fill the fourth gospel, and which on this theory were never dreamed of either by Jesus or his immediate followers. No. That makes altogether too large a claim on our credulity. We have some scanty remains of the undoubted writings of the church fathers in that century and the century following, and those of themselves are enough to convince us that chapters fourteen to seventeen of John do not belong in such company, even as we are altogether unable to believe that Jesus Christ was a mere human product of his age. It would seem as though a man must wish this very much in order to bring himself to believe it. To us it seems axiomatically clear that no one can have rightly studied him, with devout heart and unbiased mind, without heartily assenting to the truth of the words ascribed with high probability to Napoleon: "I know men, and I tell you that Jesus Christ is not a man. Superficial minds see a resemblance between Christ and the founders of empires and the gods of other religions. That resemblance does not exist. There is between Christianity and whatever other religions the distance of infinity."

Verbum Dei: The Yale Lectures on Preaching, 1893. By ROBERT F. HORTON, M.A., Author of *Revelation and the Bible*, etc. 12mo, pp. 300. New York and London: Macmillan & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

We have read with the deepest interest every word of this remarkable book. For originality, eloquence, and spiritual quickening it has not been surpassed for many a year. In the literature of homiletics it is absolutely unique in its theme, if not in the freshness, force, and beauty with which that theme is treated. The theme is this: "Every living

preacher must receive his message in a communication direct from God; and the constant purpose of his life must be to receive it uncorrupted and to deliver it without addition or subtraction" (p. 17). What a conception this is! It makes the preacher the veritable successor of prophets and apostles. The realization of this ideal in the life of every minister would revolutionize the world in a generation. The lecturer makes good his thesis. This direct relation of the minister to God does not exclude, but makes indispensable, the ordinary methods of learning the divine messages. The most strenuous study of the Bible is especially necessary. Every preacher should buy this book, if only to read the two chapters, "The Bible and the Word of God," and "The Word of God Outside the Bible." Mr. Horton has laid the clergy under profound obligation by this luminous and inspiring treatise. The reading of it will mark an epoch in the spiritual history of every man who takes it up. And, once begun, it cannot be laid aside until it is finished.

Illustrative Notes. A Guide to the Study of the Sunday School Lessons for 1894. By JESSE LYMAN HURLBUT and ROBERT REMINGTON DOHERTY. 8vo, pp. 396. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, $1.25. To clergymen and teachers, for cash, 75 cents.

This book for the use of pastors and teachers contains Original and Selected Expositions, Plans of Instruction, Illustrative Anecdotes, Practical Applications, Archæological Notes, Library References, Maps, Pictures, Diagrams, etc. In the way of comment each lesson has about seven pages of explanation, scholarly and careful, but written in easy, popular style, derived from the most eminent commentators, and intended to throw the utmost possible light on the dark places of the text. Dr. Doherty's "Illustrative Notes" are rich in variety and apt in pertinency, giving brief, pointed, and effective application to the truths of the lesson. Dr. Hurlbut renders great assistance to teachers in his answers to the question, "How shall I go at that lesson?" There are over fifteen hundred anecdotes and illustrations from a wide range of life and literature, helping to make the truth vivid, impressive, and memorable. The engravings are numerous and excellent. The book is an indispensable aid to Sunday school work for 1894. It is what might be expected from a brace of experienced, scholarly, and judicious editors.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

The New Era; or, The Coming Kingdom. By Rev. JOSIAH STRONG, D.D., Author of *Our Country*. 12mo, pp. 374. New York: The Baker & Taylor Co. Price, cloth, 60 cents; paper, 30 cents.

The author of *Our Country* could hardly write a common book, and the expectations raised by his previous venture for popular favor have been fully met in its successor. He takes the nineteenth century as the point of view for the discussion; and a close and accurate historical investigation introduces and emphasizes his argument. His study is an inter-

pretation, which in turn becomes a prophecy. A clear analysis is made of the Roman, Greek, and Hebrew contributions to civilization; and the physical, intellectual, and spiritual elements of the threefold development merge in the spirit and form of our Anglo-Saxon institutions. On this groundwork the serious duty of the present outlines itself. Opportunity is obligation; and the grandeur of our American opportunity measures the obligation of the American Church and State. Christ, according to the author, explains the enigma of human progress and solves the problems of society as clearly as he does those of personal character. A just conception of Christianity is the germ of the author's philosophy, and in consequence all its conclusions are definite and reasonable. Atheistic and irreligious study touches the circumference alone, while devout and spiritual investigation reaches the center; and for this reason *The New Era* is full of central truths. The fatal distinction between the sacred and the secular, expressing itself in the divorce of doctrine from conduct, is deplored. The increasing alienation of the masses from the Church and the causes of this separation are forcibly sketched, and at the same time the possibility of a complete reconciliation is earnestly maintained. The Church must recognize in the intense activity of the times the need of new methods on its own part, and must adapt its approaches to the conscience of the community and of the individual to the form of present exigency and temptation. It must be wise, eager, economical of resources, and always quick to take occasion by the hand. The chapters on "Popular Discontent" and "An Enthusiasm for Humanity" are perhaps the best. The last is especially eloquent and impressive, marking, as it does, the convergence of the lines of reasoning traced in the preceding pages. Such books as *The New Era* belong to this generation, endowed as it is with solemn and imperative responsibilities. Men must think, and times like these furnish the incentive to thought. This volume is a profound meditation upon those grave and urgent questions of personal and public duty and danger which we cannot avoid. Criticism might busy itself in minute matters, such as the relevancy of some parts of the discussion to its main treatment, the abundant use of quotations, etc.; but these, if they occur, are only incidental, and do not in any way lessen the essential value of *The New Era*, which will attract and hold popular attention and win a notable place in the permanent literature of the day.

Masses and Classes. A Study of Industrial Conditions in England. By HENRY TUCKLEY, Author of *Under the Queen*, etc. 12mo, pp. 179. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, 90 cents.

This book is opportune. The study of industrial conditions falls alike within the domain of present-day philanthropy and economics, and may be investigated from either standpoint. As long as the working classes are so poorly remunerated as to prevent their acquirement of many ordinary comforts they will elicit Christian sympathy; and as long as the ratio of wages to the profit of the employer continues so disproportionate the adjustment of the inequality will continue one of the burning questions of

political economy. Mr. Tuckley in his volume now under notice seems to speak both as a Christian philanthropist and as a student of economics. His work is along a somewhat unusual line. Avoiding the discussion of abstract principles of reform—of whose overconsideration there is possible danger—he narrates his personal interviews with the representatives of different classes of English workingmen and gives the results of his inquiries as to wages and living. That the breadwinners of England are far worse situated than those in the United States is strikingly borne out by some of his citations. When we read such statements as that a capable English clerk earns from $500 to $750 yearly; that the average pay for factory girls is $2.50 per week; that the wages of farm laborers are under, rather than above, $3 weekly; and that many "carpenters, bricklayers, masons, plasterers, and other skilled workmen" fall far below $10 per week, we are keenly impressed that in Great Britain, far more than in America, has the workman cause for grievance. The current saying that "England is the paradise of workingmen" is, in other words, a pleasant sentiment rather than the substantial fact. In respect to comforts the United States is far in the lead. Yet, so far as the American breadearner has reason for unrest, the present compilation is not without its lessons. The workingman is entitled, if not to more than, yet to all his due. "These English breadwinners are in the vanguard of a battle which must be fought out finally in every nation under the sun, and which, so far as the United States is concerned, has already commenced. This battle is the stern contest of the masses . . . for a larger, fairer share in the products of their own toil, the battle for fair wages and a fair chance to enjoy life." To a proper understanding of the merits of such a conflict all books like Mr. Tuckley's are an important contribution.

Other Essays from the Easy Chair. By GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS. 16mo, pp. 229. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.

For some thirty-five years the genial author of the above essays occupied the "Easy Chair" in *Harper's Magazine.* During that time he produced not far from fifteen hundred essays; and many were the confirmed readers of the magazine who were addicted to the habit of turning first of all to this department. Of these essays several of the more noteworthy were reproduced in a previous volume in uniform style published since his death, entitled *From the Easy Chair.* The present volume contains about thirty additional specimens from the same rich mine. They cover a great variety of subjects, ranging from a "National Nominating Convention" and "Tweed" to "The New Year," "The Golden Age," and "Spring Pictures," and including articles on "Bryant's Country," Emerson, Beecher, and General Sherman. These little articles may, without exaggeration, be characterized as gems of pure and at the same time fascinating English prose. The students who, in order to acquire a style at once combining elegance, simplicity, and beauty, would have been recommended in a previous generation to spend their days and nights in the study of Addison could hardly in these latter times be referred to a

more perfect model than these kindly essays of Mr. Curtis. But more than this, they are the expression of a cultured, noble, and pure-minded soul, a lover of all that is beautiful and true and good; and they abound in keen insight and homely wisdom as well as the most exquisite medley of eloquence and pathos and humor. In an address delivered before the Brooklyn Society of Arts and Sciences Mr. John White Chadwick said of these essays: "And what was the central theme? It was a plea for good society; for the best society; which is not a matter of wealth, nor of somebody's descent from somebody who was somebody or had something in some former generation; but a matter of intelligence and simplicity and kindliness, freedom from vulgar show, the love of things that make for honor, purity, and nobility in the most ordinary lives." Those who read this dainty volume will enjoy a feast of substantial worth and of delicate and genuine literary flavor.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

The Life of Catherine Booth, the Mother of the Salvation Army. In Two Volumes. By F. De L. Booth-Tucker. 8vo. Vol. i, pp. 663; vol. ii, pp. 692. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, $3.50.

Out of Old England, which gave the Wesleys and the Wesleyan reformation to the world, has come a later evangelistic movement whose blessing is already upon all the nations. To study any such reform in Church or State is to discover the perpetual law of the divine workings that all moral renewals center around the personality of individuals. Were the above volumes merely the life story of a saintly woman who, as the wife of a useful minister of the Methodist New Connexion, had been the instrument of great good in parish work and had finished her course in Christian triumph, they would still merit a place in church biography. But the knowledge that she was the chosen agent, in company with her illustrious husband, for the ushering in of a reform which, at least as to consecration and zeal, is not surpassed since the days of St. Paul surrounds this biography with surpassing interest. It is scarcely possible for the student of modern ecclesiastical history, as he reads the story, to overlook the various parallels between the Salvation Army movement and early Methodism. Both had their visible origin in the hearts of consecrated workers. Each was the outgrowth of the moral laxity of the times; each made its first appeal to the degraded classes of England; and if the earlier Methodism marched without the drum and cornet its spirit has, nevertheless, been essentially military to the present day. But if the Salvation Army appears in some sense a reproduction of the Wesleyan reformation as to spirit, discipline, doctrine, the utilization of the press, and other features, the personal qualities of Susannah Wesley seem also duplicated in her who is now affectionately called "the Mother of the Salvation Army." She was not born for subordinate work, but, in the good providence of God, she was led out into that large place of organization and

leadership for which her biography shows her to have been fitted. In heart qualities, in intellectual vigor, in rare consecration to holy things, in the rearing up of her children to usefulness and prominence in the Lord's work, in her understanding of human nature, Catherine Booth is worthy of all comparison with Susannah Wesley; and, like the mother of the eighteenth century reformer, her influence will be as enduring as time. We would gladly linger over all the features of this biography were it possible; but it is necessarily so voluminous as to render this inexpedient. The reader is well-nigh bewildered by the vast array of facts presented and by the many ramifications in the life history of Mrs. Booth. The place and the power of woman's work in evangelization, the marvelous growth of the Salvation Army in many lands, the agency of religion in sociological reform, and the need of holiness in the Church are taught or suggested by this biography. We can only mention it in praise. It is not prolix and wearisome; it is not constructed with overpartiality, though written by one of Mrs. Booth's kindred. It is intelligent, broad, inclusive, and is not surpassed in subject-matter or execution by any religious biography of the times.

An American Missionary in Japan. By Rev. M. L. GORDON, M.D. 16mo, pp. 276. New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.25.

The Ainu of Japan. The Religion, Superstitions, and General History of the Hairy Aborigines of Japan. With Eighty Illustrations. By the Rev. JOHN BATCHELOR, C. M. S. Missionary to the Ainu, Compiler of *An Ainu-English-Japanese Dictionary*, etc. Crown 8vo, pp. 336. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, $1.50.

The Story of Uganda and the Victoria Nyanza Mission. With Fifteen Illustrations. By SARAH GERALDINA STOCK. 12mo, pp. 223. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, $1.25.

James Gilmour of Mongolia. His Diaries, Letters, and Reports. With Three Portraits, Two Maps, and Four Illustrations. Edited and Arranged by RICHARD LOVETT, M.A. Crown 8vo, pp. 336. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, $1.75.

The literature of missions was never more valuable than in these latter days of missionary advance. Necessary instruction is thereby furnished to the home Church, through which its zeal is quickened and its contributions enlarged; and none the less are candidates for mission fields inspired for their heroic and exalted work. We should, therefore, gratefully recognize the purpose of such books as the above, which present the topography of heathen countries, the racial characteristics of the Eastern nations, philological difficulties to be encountered, the customs of heathen worship, or the narrative of missionary successes in foreign fields.

The first two books, which we now group together, belonging to this instructive class, have reference to the progress of Christian work in Japan. It is twenty years since Dr. Gordon went as a missionary to this field; and as an experienced worker among the Japanese and later the Professor of Homiletics and Pastoral Theology in the Dōshisha University, his descriptions have the merit of accuracy as well as vividness. Grouping in a miscellaneous way the story of Japanese customs, traits,

and vigor, he has given a new interest to missionary work in that distant land. And the Gospel is there mightily progressing. For, primarily, he has aimed, as he asserts, to record what he has seen "of the wonderful manner in which the religion of Christ is approaching the minds and hearts and lives of the Japanese people, and their noble response to this divine and gracious approach." The Ainu, to whom among others the good news of salvation has been carried, are "the aborigines of Japan." Superstitions, polytheistic, and decadent as they are, Mr. Batchelor, in his volume, has drawn their picture with a graphic pen.

The story of Uganda, as told by Sarah Geraldina Stock, is a record of sun and shadow, of safety and danger, of life and death, for the missionary workers of Eastern Africa. The martyrdom of Bishop Hannington, the untimely death of Bishop Parker and Mackay, and the massacre of native converts in 1886, are among the tragedies that crowd the volume. Yet, however variant the success of missionary work in Uganda up to the present time, one cannot but feel that ultimate triumph is there insured for Christianity under the lead of such self-denying, consecrated, death-defying missionaries as are herein described. Through such is the kingdom of heaven taken by force.

Among the noble souls that have gone heavenward from the midst of missionary toil must be written the name of James Gilmour. Of Scottish birth, and educated at Glasgow University, he went to China in 1870, and was privileged to spend twenty-one years in labor among the Mongolians. For his piety, his quaintness of character, his sweet domestic associations, and his marked success in a difficult field his memoir is full of charm. One closes the book with a new sense of kinship to those who are toiling in the far places to make God's kingdom come; and with a prayer that, under the inspiration of such literature, new apostles may go forth to answer the Macedonian voices which fill the world.

A Short History of the English People. By J. R. GREEN, M.A. Illustrated Edition. Edited by Mrs. J. R. GREEN and Miss KATE NORGATE. 8vo, pp. 931 (two volumes). New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $5 per volume.

In the enumeration of the master historians of the century the name of John Richard Green will not be omitted. The examination of the present beautiful volumes, which are a part of a series, no less impresses the reader with the majesty of the national history that is depicted, or the perfection of the illustrator's art, than with the essential greatness of the man himself who conceived the method of the *Short History* and put the work into finished phrase. Mr. Green was no ordinary man. Antecedent to any discussion of the scope or the merits of his history we must be grateful to the editor for her biographical sketch of the historian as contained in her "Introduction." In this portrayal he stands out before us with statuesque clearness and strength. From the age of sixteen, when Gibbon awoke within him the "enthusiasm for history," we follow with interest the gradual unfolding of his historic scheme; in his struggle with disease and his forced night writing for support our sympathy is stirred;

in the display of his manly qualities we yield to the fascination of his character; in his premature death we deplore the departure of a noble spirit. Great as is his work, from various standpoints, the man himself is greater than his best workmanship. As to his *Short History* itself, it has stood the test of criticism for nearly a score of years since its first issue, and is its own advocate and interpreter. In its fundamental conception the aim, as is well known, is to portray the history of the common people of England in contradistinction from her kings or her conquests. In its scope it sweeps the historic field from A. D. 449 to the present era. As to its structure it is a poem in prose, and on both sides of the Atlantic it has won a prominent place among historical authorities. "Read by hundreds of thousands of Englishmen," says Mrs. Green, "it has not passed through their hands without communicating something of that passion of patriotism by which it is itself inspired, as it creates and illuminates for the English democracy that vision of the continuous life of a mighty people, and as it quickens faith in that noble ideal of freedom which we have brought as our great contribution to the sum of human effort. Among English-speaking people beyond the seas, where it has yet a greater number of readers than here, it has helped to strengthen the sense of kinship and the reverence for our common past." With such an influence exerted by this newer history on both sides of the Atlantic its present issue in illustrated form is natural, wholesome, and cordially welcome. History is always capable of pictorial representation, and of all national growths the story of the English development, with its many thrilling passages, lends itself particularly to the engraver's art. For the earlier centuries Danish and Swedish collections have been drawn upon in the representation of household implements, armor, ornaments, and the like. For the period extending from the eighth to the sixteenth century resort has been had to the illuminated manuscripts in the British Museum, in the Public Record Office, at Lambeth, and in the Bodleian and various other college libraries. For the later centuries manuscripts, prints, engravings, and various other authorities have been consulted. The result of all this is two volumes, as far as the series has as yet gone, which in workmanship and pictorial charm are beyond easy description. An intrinsically great history, in other words, becomes more valuable under the engraver's skill.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Woman and the Higher Education. Edited by ANNA C. BRACKETT. *The Literature of Philanthropy.* Edited by FRANCES A. GOODALE. *Early Prose and Verse.* Edited by ALICE MORSE EARL and EMILY ELLSWORTH FORD. *The Kindergarten.* Edited by KATE DOUGLAS WIGGIN. *Household Art.* Edited by CANDACE WHEELER. *Short Stories.* Edited by CONSTANCE CARY HARRISON. The Distaff Series. 6 vols., 16mo. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, ornamental, $1 each.

These volumes are part of the "Exhibit of Woman's Work in Literature in the State of New York," to be preserved in the State Library in

the capital at Albany. Inside and outside they are women's work. The contents are from women's brains; the cover was designed and the types were set by women. We can give particular notice to only one. The volume open before us is *The Literature of Philanthropy.* It contains essays on "Criminal Reform," "The Tenement Neighborhood Idea," "University Settlements," "Medical Women in Tenements," "The Trained Nurse," "The Society of the Red Cross," "The Indian," "A Woman Among the Indians," "The Antislavery Struggle," "The Anti-slavery Legacy," "The Negro and Civilization," "The Education of the Blind." Our spiritual sensibility feels the trickle of warm tears and the light of a sweet smile across these pages. There is the throb of a soft pulse-beat through the lines, and reading is like laying one's finger on the wrist of a hand that once was pierced of Him who was dead but is alive again for evermore. We mean that a humane compassion, born in flesh and blood by the Spirit of the divine Christ, is seen at work in all the philanthropies and succors which this small book records. Finishing this volume, written by women concerning women's merciful work, we feel as if we had been to the Holy Land and some woman of Tiberias had shown us footprints on the beach of the Sea of Galilee actually made by the feet which once a woman bathed with her tears and wiped with her hair; for the soil where such divine philanthropies transpire is sanctified thereby, and such deeds as these among frontier wigwams, tenements of city slums, cabins of freedmen, hospital wards and beds of suffering, prison cells and scenes of appalling disaster, and devastation by flood, fire, earthquake, or famine—such deeds do signify and certify that Jesus Christ has passed along that way in the persons of those in whom, whether they realize it fully or faintly, he by his Spirit effectually and dominantly dwells.

Work and Workers. Practical Suggestions for the Junior Epworth League. By FREDERICK S. PARKHURST, B.D. With an Introduction by Rev. EDWIN A. SCHELL, D.D., General Secretary of the Epworth League. 12mo, pp. 85. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, 40 cents.

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The titles of the above volumes generally suggest their aim and method of treatment. We would fain speak of each in full detail were

we not circumscribed by the limits of our columns. There is not a careless or unworthy book in the group. On each the comment may be passed that it is earnest, concise, and instructive.

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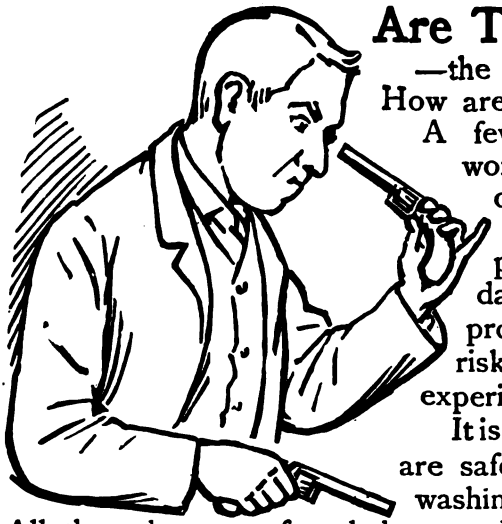

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